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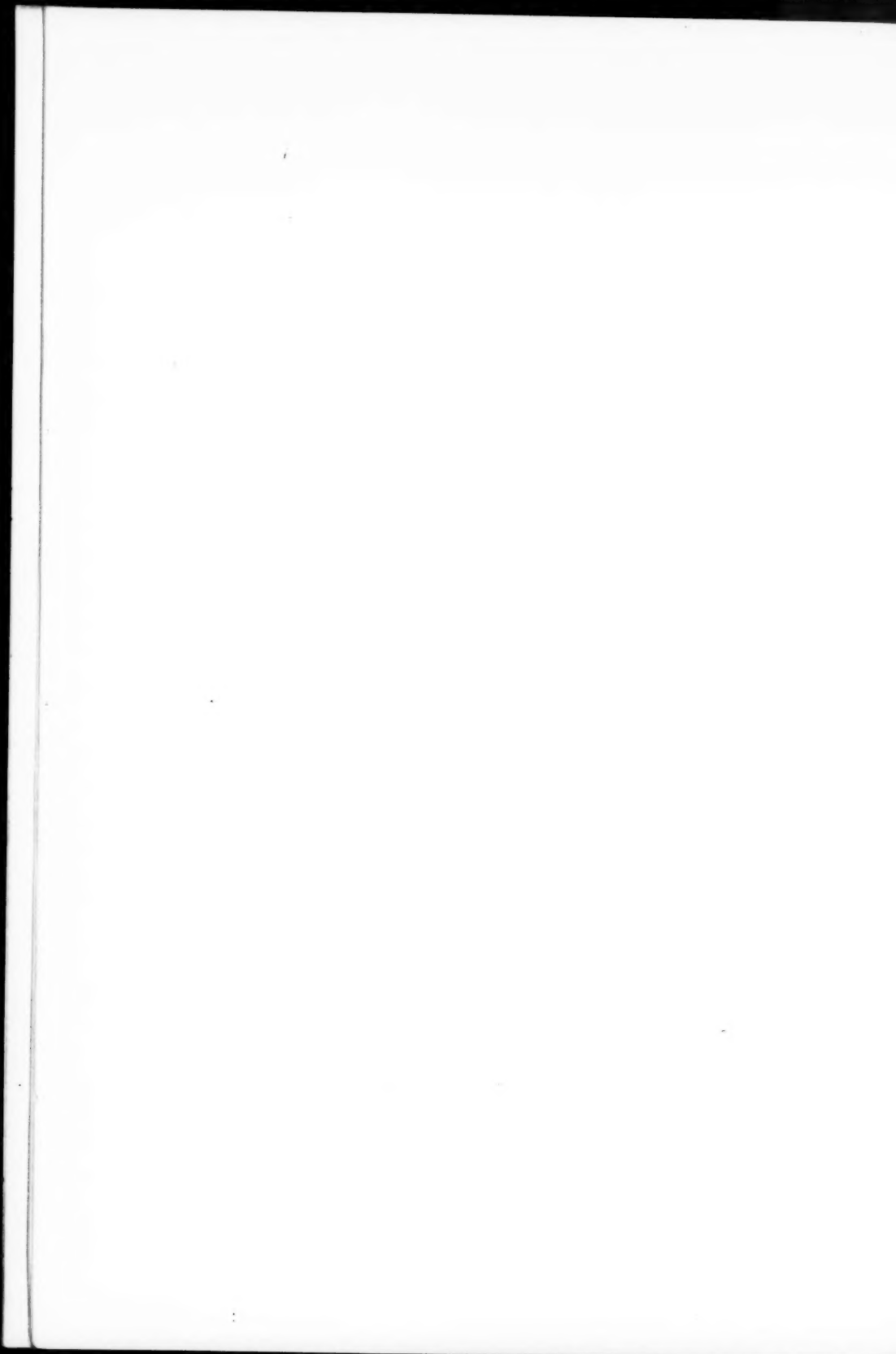
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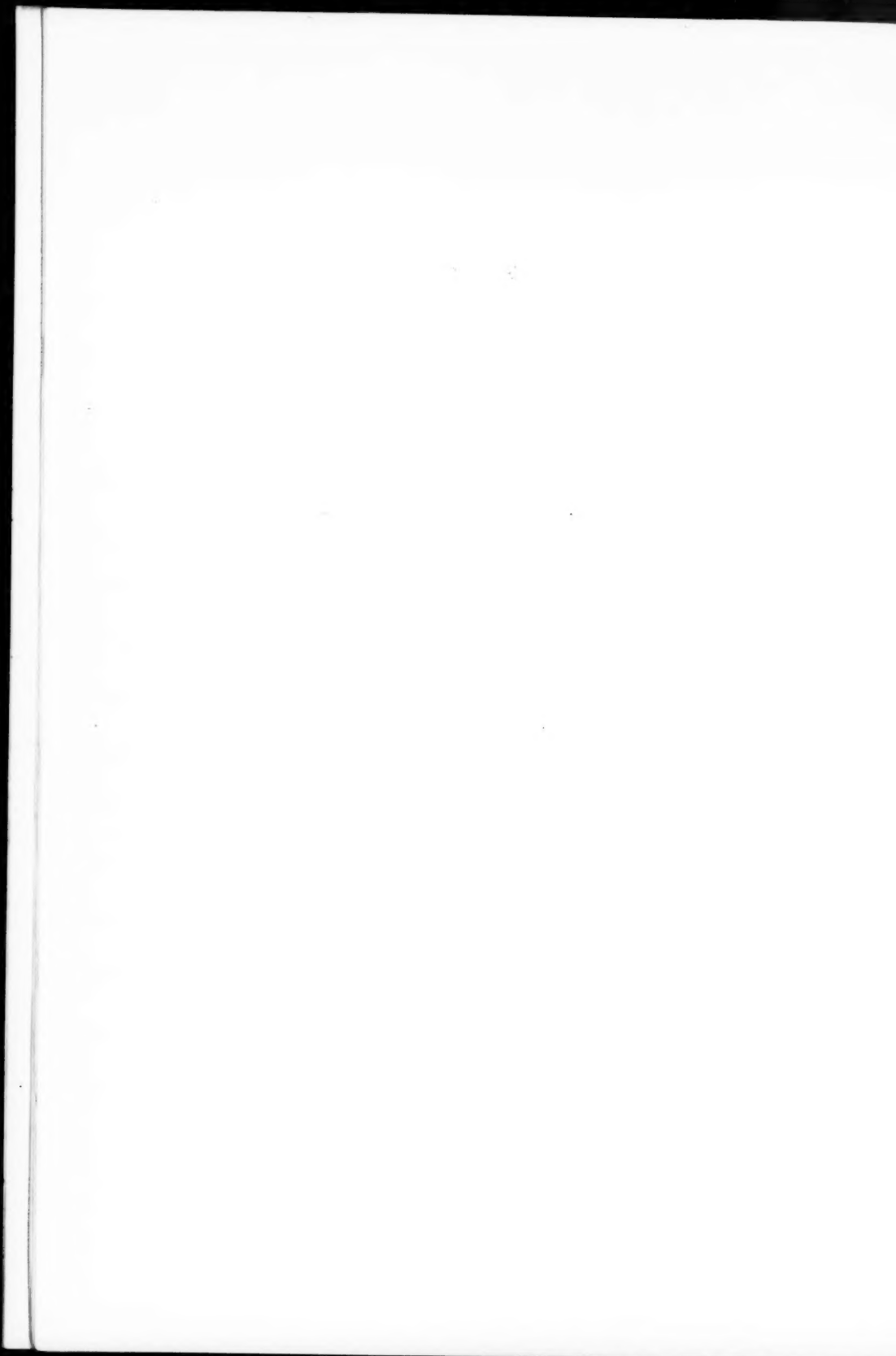
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A. GENERAL SESSIONS



A. GENERAL SESSIONS

WHAT IS SOCIAL WORK?

(PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS)

William J. Norton, Secretary, Community Fund, Detroit

Sometimes it is helpful for a group of people engaged in a common endeavor to halt in the eager reach of their expansion programs and to try to gauge their real usefulness to others. For society is not a stationary substance. It is forever in motion, borne forward on the flood of an onward-rushing, constantly widening river of knowledge. A law of relativity is at work in the affairs of men that makes the elements of time and place applicable in measuring the merits of human institutions. It happens not infrequently that the conceptions and assumptions of life upon which an organized idea arose and functioned are left behind with the advance of time and knowledge, and move out of focus with the things of up-to-date existence. When this occurs there is always a danger that the institution may become static and stagnant, anchored on the flats of exhausted traditions, while the tide of progress sweeps on. If any institution is to remain continuously useful, it is quite necessary that those who know it and understand it should examine from time to time not only the mechanics by which it operates, but also the motivation of its existence.

So I propose that we examine tonight the postulates upon which social work is founded, in order that we may define, more clearly and more certainly not so much what it is as what its place is in the scheme of life upon the American continent. I believe it is necessary that we should do this, for, without doubt, millions of our fellow-citizens, up and down this continent, have never acknowledged that organized social work has any vitally important place in the social organism, or that it is something American society could not do without, and continue to insist upon keeping its present form. On one hand is the extreme radical who feels that social work is merely a palliative in a transition period between something bad and something good to come, an offensive attempt on the part of protected privilege to drug the ethical stimulus of the people and make them acquiescent in the continuance of privilege. On another hand is the ultraconservative who feels that social work represents a slow encroachment of socialism, a sucking of the life-blood of individualism, an insinuating softening influence upon the sterling old qualities that make a man proud of his capacity to carry his own load over the rough road of competitive existence. Yet another type is the so-called "pure scientist," who feels that social work, by salvaging

the unfit, the physical and mental weaklings, flies in the face of nature's laws which, if permitted to operate without interference, would automatically purge the generations of those incapable of pushing forward on man's historic advance up the rugged heights of greatness. And finally, in between these three sets, comes a fourth, a host of people smacking somewhat of the views of the second and third groups, and looking upon social work as a series of fads evolved in the heads of sentimental busybodies, which they are asked to support because the busybodies are personal friends of theirs, or for reasons of social prestige, or of commercial advertising, or of general good nature. Feeling that it is a fad, they give it a half-hearted acquiescence, not acknowledging that it is essential to the existence of our present American society.

This positive opposition on the part of some and faint-hearted assent on the part of many others creates obstacles to the growth of social work and to the march of social progress altogether too great to be met by us with indifference or inertia. If what we struggle to do is worth the mighty sacrificial effort that we pour into it, then it is doubly our business to make clear our position in the world, in order that we may have an operating base, well defined and unobscured, upon which our forces may be marshaled for more wholehearted and completely democratic support.

In examining the basic reasons for our existence, I would lay down two fundamental axioms from which spring all other predicates. One is that organized social work is an essential supplement to the elemental political and economic philosophy upon which the American commonwealth rests; and the other is that organized social work is necessary for the spiritual expression of freemen in an intelligent competitive industrial society.

In order to make clear the first of these axioms, I would take you back for a moment to America's origin. The colonies from which we get our American traditions were settled by the Puritan and the Cavalier, the one coming to secure religious liberty, the other to find economic opportunity, and both dominated by a desire for adventure. At the feet of these settlers lay unbound opportunities in an immense domain stretching from coast to coast and populated only by beasts and roaming savages. Hardy adventurers in a rough and undeveloped land, in open revolt against the frozen castes and solidified traditions of the Old World from which they had fled, they naturally developed an extremely individualistic conception of society that later found epigrammatic expression in that historic phrase of the Declaration of Independence, "All men are created free and equal," and in those first amendments to the Constitution, known as the Bill of Rights. They wrote into their own lives and those of their successors a philosophy of individualism, a conception that existence should take on the character of a great game in which each was to find happiness in some labor that expressed his individuality. Entrance into this game of life was on a footing as nearly equal as man could make it. Hard work, ability, and the turn of fortune's wheel were to be left free from artificial restraints, so that

each person would have an incentive to secure as much of the rewards, of comfort, contentment, the accumulation of property, the acquisition of learning, of honor, and of social prestige, as his ambition, his labor, his ability, and his luck might win. Hardy pioneers were followed by hardy successors. The nation grew and thrived upon their conception, and the political, social, and economic institutions which came into being solidified on the foundation of that philosophy.

On the whole, you and I adhere to that philosophy. I concede that there are those among us who do not; but I believe their number is small, and that they do not represent in any large degree the belief of the great body of social work up and down the reaches of the continent. Most of us are agreed that liberty of conscience, equality of opportunity, and freedom of action—with, of course, such necessary traditional and legislative restraints, but only such necessary restraints as a growing sense of social justice from time to time demands—are sacred inheritances, breeding for us and our children greater possibilities of happiness than any other principles of organizing life that have been tried in the world. Yet the days when those conceptions were formulated into a Constitution, partly written and partly unwritten, have gone forever, and the conditions under which life is lived are changed in a marvelous way. It would be trite indeed for me to review the industrial revolution, the significance of machinery, of mechanical invention, of power, of transportation, of the new communication, and of the spread of credit. Suffice it to say that the pioneer, exploring, and agricultural society of the American continent, where a man stood foursquare against the winds of destiny with an axe and a rifle as the insignia of his independence, has been replaced with an intricate industrial organism enormously rich and filled with amazing material conveniences and comforts.

The important thing about all this in our present consideration is that the quality of freedom and the approach to opportunity have undergone radical alterations with these economic changes. Life, moving at undreamed-of speed, has become interwoven, interdependent, and complex. Knowledge, skill, health, moral stamina, and the ability to adjust one's self to other people are now far more necessary than ever before for even modest success in this greatly enlarged game that we call living. Group discipline, group organization, and group mastery have challenged our initial conceptions of freedom and of individual prowess. Dazzling rewards in wealth, honor, power, and prestige are in store for those who become masters of the complicated rules of group life. And, in like manner, desperate and imminent failure lurks for those who cannot accept group discipline, or who for any reason whatsoever are not regular producers in giant Power's regimentations of men. We have a marvelous prosperity for most of the people, flanked by a rapidly fluctuating and devastating pauperism for some, all the more ugly because of our mountain of wealth. We have new and wonderful opportunities for health, and at the same time sickness is more

terrible because of our congested living and because of the disastrous economic loss that comes to the producer who falls sick. We have luxury and leisure, honeycombed with sinister injustices and criminal practices. Under these new conditions, the old certainty with which a solitary individual, unaided by others, may win the rewards of competition—simplicity of success flowing from an abundance of opportunity, the desirability of leaning quite so much upon the fickle Goddess of Chance; the assurance of the continuance of our traditional social equality faced by mammoth inheritances now protected by corporate administrators—break down in part.

The changes that have come in the quality of freedom and the approach to opportunity, with their violent contrasts of glory and of degradation, are of such importance that they threaten the very existence of a social structure founded upon the ancient precepts unless somehow, somewhere, guaranties are offered against inequalities, injustices, losses of opportunity, and the results of incapacity and of misfortune. With a constantly growing cohesion of society, America needs, day by day, new methods that will supplement the old conceptions and expand them so as to guarantee to each inhabitant, with more certainty than before, his elemental rights to life and the pursuit of happiness while he plays the game of competition, not against an unconquered domain, but in a highly organized and speculative society of cleverly wrestling brains. Unless such guaranties are worked out, practically the very character of American society is justly threatened. If those guaranties are not put into effect, the foundations of that society eventually will be justly overthrown.

Here, then, into these great breaches in the wall about the American scheme of life, steps social work, bearing the torch of a new hope and setting up, not alone for the poor and the distressed but for the average individual as well, a new defense in the shape of certain very practical guaranties. It is here that social work becomes, in effect, an insurance to the people that a constant struggle will be maintained to keep the individual from being submerged by disaster while he plays at the game of life, throwing his counters upon the whirling wheel of chance for the high stakes of fortune. The existence of an expanding program of social work assures that American society may be continued on its present philosophic base with a program that purges the corrupting influences of wealth and prosperity on the one hand, while it turns that wealth and prosperity on the other hand into a wall of protection for those who fail and for those who are in danger of not succeeding under the tremendous pressure of modern inter-related life.

In order to make the case clear we must examine explicitly these guaranties that weave together the design of social work's program. First is the guaranty of a minimum economic standard. The continent is rich beyond the dreams of Croesus, and there is far more than enough to keep everyone alive in moderate comfort. Inasmuch as this enormous prosperity is no longer dependent upon the efforts of single individuals, but upon group production, group distribution,

and group financing under competent leadership, the separate units of the groups that participate may justly and without shame insist that each producer, working under favorable conditions and reasonable hours shall draw a wage from the general production that will permit him, without overstrain, to support himself and his family in reasonable comfort, in health and in sickness, in youth and old age, and through all the vicissitudes of life. Reasonable attempts by the producers to win and maintain a fair economic standard has met, and always must meet, with sympathy and cordial support from social work.

Yet there are always individuals in a system of free competition, who, for one reason or another, any general standard notwithstanding, are not able to get for themselves a large enough share of the common prosperity for the maintenance of comfortable life. Feeble-minded and insane individuals are not likely to be continuously self-supporting or even self-managing. Unfortunately, those who come into old age altogether too frequently find themselves without savings, and with their faltering bodies unequal to the task of carrying the load of self-support. Children who have lost either father or mother—or worse, whose fathers or mothers are neglectful of them—must be guaranteed livelihoods while they mature and ripen for the struggle with life. The widow with a brood of little children, the wage-earner who is sick, the worker who has been injured, the person who is permanently disabled, the congenitally handicapped, and those misfits who cannot adjust themselves to the complicated mechanism that whirls around them are all without the means of maintaining life on a minimum standard of comfort in a system where livelihood is dependent on labor merit.

Over and above these causes of individual economic misfortune are group causes beyond the control of individual victims, such as war, the disasters of nature, the fluctuations of business life, and the injustices of man, that throw great masses of people out of work, cut off their earning power, and drag them temporarily below the line of economic independence. The total volume of misery that would flow unrelieved from all of these incidents of competition is so horrible in its contemplation, so gruesome an orgy of human suffering, that without a positive guaranty that it will be relieved when it occurs, and that intelligent efforts will be made to prevent its recurrence, the competitive scheme of life could not be tolerated.

The establishment of this minimum economic standard in each country of the world is the task of all the people of those countries, working through all the agencies at their command. The task of social work is to help wherever it may in its establishment, and particularly to discover those individuals who, because of various difficulties beyond their immediate control, fall through the competitive sieve below this minimum standard of livelihood, and to maintain them at as near this standard as possible.

This satisfies our humane impulses and our sense of fairness. But, bearing in mind that national ideal of a self-supporting, self-respecting man or family, we temper this generosity with caution and intelligence. It is not so much the

defense of a system as it is a profound conviction that the greatest good comes to the greatest number by a straightforward recognition that self-reliance is the road to healthy happiness, and that it can readily be destroyed by thoughtless charity or public subsidy that drives us into a corollary of our task of relief, which is certainly one of the major principles of social work. While we feed, clothe, and shelter the shattered individual or family, we struggle to apply every available instrument in the community to reorganizing the forces of those lives which give any hope of reconstruction, so as to work them back above the standard of self-respecting and self-supporting livelihood, in order that they may shoulder their loads again and carry them triumphantly through the world. Doctor, psychiatrist, employment manager, credit manager, policeman, judge, clergyman, relative, everything, and everybody is grist for the mill of constructive social work.

And while social work plays the leading rôle in this double guaranty of salvation for those who fall and of resurrection for those who can be restored, it constantly examines the confusion of the competitive structure itself in the lurid light of human misery, seeking intelligent modifications and additions that will both retain and strengthen the old virtues, and will write less of misery and more of happiness into life.

The second guaranty which a cohesive competitive society must offer its citizens is an elemental standard of public health. The humane instincts of mankind insist that life itself is the most precious thing on earth, and every effort possible must be made for the preservation of healthy life. An industrial society, dependent for its prosperity upon the labor product of the largest possible number of workers, must be vitally interested, for the sake of efficiency if for no other reason, in keeping every human body as nearly physically fit as possible. These two instincts should make American society constantly alert in warfare against disease and against the conditions that breed disease. Sanitarians working on group sanitation, and members of the medical and allied professions, on individual clients, are the first line of offense. But social work also has a great part to play, peculiarly its own, in maintaining this second guaranty. Its first task is to swing its organizing genius into play for the creation and maintenance of hospitals, clinics, health centers, and experimental laboratories, in order that the people may have the best of service, and the practitioners of the healing arts may have at their disposal for economic use the best of facilities for the average person. Its second task is to stand ready to grasp new fragments of medical and sanitary knowledge as they come off the anvil of experimental science and to organize and operate the needed educational mechanism for the distribution of new scientific truths to all the people for their self-protection. Its third task is to utilize its own enormous machinery for studying and helping human beings individually and in the mass, in making its own researches into the causes for health and sickness among the people, and to give to the country knowledge that will raise the minimum standard of health in the light of a

growing science. Its fourth task, of equal importance with the others and again peculiarly its own, is to ferret out the sick and those who are threatened with being sick, who cannot afford the expensive luxuries of doctors and nurses, to supply these to them, and to readjust separate broken bodies and minds to the forces within and without them so that health may follow sickness, so that sickness need not perforce follow health, and so that sickness, if it must persist in an individual, may yet be triumphed over by life.

The third guaranty that any permanent society permitting the accumulation of great wealth and of power by individuals must offer its people is the preservation of opportunity. Opportunity is one of those precious heritages of which we are proud. We have affirmed time and again that it shall be equal; that each shall have his fling with the Goddess of Fortune, and win if he can, or lose if he must. Yet, while humane, mankind is also selfish, and a society of gamblers such as we must be constantly alert to circumvent the scheming and plotting of separate players whose every intention is to make victory certain for themselves, with not too much thought about what happens to their opponents. There are those among us for whom opportunity never did exist, or who have had it and lost it, and for whom it must be constantly re-created. Without any doubt, the inheritance of wealth, in some respects, gives the child of the rich a more favorable start in the race for opportunity than other children have. The children of the very poor, of the widow, of the alien who does not understand our ways, the orphan, the children born out of wedlock, the children from vice-infested homes, do not start at the same advanced mark that the favored child does. They are in constant danger of being submerged in the maelstrom of crime, vice, exploitation, and injustice. Social work, jealous of the equality canons of America, steps forth with its third guaranty to the underprivileged, creating giant institutions and systems in foster care, education, and character training as effective as those which may be used by the children of the millionaire.

Adults also come among us from abroad to make their contribution to the communal life, who find the doors of opportunity only partly open. Those who would exploit them and those who would lead them into the bypaths of evil must ever be fought. Young men and young women prompted by ignorance, by lack of training, by malformed character, by uncontrolled impulses, go astray in this complicated world of ours, closing the door of opportunity upon themselves. Social work sets itself to reopen that door, and by its kindly, patient, and constant attention to guide the faltering through it.

The fourth guaranty is a leisure for all the people commensurate with the needs of health and self-advancement of the individual, taking into consideration an economic production standard adequate for comfortable consumption, and the acquisition of a capital surplus by society. In the old society, when the conquest of the land and of nature's resources was our main quest, man was compelled to work all the hours of the day at grueling toil. The new mechanical

order based on the division of labor, on power production, and rapid distribution, makes possible a constantly shortened work day and a steadily expanding leisure. The shortened hours have not been yielded without many a bitter contest. Social work, cognizant of the throbbing life of man, of his physical weaknesses, of the limits of his nervous system, of his groping aspirations for self-advancement and happiness, has always been sympathetic with any just demand for a shortened day and lengthened leisure.

Yet this new leisure is by no means an unmixed blessing. Used properly, man gains immensely in health, in knowledge, in work power, and in mellowed tolerance and kindliness. Used improperly, man destroys his health, his powers of useful service, and drags those dependent upon him into want, misery, and woe.

So social work sets out to guarantee the creation of wholesome leisure-spending devices, the regulation of commercial leisure exploitation, and the provision of leadership and social thinking in these suddenly expanded, enormously changed, hours of freedom from work. Whereas the good people of the world have frequently questioned the right of leisure by abstinence from, and prohibition of, relaxing recreation, social work states that leisure is both a right and a necessity in the high-strung life of the day, and attacks the dangers potential within it with a positive program of leisure-time occupation.

We come now to the second fundamental axiom, that organized social work is necessary for the spiritual existence of freemen in an intelligent industrial society. The great mainspring of social work is neither science, nor ethics, nor political philosophy. It is love. It is that quality, springing from the soul of man, that places a mother on the cross for childhood; that makes a father work for those dependent upon him until he drops; that causes the neighbor to pause in the self-absorption of his affairs and carry comfort to those who are stricken near him; that sends gay-hearted youth into the torturing hell of battle for home and for country. Love is the thin film of protection squirted between the wheels of life, that lubricates them, and keeps the whole machine from burning out in the merciless friction of living. Love lifts man from the plane of the beasts and stretches his stature upward until he can see and hear God.

Love makes organized social work imperative in a highly organized society. For the antithesis of love is selfishness, and selfishness holds sway very largely in any competitive system. We play the game hard, and many win and many lose. The first business of competition is to worry about victory; to key each actor on the field of play up to the point where he will put every ounce of strength into the quest for victory. This is the nature of man. It is the epitome of self-centeredness; and in the train of selfish aspiration after victory flow also defeat, suffering, misery, degradation, and destruction. If it were not that love entered into this scheme of things the game would be intolerable. But love does enter in. In the soul of each of us is a great yearning to share the suffering of others. We feel the poignant pains and racking sorrows vicariously. Our greatest heroes

are those who have suffered most for others. Our cherished literature is an epic paean of the balm of love poured eternally and without stint into the wounds of men. Each of us carries in our heart the medallion picture of a Christ, or of a Watt Tyler, or of a Nathan Hale, or of a Gandhi or of a Jane Addams, whom we would like to emulate in helpful abnegation for the good of others. Yet our uncorrelated, unorganized impulses of generosity and kindness are too feeble and too fickle to rely upon any impulsive zeal to righteousness to carry out the guaranties we have just discussed as necessary for a humanely dominated social organism.

The mechanism of society is so intricate, the marshaled hosts of warriors on the battle field of competition so far-flung, the concentration upon the glittering material rewards so fixed, that we cannot rely upon haphazard promptings of individuals to good deeds to guarantee to our spiritual capacity for love that suffering will be eased, that injustice will be fought, that human beings will be reconstructed, and that misery will be prevented, without intelligent, devoted organization. In a world where all the other departments of life are highly organized in order to get the greatest good for the greatest number, it is necessary that the brotherly kindness of men should be regimented and marshaled into an organization as mighty in its mechanism, as clearly intelligent in its direction, as powerful in its driving genius, as any other great organism of modern life, so that all who are in need may be helped in useful and comprehensive ways.

Here comes social work with its second major purpose: to guarantee that the average person will have a chance to express his instincts for helpfulness and human kindness in ways that will produce the greatest usefulness from them. Hospitals, health centers, social settlements, children's societies, family welfare societies, protective agencies, probation offices, visiting nurse organizations, and all the other philanthropic movements, knit into a vast system of cooperation, play the part of middlemen in conveying this spirit of generosity and of service, from the thousands who reach out to express it, to the thousands who are in need of sympathetic help and friendliness. Without organized social work, many who wish to help wisely could not do it, because they would not know how, or would not have time; and many who are in dire need would be compelled to go without, because they would not know where, in a mass of humanity, to find the friendly individuals willing and capable of helping.

This spiritual capacity of man finds a second expression in his passion for justice. In his long upward climb from the jungle, through savagery and barbarism into civilization, he has always sought to curb ruthless power, greed, cruelty, self-centered domination, and unfair dealings, and to replace them with rules and regulations of conduct in the relations of man to man that would insure fairness and equity to the largest number. All down the long road of history the flaming fagots lighted by tyranny, bigotry, ignorance, and hate have tortured the world's great martyrs, who, with their lives, have broken the

strangle hold of oppression. The fields of the world have run red with the blood of countless thousands who, with their eyes fixed on the blue-white flame of justice, died in order to topple the conquerors, the kings, the noblemen, the theocracies, and the profiteers that denied to common men the common rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. We in America may well be proud of the part we have played in this eternal ever resurgent crusade for justice. While the imagination of the Old World has always been captured by the man on horseback, the crown, and the jeweled hand that wields the scepter, the people of this Republic and of the great Dominion have never responded to the conqueror's trumpet, have stood foursquare for human rights, and have reserved their plaudits for the high leadership of service.

And yet injustice persists. Each new plane of civilization breeds it again. Each new mechanism of society, each new form of social cohesion, must re-interpret and re-enact the rules of conduct that guarantee the rights of men. The defense of justice and the forward push of its hope into new realms of life is again the task of all the people of all the world, working through every instrument they have. But social work, dealing so much with the poor, the unfortunate, the downtrodden, and the maladjusted, sees injustice at work in specific cases in a way that no other calling sees. It offers to its clients at least a guaranty that someone in the world will be alert to discover when people break the established canons of justice in dealing with them, and to work for a fair and proper adjustment. It offers a second guaranty to humanity as a whole, that there will be a group of people, close to the ragged edge of things, who, through observation and the massing of facts, will be prepared to propose to legislatures and the people intelligent changes that will push their aspirations for fair play in the dealings of man with man a little nearer the perfection which we always seek and never find.

Social work makes another important contribution to our spiritual life. While we accept the ascendancy of the strong and offer glittering rewards to ability and capacity, we recognize that there are weak as well as strong, that there are levels of ability grading from the very able down to the completely incompetent. The steady encroachment of idealism, the steady infiltration of warm, pulsating love and of cold, intelligent justice is building a canon in American life that the gifts of strength and ability are not for selfish aggrandisement, but to be used for service in our communal life. We are insisting that, when the strong have won their selfish rewards, the pomp and power of place and goods shall not be used exclusively for luxurious gratification, but more and more for the common good. A precept is dawning, very largely as a result of social work, that there shall be withheld from the strong the climax to their careers—the final reward of a people's love and true affection—until they turn their wealth and their ability into the channels of service.

One of the greatest, the most useful, and most practical, channels of service is offered by organized social work. We have taken the service laws of the

prophets, the social gospel of the Nazarene, removed them from the wars of theology, broken their restrictive binders of self-centeredness, and harnessed their dynamic energies to the vehicles of economic, political, and scientific truths for the amelioration and advance of humanity. No warfare between fundamentalism and modernism in our ranks restricts the free expression of spiritual power in action for service. On the American continent there is no acceptance of the divine rights of rulers, but the dynamo of social work drives ahead the gospel of a divine obligation to active service, thereby helping man to tower up to God and to share with him the Godlike power of salvation and of resurrection. I believe it is not too much to say that if organized social work did not exist, this crowning expression of group spiritual life on the continent of America would hardly be possible. And if it were not possible, the whole structure of American society would rot at the heart and, sooner or later, topple and fall. Nor is it too much to say that if men and women, freed from the old-time burdens of heavy labor, and with leisure on their hands, were compelled to express their spiritual yearnings for helpfulness, individually and separately, without the use of the organized instruments we offer them, their efforts would either be dissipated into uselessness, or their ignorance and uncurbed sentimentality would be equally destructive to the commonwealth.

If these things are true, social work is an indispensable instrument for human relief and for human advance, without which a republican democracy would not come to its great fruition. It says to the person living in the state of democratic individualism that has evolved as the accepted order on the continent, Your life is full of untold hazards, many of which you cannot foresee and cannot surmount single-handed. We offer you guaranties that when the storm breaks, and the house of your affairs rocks and falls about you, a body of devoted, intelligent servants, backed sometimes by the state and sometimes by a host of generous citizens, will spring to your assistance, bringing goods, brains, labor, the methods of science, and the friendly love of pulsating hearts, all of which we place at your disposal, to shelter you so long as you shall need it, and to reconstruct your affairs so that you may presently be a free and independent citizen, sharing with us all the joys of productive work. It says to the commonwealth at large, Here are hazards which, with a little thought, a little labor, a little cooperation, a little modification of some minor plan, may be wiped out, and from which those who march this road tomorrow may not suffer. It says to the strong, happy, contented citizens, Here are tried and demonstrated channels flanked by ports of happy usefulness. Pour into these channels without stint a golden stream of brotherly love, and watch the tears of a distraught humanity melt into laughter as the victims of fate rise upon the flood and are steered into the ports of hope.

Yes, social work is necessary. It is a vital part of our scheme of things. It is a dignified, sanctified system, touched with a sacrificial grandeur. It is the patriotism of peace, as patriotic as the shouldering of a musket in the fanfare and panoply

of war. Those of us who practice it need bow to no one. Let us stand shoulder to shoulder, a militant host marshaled in friendly cooperation, proud of its intelligent service, jealous of its devoted spirit, and determined to fight for the honor of its name. We are part of the American philosophy. We are the vanguard of a great people's spirit of sanctified intelligent brotherhood. We are soldiers of the common good who have answered the call to the colors.

THE DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL WORK

Rev. Frank Nelson, Rector of Christ Church, Cincinnati

One hesitates, at such a time as this, to add another word to the very great address of your president. It is so full of wisdom, and truth, and vision that it seems to me in many ways a pity to take any of the impression of it from your minds. I beg you will not allow me to do so, but through whatever I may be given to say you shall read anew the words that he has spoken to you, that you may go forth from this meeting into the many other meetings that are to come, and then from those to your own work in the various communities, with a new pride that you have been called to social work, if that is your calling, and with a new reverence and respect for social work, if you are not a social worker, and with a new determination to give to it the best you have. For, as he has said truly, in social work today in our modern communities there is salvation; there is hope for men and women and children—not only the down-and-out, the poor and despised, the outcast and the weak, the feeble-minded and delinquent, but for every man and woman of us. For we are bound up in the bundle of life together, and we must render service to our fellow-men and women who need that service, not only that we may save them from weakness and pain, but that together we may stand in self-respect before God, ourselves and the generations to come; that it may be known that here men not only live, but live together.

The time has gone by when it was sufficient for a man to render to his fellow-man what personal service it was given him, in opportunity and means, to render. The problems of our modern complex life are too difficult for that, and it is a very remarkable testimony to the depth and wonder of man's deep and constructive love for man that he should have wrought out this great complex organization of social work; that he should have designed and achieved it, in the face of almost incalculable difficulties, in order that he might reach out into the needs that touch men today and bring to them service and love, and use it as an instrument of his great, eternal, constructive sense of obligation as a man to men. Only as we keep that clear and strong and alive in our hearts through all the methods of our work, through all the conferences of the coming days, through all the complex organization of social service, can it be true and worthy and achieve the end for which it was designed.

It is a wonderful thing, this social work, in changing the conditions that

surround the people of our time, in bringing hope and courage to individuals, in relieving pain and suffering in society, in eliminating the degrading influences of vice and shame. And it is a wonderful opportunity that is given to men and women today to find in social service a means of expressing the best that is in them by giving themselves to this great profession of human service. There have been great professions in the past. There is the great profession of the ministry, for which so many people think today the time has gone by, because they do not know its greatness and its glory and the wonders of its continuing service to mankind. There are the great professions of medicine, of the law, and of teaching. I cannot stop to speak in detail of each of these; but I want you to see that the things you seek in social work are the things that have kept these callings up. Men go into them because they are called to render human service, and not for gain, money, position, fame, or prestige. A man can only be truly a member of these great professions as his soul is purged and cleaned from anything in it which ministers to himself. And now comes this new profession of social service. It, too, is not a remunerative calling. Thank God the social workers are underpaid, by the standards of modern economic life. If ever social work comes to be commercialized so that it is financially profitable, then social work will enter upon its period of degradation. It must be maintained as a true profession into which one goes for what he can do for his fellow-men; one which involves sacrifice, which enables him to use what God has given him in the ministry of human welfare in order that he may give something of what God has given him to the common possession of the race. And so I thank God that social work has come to be a true profession, and I ask every man and woman here ever to hold in deepest reverence this gift from God that has come in these great days.

And yet there have come great dangers through the organization of social service. There is first, the danger that comes because we have to have great institutions and organizations to carry on this work. That danger is that the old original sense of brotherliness, the personal service of a man to his fellow-man, shall be lost sight of because we are dealing with groups and with conditions. We are coming to think—at least we are often acting as if we thought—that the man was made for the institution, and not the institution for the man. And I would have you hold to this fundamental vision of social work, when dealing with the technique that is necessary in all institutions, that the institution is made for the man, and that the value of the man is always greater than the value of the institution. Always the institution is here to serve the man. It is the man's servant, and not his master. To compel even the lowest of the children of men to conform to the standards of the institution rather than to make the institution serve the man's needs is to reverse all our standards of value. To make a man is the sole objective of all our organizations and institutions.

Another great danger is the de-personalizing of social work. It is a danger

that has come with the knowledge of law. We are hearing a great deal today about biology and sociology and psychology and all the other "ologies." They are very great things, great instruments that have enabled us to understand ourselves and our fellow-men. They are great instruments for service put into our hands to enable us to give intelligent service, to find a place in our social system for subnormal girls or boys whom before we had thought just stupid or depraved. Now we are learning where their place is, and are finding ways of helping them to play their part in the common task of life. It is a wonderful thing, this knowledge of law that is coming into all modern social work. But again and again there comes to be a sort of sense that a law is a magic thing that works of itself. There is no such thing. The law is a great thing as we come to have an understanding of it, as we get to know it, and know how to use it. But always we need to realize that man is the master of the law. In the face of the law, we have got to find some way of keeping our sense of the value of the person supreme in all social work, bowing in reverence before it, never despising it, never treating it lightly, never looking down upon it.

There are two great antidotes for these dangers. They are antidotes not ordinarily found in the social service language of our day. They are antidotes which some of you will think old-fashioned. They may seem to you to have been made unnecessary by the organization of social work and by the discovery of law. The first is God. When I say "God," I mean God. I do not mean my own idea of God. I do not mean any one of your ideas of God. I do not mean any name of God which anyone of you may give to God. As long as there are men there will be as many names for God as there are men. When I say "God," I do not mean the organized service of God. When I say "God," I mean God, just God, God himself, God, the Person back of all this universe. What that Person is like, I do not know. I have certain faiths about it, but that is my concern, not yours. Back of all this life is God, the Person. As you remember that in all your social work, remember that life is from the Person, and under the mastery of the Person, and accountable to the Person, then the Person, as we know it in ourselves and men, comes to have new significance and power, new sacredness and sanctity, calls forth from us a new reverence that we do not have if we think of life as an institution or a great collection of laws. The vision of God, and that you and I are sent from God to man to be His messengers and servants; that we are not acting of ourselves nor in our own strength, but only as men sent from God, in that way only may we see the wonder of personality and know the truth of brotherliness. Through the vision of God we can see, beyond and above the failures and discouragements, the worth of our service and of those we serve.

It is no easy task to believe in God and to see him in all this life. When a man really tries to see God, to see this life in the face of God, yet looks out upon the vastness of this universe, the multiplicity of its life, the universality of law, and looks, too, into the face of the ghastly and appalling evil that is in the world,

is honest enough to look into his own soul and see the depths of evil there—the conceit, the shame, the desires, the cowardices, the greeds, the cruelties there, only held in leash—and still believes in God, he has found the secret of all masteries. Seeing God, he dares to undertake the task of responsibility for a service that is other and greater than himself, and he finds in God a sustaining enthusiasm and power that can come in no other way. I bow in great reverence before those men and women who, out of the life that is in them, and without faith in God, go out and serve their fellow-men with enthusiasm and power day after day. They do it with a sacrifice to themselves that bids us, who believe in God, bow our heads in very shame at times. But I say to all of you, if you will somehow seek that vision of God and make it a vivid reality, a spiritual force, then you will find a reassurance in social work that will sustain you and send you out with a new power. Because God, being a person, and you and I being persons, and the moron, the criminal, the hopelessly insane, the delinquent, the weak, and the poor being also persons, we are all the children of God together. If we have this vision and this faith in serving them, our service is made worth while to us, and we are sustained in the face of seeming defeat and despair.

The second great antidote is another thing which might seem obsolete to social workers, one which social workers have rejected sometimes because it seemed to make useless or not worth while this social service. And that is immortality. I suppose the great majority of people are consciously agnostic about immortality today, that is, when an individual is up against the problem of immortality for himself. But by immortality, I do not mean something that is beyond, in the future, after death, a sort of disconnected place to which we will get some time by the grace of God. It is a deeper and more serious thing that I mean by immortality. There are two parts to it. One is the immortality a man believes in for himself; the other is the immortality of the race. Someone says, "Why work so hard over these problems, dealing with the morons and the rest of those defectives and delinquents? They are incurable." We are doing it because we want the next generation to be freer from these problems than we have been. We are for the immortality of the race with a patient faith which we cannot justify by reason. Why should I pay the price, with my own life, that my children shall have a little better place to live in? Because I am bound up in the bundle of life with the race, and I believe it is the will of God, the will of life, that this race shall go on to better things. Because we have inherited the goodly heritages of the present, from the past we shall be cowards if we do not try to make that immortality of the future a nobler kind of life than that of the present.

But I mean also a deeper immortality than that. Are these men and women and children we are serving just incidents in the immortality of the race, just vehicles for the carrying on of life from generation to generation, without significance in themselves or for us? There is no man or woman here who thinks that

of himself or herself. You do not think you are merely incidents. Your life, your opportunity, your privilege, is precious to yourself, and it is precious to you because that power and quality of immortality is inherent in every man and woman and child. The potential immortality that rests in everyone, the power and quality of immortality that belongs to all, is that which makes a man stand up on his feet and separate himself from the herd and look up to God, and conceive God, and imagine God. It is the immortality in him that enables him to do it. It is in every single human being—in the one born out of wedlock as in the one born within the shelter of home life—therefore shall they be counted the greater sinners who so dare to misuse the creative gift that God has given them. That potential power of immortality belongs to the poor little imbecile who, through no fault of his own, has been deprived of his powers of reasoning, but whose imbecility does not kill the spirit that gives the brain its final life. That potential immortality is in the habitual offender who has thrown away all vestige of control, who scorns truth and honor and decency, who is living most of his life under the brutality of the third degree or of the brutalized wardens that keep him in control. As we come to believe that, and to see men and women as having the power and quality of immortality, we shall not call them morons, and criminals, and delinquents, but shall call them by their names, John and Mary, and separate each one in his own consciousness, and know they are worthy of our service and of our respect. To be immortal is so stirring and awful a thing, so mysterious and extraordinary a thing, so significant in its meaning of the value of a person, that when we go out to serve with that faith we go in quite a different spirit, with a soberness and reverence and a power and patience that we never had before. When that power is in a person, though we may not be able, through ignorance or our limitations, to say to them that here and now they shall be saved to manhood, and to humanity, and to self-respect, yet we shall know that in immortality they may achieve the joy that has been denied them in this little first chance at life which they have now. Therefore we shall serve them with our best.

And so as you go back into this complex organization of modern life and resume the work you have been called to do, won't you take with you these two great antidotes: personality and immortality, and because of them go out to serve happily, thanking whatever God there be that he has given you a chance to be a man and to be the servant of your fellow-men.

THE MENACE OF RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE

Professor Charles A. Ellwood, University of Missouri, Columbia

It is very strange that the topic which I have been assigned is one of the most difficult to speak upon at the present time. It would not have been fifteen or twenty years ago. Then everybody would have taken it for granted, and

said, "Of course, racial and religious intolerance is a menace." It is symptomatic of our time and of the change in the public mind that we have this topic on our program. I do not mean to say that it is going to be difficult to speak to you on this topic. You who are social workers are pledged in advance to racial and religious tolerance. But it surely is a difficult matter when we confront the American public; and there is no graver symptom of the condition of our civilization than that it has become difficult to speak in favor of tolerance and good will in our American society. We almost have to rub our eyes to realize that this is so. Yet I shall give you evidence that it is so. Permi: me to add that there is no one to whom I would rather bring my message than this group of practical social workers; for if there is anyone who can help solve this problem, you can do it. Your program, as I understand it, is the resolving of conflict, whether it be economic, cultural, or racial, into cooperation for the welfare of all, with the ultimate aim of securing an adequate and normal life for all. In other words, your program is the building of a democratic and Christian civilization. While my calling is not in the line of practical social work, I believe social science and social work should go hand in hand. I have been identified with this body for twenty-five years, for at the beginning of my teaching I joined the National Conference of Charities and Correction, as it was then called, and attended my first meeting in Topeka in 1900. Through the twenty-five years that I have been teaching sociology at the University of Missouri I have always stressed the point that social theory is for the sake of social work, that theory is no good without practice; and my department has tried to turn out many practical social workers. Some of them, I am glad to see, are a part of this audience. So I feel myself one of you, and I am going to talk to you straight from the shoulder, face to face.

I think there is no profession doing so much to solve the social problem, the great problem of the relations of men one to another, as the profession of social workers. There should be no profession, unless it is that of the ministry, that is doing so much to solve that problem, and yet I find some things about social workers that at times distress me. Like other professional workers, they tend to become engrossed in the technique of the profession and in local affairs, and so fail to see all that is going on around them. They fail, in other words, to understand the world in which they live. But could there be anything more fatal to scientific social work than that the social worker should lack vision and fail to understand the world in which he is working? Of course, there may be some excuse. I think there is less of this among social workers than in any other profession I know of; but there ought not to be any of it at all. There is more ignorance of the world, I admit, in my profession of teaching; more ignorance in the ministry, and probably even among lawyers and journalists; still, least of all ought it to exist among social workers.

I find that many social workers do not know what sort of civilization has been growing up in this country since the war; particularly those of you who

come from the East do not seem to realize that in the rural regions of the South and West there is growing up a civilization which is essentially undemocratic and un-Christian, because it is intolerant. I know, of course, that intolerance is not confined to the South or the West. I shall return to that later, but it especially manifests itself there. There are two sorts of provincialism in this country. We who live in the West and the South speak of the provincialism of the East, because the East knows so little about what is going on in the rest of the country. In that respect the East is provincial. There is another sort of provincialism that is more threatening in the South and West, where vast masses are removed from the great currents of culture, because there are so many relatively isolated communities in those sections, and so you have another kind of provincialism which is even worse than the provincialism which you sometimes find east of Buffalo.

I believe that the first duty, then, of all of you is to clear your minds in regard to this matter. I am not trying to be sensational. I am going to give to you the sober and deliberate judgment which has come from my experience and study. I will have to emphasize, as my topic indicates, not the hopeful things, but those not so hopeful, and which we need to correct. Professor J. M. Mecklin, of Dartmouth, an eastern man born in the South, who has traveled all over the country to investigate the growth and meaning of the Klan movement and who has written the most scientific book about that movement, has said: "I think we must conclude that the American people are essentially an intolerant people." I hope that conclusion is not true. I believe that the wave of intolerance which we are now experiencing is a temporary, rather than a permanent, thing. War psychology has had a great deal to do with it; still I shall also show you that its roots lie deep in our national life, and that it existed long before the war, but that the events of the last few years have brought all these things to the surface.

Our forefathers realized that if they were going to build a social system in which there was to be an adequate life for all, a society that was fraternal, toleration would have to be written into our federal constitution. Those who pride themselves upon their Americanism but show intolerance are, it seems to me, forgetting that. Our forefathers understood that the first steps toward a cooperative society were toleration, understanding, and good will among the groups which make up the nation, and it seems incredible that any of us should have forgotten it. But it was not simply our national forefathers who understood this. The Protestant reformers understood it, too, and freedom of conscience was their first principle, with religious toleration. That is the very principle of Protestantism, and yet some Protestants seem to have forgotten that freedom of conscience is their fundamental principle, and so some Protestants occupy today the position which Roman Catholics occupied four hundred years ago. They are not willing to allow freedom of conscience even within their own denominations. I can say this, because all my ancestors have been militant

Protestants for three hundred years, and yet I have to be ashamed of some who call themselves Protestants today, because they have forgotten the fundamental principle of their faith. Not only that, but we have other bodies, vast bodies, that have committed themselves to the principle of tolerance, such as the Masonic bodies; but in spite of these traditions, we have found today that there has grown up in this land a vast secret organization claiming millions in its membership, whose open and professed platform is anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish, anti-Negro, and anti-foreign. And the members of this organization believe with all their might that they are serving the republic by fostering these attitudes. They are sincere and conscientious people—and that is the tragedy of it! I have great numbers of my own friends in this organization. Many of them come from these bodies that pledged themselves years ago to toleration. This organization claims that our American institutions can only be perpetuated and preserved by keeping down the influence of the Catholic element in our population, or of the Jewish element, or of the Negro, or of the foreigner. It seems to me that these people, of all people, have been most misguided—misguided, of course, by illusion, but also by ignorance. They certainly need our sympathy, our understanding, our appreciation; but there is no way of overcoming their intolerance, so far as I can see, by tolerating their intolerance. I know some social workers, particularly community organizers, who say they are going to organize and work with every force in the community. But how can the social worker, how can the community organizer, recognize a society like this whose platform is intolerance? You simply cannot do it and be consistent with your principles. You may have to take such an organization into account in all that you attempt to do, but you cannot work with it without surrendering all you yourselves have professed and stood for.

Not all of the intolerance in our country is within this organization. This organization is but a part of our intolerance. There has always been, in our country, a good deal of anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish, anti-Negro, and anti-foreign prejudice. All that this organization has done has been to organize it and to bring it to expression. But we have got to recognize that in itself it is but the expression of deep-lying tendencies which we have not outgrown in our national life, and which have been accentuated by the events of the last few years. We know that we cannot foster any forward movement in American society without meeting this intolerance. What has defeated thus far the twentieth amendment to the federal Constitution, for which, I hope, you are all standing? Nothing is involved in that amendment except the transfer of jurisdiction, as regards essential problems of child labor, from the state government to the federal government. There may be some important legal questions involved in that transfer, but there should not be any occasion for intolerance; yet I have found it as difficult to speak in favor of the child labor amendment before the average American audience as upon any subject I can mention. Do you know what has defeated the child labor amendment? The claim that it

was socialistic and bolshevistic! Those two words! The mental attitude of many of our people is such that we cannot talk with them about the matter at all and get a proper response.

After all, it is not within any secret organization that we find the intolerance of the country manifested, nor in opposition to attempts at reform legislation; but I am sorry to say that the most startling evidence of intolerance is in the religious realm and in the things related to religion. Before the war we were living in a fool's paradise. We thought religious bigotry was about to die. We thought democratic ideals established. We thought trust in science and education was universal. But the events of the last few years should certainly dispel all these illusions. Much is being made at the present time of the great trial in Tennessee. It perhaps will tend to obscure some other things that are happening in our country in this connection. Yet, of course, I wish to say that, in a sense, too much cannot be made of that trial of a teacher in Tennessee for teaching what he believes to be modern science. This is the first time in nearly two hundred years, in the English-speaking world, that a person has been put on trial on a criminal charge for teaching something contrary to the Bible. It may be that they will try us soon for teaching that the earth is round. Do you know that such a trial as that could not take place in any of the more enlightened European countries? Yet it is taking place in our country. I think we ought to bow our heads in humiliation that this terrible ignorance of science is placing our nation before the world as the least enlightened, in this regard, among the great nations. It ought to be a humiliation to every one of us. It concerns social workers. If science cannot be taught, if freedom in one respect cannot be preserved, it cannot be with reference to other things either. The things which people object to most are scientific conclusions regarding personal, social, moral, political, and economic matters. We are fighting one of the great battles of the ages, the battle between light and darkness, between ignorance and enlightenment, between science and tradition. You cannot afford to remain neutral in such a battle because the forces that are attacking us are those of ignorance. Ignorance is forbidding something to be taught in the public schools, and making it a crime. But let us go on to other evidence.

Of course, when we have such things we must expect others like this: here is a heading from a newspaper—"Books on Evolution Burned in Kansas." We are back in the Middle Ages, apparently. More than that, there is an inquisition being established for teachers in this country, particularly in the sections I have mentioned. I know, for example, of a case, where no charge was made that a certain teacher was teaching evolution, but the head of the school board said: "Miss Blank has never declared herself against evolution and I suspect she believes in evolution, and I do not think we ought to hire her for another year." Can you believe that happened in America? An inquisition, not by Roman Catholics, but by Protestants! We must confront facts like these. School teachers all over the country are being turned out because they are trying to be true

to their consciences, to the facts of science as they understand them, and to accepted scientific conclusions; and this is true not only of the common schools, but also of the colleges, particularly the denominational colleges, and it threatens to invade even state universities. Last year I had a graduate student investigate sixty-two southern denominational colleges. He found that social studies were free in only four or five. In every one of those colleges, beside the four or five, there were strings upon the teachers of social studies. They had to teach social, political, economic, and religious orthodoxy, or they would not be allowed to keep their jobs.

Why do I tell you these things? Because they are all illustrations of the public mind, illustrations of intolerance, and they touch, therefore, upon the whole question of intolerance. I have said that these things are particularly to be found in our South and West, but you all know there are plenty of antiques in the East, too: people who try to live in the light of yesterday, and say that what was good enough for their forefathers—what their fathers believed—is good enough for them. You know, however, we have the home of lost causes, in the South and West, and these lost causes are acting as a drag upon every forward movement. They are found, too, in the East; only the East is more in the main current of western civilization in general. But let us be frank, and say that, no matter whether it is East or West, North or South, ancestor worship is at the present time the great hindrance to progress in this country, as it is in China. By ancestor worship I mean saying that what was good enough for our fathers is good enough for us. Our fathers would be ashamed of us if they knew that we were saying such things. The law of life is progress, and the backward look does not help except as we try to learn the lessons of the past. Let us take whatever good the past has to give us, but let us take it just as we take anything else: to examine it, to find out whether it is good, and not simply traditionally and dogmatically.

There is no dogma of evolution. You know that the whole interpretation of life is worked over by scientific investigation continually, and science knows no dogmas. It knows only tentative conclusions, "working hypotheses." Religion and politics will be progressive only when they also say, "We, too, know only working hypotheses." The outlook, of course, is not one without hope; but it is my duty to tell you the consequences of this conservatism, this intolerance, this inability to see that the civilization we are trying to build must proceed with an open mind. I must tell you the consequences. You know them already. Suppose we go on in the frame of mind we have now, what is going to happen? It does not require any sociologist to tell you. Science is only the use of common sense. In the first place, if we try to live by the past and will not tolerate new ideas and the free discussion of those ideas—and the essence of intolerance is in the suppression of free expression of opinion—if we do that, we are bound to cease to progress. If you want a static society, you have only to put the ban upon the inventive individual whose ideas are different;

insist upon conformity, and all progress will be shut off. This has been the experience of history. The past shows that those nations that have been most tolerant have been most progressive. How can you get any progress at all when you have the closed mind? The indispensable thing for progress is the open mind, the mind willing to examine, to listen, to learn, and not only that, to cooperate. Our forefathers, therefore, knew a little social science when they wrote toleration into our Constitution. They knew that was the best way to bring people to agreement, to bring them to work together, to bring about progress. When you have intolerance in society along any line, people are going to be afraid to express their opinions, are going to be afraid to lead into new fields, going to be afraid to take up the great battle for truth and right, and so for progress. Smother the conscience of the individual, deny him free expression of opinion, and you put an end to all improvement in your social order. Intolerance, of course, sanctifies the social order, and says it was made once for all. Is that justifiable? Oh, no, we are learners—we always have been, and always will be—learners in the greatest undertaking this universe knows: the building of a righteous human world. We cannot afford, therefore, to say that we know it all, because we are all so ignorant. The scientific attitude of mind is open-mindedness, the love of truth, the search for truth, for facts, willingness to investigate and consider, fairness to opponents. That is the scientific attitude, and it is indispensable for progress.

There is something worse than this about intolerance, and you ought to know it. Intolerant people generally believe they are preserving the social order, that they are keeping things fixed and quiet when they put on this policy of "hush-hush," saying you may not talk about the wrongs of this class or that group. But what are they really doing? What happens in human society when people cannot settle their differences by talking them over, by having free and friendly discussion? It may not always happen, but it is likely to happen, that if they cannot settle them by discussion, they will fight over them. Intolerance breeds mutual suspicion, antagonism, aloofness, separateness, and separateness leads to misunderstanding, and the road is clear to conflict, to war, and to revolution. President Wilson expressed this when he said that "repression is the seed of revolution." How many people are we repressing in this country? Read the recent book of Professor Herbert A. Miller, of the Ohio State University, on *Races, Nations, and Classes*. He points out one class after another in this country that feel themselves at the present time repressed, or even suppressed. If repression is "the seed of revolution," then ponder carefully as you read that book. He says the Roman Catholic element in this country feels itself repressed; that the Negro has felt repression, more than almost any other people, at our hands; that many Jewish people in certain localities feel it; that many foreign nationalities feel it. What are we doing? Making enemies for American society and for American institutions. Those who believe in repression believe that in this way lies security. They are misguided. The Czar and his followers

believed that, and instituted repression against nationality and religion in Russia, against this and that element, and when one form of repression did not work, they tried another; they sent people to Siberia, they imprisoned them, and executed them. They did it all for the stability of Russian society—and now look at Russia. Did all their repressions and intolerance help? Will repression and intolerance help us any? Were not our forefathers right? Listen to them, and let us give the greatest amount of freedom of speech and of opinion consistent with courtesy, decency, and truth. Were they not right in thinking that, as the Englishman says, this free expression of opinion is a safety valve?

But we in America have not learned this lesson yet. We had an institution in the South which our forefathers believed should be abolished, and they talked freely about it when the Constitution was adopted, and for years thereafter; but after a time slavery became profitable, and they said: "It is a divine institution, and anybody who says it is not, is not of our faith," and so they kept the institution until a great revolutionary war swept it away in tears and blood, a war from which we have not yet recovered. When are we going to learn these lessons of history? Of course revolutions are not made by agitators. The agitators only voice the discontent that already exists. Revolutions are made by the foolish policy of trying to stop progress and trying to prevent the discussion of grievances and of needed reforms. The same thing happened in France in the eighteenth century that occurred in Russia in the twentieth. There the French nobility tried repression after repression; church and state united in intolerance, of all sorts. Louis XVI was told by Turgot that the only way to fight revolution was by suitable reforms, but he would not listen; and France went through a dreadful convulsion from which she has not yet recovered. It has been the pride of English-speaking peoples, from Magna Charta until now, that they have learned so well to settle their differences by free and open discussion, but this tradition now, in the United States, seems to be lost, at least in certain sections.

Every social worker should be a teacher and should teach above everything else that we should constantly be inquiring into social conditions, studying these, and constantly discussing them. You are the vanguard of progress. If revolution is to be avoided in this country, it must be through efforts such as yours. Such efforts cannot be made under cover, nor without the cooperation of all. Therefore you cannot afford to neglect even the lowest and meanest element of the community. You must ask justice for all and adequate life for all. Why do revolutions occur? Simply for one reason: that conditions become intolerable for some section of the population, and that happens because other sections do not know how that particular section is living. Our tongues were made to tell each other our needs, to indicate how we can mutually help each other, and to learn to cooperate. There cannot be revolution, therefore, in a society that is open-minded, that is plastic, that is forward-looking, that is tolerant in the biggest and best sense of the word. In such a society everybody

will be looking to see how they can help someone else, and nobody will have a grievance that may not be listened to. In such a society we would not bar foreigners, nor Negroes, nor Jews, nor Roman Catholics, nor any other element from participating in the best our communities offered. There are these repressed elements in the United States of America, and they feel the repression. Isn't it our duty to do what we can to relieve them of the sense of repression and to help them to come up to the full measure of American citizenship, to the full promise of American life? And let me tell you, that promise of American life seems greater to many of those people than it does to us. I have been abroad several times, and I know that people in other lands look to our flag as a flag of hope; and when they come here, they find it sometimes a flag of disappointment. Let us see that it is not that any more in the future. Let us show everyone in our national household the hospitality that belongs to them as members of our national household. Intolerance will destroy every value for which this nation has stood. We all know that the values of life, the most precious things of life, are in the good will that other men have toward us and in our good will toward other men, and intolerance destroys these.

What is the remedy? I have said the scientific attitude, but I think something more is needed. I would call it true liberal-mindedness. That is what the social workers of this country need in order to assure social advance. What is a synonym for true liberal-mindedness? Two words: the open mind and the out-reaching heart. You have got to teach your communities this remedy. You cannot keep quiet upon this most vital issue and be true to your ideals, to all that our nation has stood for and should stand for in the future. We are pursuing a course which is inviting shipwreck. We must stop it. We must tell our friends and neighbors to stop it. We must begin at home, with ourselves. Let us all deeply resolve that we will do all we can, without sacrificing truth and right, to unite, rather than to tear apart, humanity; that we ourselves will rise above all prejudice of class or creed or race, because we recognize all men as our brothers to whom we owe love and good will as unto ourselves; that in particular we will not allow any prejudice of race or color to injure our just and kindly and happy relations with our fellow-men, regardless of race or color; that we will not permit any differences of religion to separate ourselves from other good people, no matter what their religious beliefs may be; that we will not be religious bigots; that we will respect the honest beliefs of our fellows, whatever they may be; that we will finally try to seek out and to conserve the good in all men; that we will value men not because they belong to this group or that, but will value them as men, for what they are, and what they can do; and that therefore we will treat them all, regardless of class or creed or race, as ends in themselves, even as we consider ourselves ends; and that we will treat no one merely as a means to an end. Let us all so resolve with the help of God.

RESOLVED THAT THE PROPOSED TWENTIETH AMENDMENT
TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES
SHOULD BE RATIFIED

(DEBATE: AFFIRMATIVE SIDE)

Owen R. Lovejoy, Secretary, National Child Labor Committee, New York

We may somewhat simplify the discussion by attempting first to discover points of agreement. I assume my distinguished opponent will agree that there is no imminent danger of the ratification of the pending amendment. The hectic and worried discussion of this amendment during the Massachusetts campaign and during the entire winter legislative season, the abuse of the proponents, the appeal to American fear that our government is to become subject to Soviet Russia—all such irrelevant matters can now safely be laid aside. Only four states have thus far voted to ratify the amendment, twenty-two states have either refused to ratify or have rejected, and in addition, seven states have so acted in one house. Therefore, for the next two or four or six years, it will be possible for the people of the country to consider this question on its merits, and I venture to assume this will be the desire of Senator Thomas on the present occasion.

While we are naturally disappointed that this proposition has been so generally disapproved for the time being, we are sure of ultimate victory and we have no desire to quarrel with the American people. Laws should reflect public intelligence and the public will. So long as the people were made to believe that this amendment would nationalize all our children, that it would supersede all parental responsibility and control, that it would control wages, leisure, education, and that, if ratified, no girl under eighteen would be permitted to wash dishes and no boy under eighteen could crank up the family Ford, there was no point in trying to bring legislature to a sane discussion of it. So long as men of prominence think that if this amendment had been in existence in their boyhood they could never have attained their present position in life, it is impossible to get them even to give fair consideration to it. All this type of objection, even though it has swept multitudes into its wake, is too puerile to merit your time or mine tonight.

There are real points of difference which I assume will require our thought on this occasion. On this assumption I wish to support the principle that this amendment should be ratified by the states on two grounds: first, that a sovereign government should have the power to protect its own children. Second, that the pending amendment is properly drawn for the purpose of conferring upon the government such power.

There may be differences of opinion on the first proposition, but to my mind this is fundamental. From the standpoint of every consideration that could be discussed during this Conference of Social Work, from the standpoint of the protection of our country from dangers abroad and from disruption or

disintegration at home, from the standpoint of the development of education, health, and other agencies of social service, from the standpoint of the development of our national resources, and from the entire range of our economic and industrial interests it seems obvious that a government theoretically based on the integrity and intelligence of its citizenship should have the power to protect that citizenship in the development of those qualities.

This is precisely the kind of power the American government does not today possess. This is why the opponents of child labor have asked for an amendment to the federal Constitution. So far as protection of working children in America is concerned (unless they live in the District of Columbia or one of our territorial possessions), our government is as helpless to protect them as though they lived in Abyssinia or Madagascar.

After many years experimentation in the effort to secure adequate laws in the various states, after patient efforts to secure uniformity in state standards, the friends of working children believe themselves driven to invoke federal cooperation in combatting the evils of child labor. The history of those efforts is well known. Two federal child labor acts were passed—one under the power of the government to control interstate commerce, and the other under the power of the government to tax. Each in turn was declared invalid by the United States Supreme Court on the ground that Congress had transcended its power under the present limitations of our Constitution. We have accepted this verdict of the Supreme Court and have seen no alternative other than to follow the suggestion so pointedly made by the late President Wilson, the late President Harding, and President Coolidge: that if the working children of this country are now beyond the pale of protection, the constitutional limitations should be pushed out far enough to bring the children inside of it, instead of leaving them on the outside. The Supreme Court in its second decision, written by Mr. Chief Justice Taft, indeed seems to leave us no alternative.

In taking this position we claim the highest type of appreciation of the Constitution of the United States. Quotations from Jefferson, Hamilton, John Marshall, and other of the early patriots in attempts to show that the Constitution in its original form had uttered the last word in governmental legal philosophy leave us cold. Whenever time permits we are able to produce, in opposition to these quotations, others from the same sources and from multitudes of the early fathers, proving that they never believed they had spoken the last word. We refuse to regard the Constitution of the United States in the light in which the Fundamentalists are accused of regarding the scripture. We deny that those who wrote the Constitution intended that it should be worshiped as a beautiful crystal or a valuable piece of antique furniture to be kept in a glass case and never touched by American citizens.

As a matter of fact, we look on the Constitution as a living organism written and compiled by the wisest political philosophers of their day (or perhaps of any day in human history), but intended by them to be as applicable to the

needs and requirements of the people of 1925 as to the people of 1783. In fact, we so thoroughly believe in the inspired nature of this document so worshiped by those who resent any suggestion of change in it that we believe in the Fifth Article of the Constitution—the Fifth Article, by the way, being the one that provides that from time to time the Constitution may be amended, and further provides the precise machinery by which it may be amended and at the same time preserve the democratic initiative of the American people. And this amendment is an attempt to apply that principle.

The three principal grounds advanced for conferring upon the federal government any power to protect working children are: first, that there is great need for a national child labor law because many children are involved. Second, that, admitting this need, the movement against child labor has not sufficient vitality in the state to go on regardless of the possible defeat of the amendment. Third, that state school-attendance laws almost utterly fail to act as the equivalent of child labor law.

These are all questions of fact. Either there are a large number of children involved, or there are not. Either state laws are enough, or they are not. Either school attendance laws act as the equivalent of child labor laws, or they do not.

I want to give you some figures from the 1920 census regarding children in gainful occupations. They do not include children who work for their parents at home merely at general household work, on chores, or at odd times at other work, and they do not include children in agriculture.

In the two national child labor laws which Congress passed in 1916 and 1919 there was no mention of children on farms, and there is no expectation that when Congress gets the power it will reverse its position regarding agriculture. The need for a national child labor law is generally recognized to rest on the demands for cheap labor which commerce and industry have made, and are still making, upon childhood. According to the 1920 census there were a total of 1,648,286 in non-agricultural occupations. There are probably more children in need of protection today than these figures indicate. They were collected five years ago. A national child labor law was then in force. There is none today. They were collected as of January 1, 1920, a time of general industrial depression.

Therefore, when people say, there are only a few children involved, the answer is, There are over 1,600,000 children in need of some protection, including children from ten to fifteen years old, who are gainfully employed in non-agricultural occupations, and those sixteen and seventeen years old gainfully employed in mining, manufacturing, and mechanical establishments.

As to the vitality of state laws if the amendment is defeated, there are four considerations:

1. Since the last national child labor law was declared unconstitutional, no states have brought their child labor laws up to the federal standards of

1917 and 1922. Although there have been some improvements, the majority of these took place while the national child labor laws were in force. The stimulating effects of federal cooperation were obvious to everyone and were especially appreciated by state factory inspectors and labor commissioners, as testified in the resolution unanimously passed at the Chicago convention of their national association. The real effectiveness of the movement seems, however, to depend largely upon the possibility of congressional control in the offing.

2. With the continuation of the customary industrial expansion of the country and of the present immigration restrictions, there is likelihood of a labor shortage. This is made more sure because, in addition to the new fact of immigration restriction, many states are just beginning to become industrial, and are calling on their people for more factory and mill labor. What is more natural than an attempt to replace the cheap foreign labor in hazardous occupations with children, to lengthen their hours, to seek production at a disregard of safety of human life?

3. The tendency of American industry toward standardization is making the wide employment of children seem more and more possible. The machine is being made to do more and more what the draftsman used to do. In the factories the job is being broken up into simple bits to obtain mass production. This not only results in relatively easy shifting of adult labor from one job to another; it offers manufacturers increasing opportunities to replace adults with children. If the manufacturers in one state are allowed to do so without restriction, the manufacturers in the same line of business in other states will either suffer from the competition or attempt to lower their own state laws to be able to follow that example.

4. Those states where the manufacturing interests are in control, and which are interested in blocking a national child labor law, are not likely to raise their standards very considerably if this amendment is defeated. They will take it as a vindication of the view that the children of the nation are only the concern of the state in which they happen to be born. Therefore, when people say, "There is nothing to worry about; the states will all improve conditions sufficiently without a national standard," the answer is, In so far as they have done so, it was largely under the stimulus of a national standard. The changing industrial situation makes it more and more unlikely that they will all continue to do so.

As to our third ground for urging this power: do state school-attendance laws act as the equivalent of child labor laws? If they did, there would no longer be any need for worry about the children under fourteen, for all states nominally insist in their school laws upon attendance up to that age. But school laws do not protect all children under fourteen in any occupation, nor do they protect children over fourteen engaged in hazardous or dangerous occupations. All school laws have exemptions, largely on grounds of poverty, many of them seriously crippling the effect of the compulsory provision. So far short do school

attendance laws come from keeping children in school that, according to the National Educational Association, there are 3,000,000 (or one out of five) between seven and fourteen, not regularly attending any school. Nor do school laws cover over-long hours, night work, physical fitness for a particular occupation, nor the possibility of moral hazard or industrial disease and accident. Every state in the Union has found that more than school laws were necessary to protect the children.

Our second fundamental proposition is that the pending amendment is properly drawn. Obviously we have not time to discuss this amendment in detail and we readily acknowledge our disadvantage in debating a purely legal question with one of our nation's most outstanding legal authorities, but the two or three points on which we particularly defend this amendment are the following: (1) That it confers a power broad enough to enable the federal government to protect the children who need it. They may be protected to eighteen years of age. Is that age limit too high?

Those who make this objection reveal a vast ignorance of the proposition itself. There is no age limit, properly speaking. This proposed amendment is not a statute; it is a grant of power. If the state of Colorado were without power to pass legislation protecting its children, and a proposal were before the people to confer such power by constitutional amendment, and the amendment were drawn in the form in which this amendment stands, I have no doubt multitudes of people in Colorado would say, "That amendment is too extreme, too drastic, the age limit is too high." As a matter of fact, the state of Colorado already possesses far more power than would be conferred by the adoption of such an amendment. So does every other state. Every state in this Union has the power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons, not only up to eighteen years of age, but up to 110 if they live long enough. The proposition before us, therefore, has the intention, as compared with existing state powers, of conferring upon the federal government the same kind of power the states now possess, with the striking difference that where the power of the state extends over the entire span of human life, the power of the federal government is definitely cut off at eighteen years. It is a definite restriction upon our federal power, therefore, rather than a mandate to use it.

But we are asked if it is not our desire that the government should prohibit all child labor under eighteen years of age, why give the government power to do so? This can best be answered by sketching the kind of child labor law I believe my distinguished opponent and all his associates would gladly accept as reasonable: (a) A law to prohibit the employment of children under fourteen years of age in all manufacturing, commercial, and mechanical pursuits, in tenement home work, in canneries, and in those types of agriculture which are carried on to the obvious injury of the children compelled to work in them. (b) To limit the hours of labor for children under sixteen in those occupations to an eight-hour day, six-day week, and no night work. (c) To regulate the employ-

ment of children under eighteen so as to exclude them from occupations obviously dangerous to life, limb, or health.

This is our position. We have waited through all these months of heated controversy for our opponents to tell us where they stand. What kind of a child labor law will they stand for? How much protection do they want American children to have? I trust Senator Thomas will favor us by explaining at what point, if any, he would consider such regulation of child labor extreme or drastic. But he may say, "So far as our state is concerned, it does protect them." Yes, but not all states do. If such protection is good for the children of your state, is it not good for the children of all states? How far have we gone in the latter respect? Seven states permit children to go to work at fourteen without evidence of ability to read; 18 states do not make physical fitness for work a condition of employment; 12 states allow children of fourteen to work eight to eleven hours a day, and one has no limit whatever to the day's work; 25 states allow children of fourteen to run elevators; 19 states have no laws prohibiting children of fourteen from working on dangerous machinery; 36 states allow children of sixteen to oil, wipe, or clean machinery in motion; 37 states allow children at 14 to work on scaffolding; 30 states have no laws prohibiting children of fourteen from working around explosives.

Furthermore, if power were given to protect children only up to sixteen, there is no question that the states which protect their children up to eighteen would be urged to trim their laws down to sixteen. And those who are fighting this amendment would be the first to urge such a step—on the ground that federal government did not approve of protection beyond sixteen. But ought this power to be limited in scope so the government could not interfere with farm labor?

It is claimed that this amendment would give the government power to forbid the employment of children under eighteen years on American home farms. If this is a matter to frighten the American people, then we ought all to be frightened anyway, because as a matter of fact each one of us now lives in a state in which the power exists to do the very thing we have been accused of trying to get the government to do. But does anyone believe that the state of Colorado or any state is going to pass a law forbidding children under sixteen from doing any chores on the home farm? Are your people threatening to move from your state because they fear at any moment your legislature will impose this ridiculous restriction upon them? The position taken by our opponents at this point is utterly preposterous, and the servants of the southern cotton mills, who have exploited this idea through their fake organization, the Farmers' State's Rights League, know it is preposterous. But they have also discovered that the easiest kind of propaganda to broadcast in America is that which presents to the public a proposition so utterly devoid of credibility that they automatically believe it. They have been shrewd enough to appeal to the farmer on the ground of a

right he has held from the dawn of agriculture, namely the right to work his own children as early and as long as he wishes.

Our third defense of this amendment is in its use of the word "labor." We are accused of having shrewdly slipped in the word "labor" instead of the word "employment." While that accusation sounds good, it isn't quite level. We haven't slipped it in unless every progressive state in the Union can be accused of having slipped in something in their own law, because every progressive state child labor law provides protection for children far overreaching the limitations of the word "employment." In most states the law provides that children shall not be "employed, permitted or suffered to work." Those of you who are familiar with the methods of American industry and industrialized agriculture are well aware that multitudes of children work under conditions that menace their health and education while they are not employed. The children who work in New York City tenements after school and often to midnight are not "employed"; they only help mother. But they work. The children in the fruit and vegetable canneries, the Gulf Coast and southern Atlantic sea-food canneries, are not employed, they only get up at two or three or four o'clock in the morning, when the whistle blows, informing the little village that the oyster or shrimp boats are in, and they go down to the canning sheds and work until the job is done for the day. When their little pails are full they pass them in and get a metal check. At the end of the day the mother collects her pay for all the checks of the family. So far as the manufacturer is concerned officially, these children do not exist, but we have never been able to see that it was any easier for them to "labor" under these conditions then it would be if they were "employed." In fact, this amendment would not be worth fighting for if it limited the power of the government to regulation of formal employment.

Our fourth defense, which refers to our first proposition rather than to the second, is that any federal legislation in this field can be administered without appreciable expense to the people. It will not build up a vast government bureau costing the people of the country hundreds of millions to maintain. Curiously enough, the objection at this point is advanced by those who are chiefly responsible for the existence of the thirty or forty federal bureaus already established.

We are not aware that they have a grudge against the bureaus for which they are responsible: neither the farmers' organizations in the country against the bureaus in the Department of Agriculture, nor the National Manufacturers' Association against the bureaus in the Department of Commerce, and, in fact, every department of the federal government. The form of this objection at present is an attempted comparison with the government service established to enforce the Volstead act under the Eighteenth Amendment. Our friends say to us, "See the millions of dollars spent, and the hundred thousand agents required to invade everyone's home to support this national prohibition law." This is a false alarm. The first federal law, passed in 1916, required seventeen

field agents to enforce it, and cost \$111,000. There is no analogy between the two. The Volstead Act has to do with what multitudes of people regard as the control of their personal habits. Also, it involves an interest in which huge fortunes are invested. Whenever personal habits of huge fortunes are interfered with by law, that law will naturally be expensive and difficult of enforcement.

Would a national child labor law have to buck similarly powerful social forces? During the thirty-five months' existence of our two national child labor laws there was no widespread or vociferous indignation against them, no scandal in their enforcement, no corruption in their administration. There were no parades of children insisting upon their freedom of contract, nor of families reclaiming their children from an "imperialist" government. No armored motor cars were used to pursue child labor "bootleggers," and a child labor three-mile limit was never drawn around our coast to protect us from an exploiter's invasion. In fact, one looks in vain for any analogy between the two problems, unless the employers of child labor wish us to believe that they want to violate child labor laws. We refuse to believe it. A national child labor law might, therefore, expect a much different history from that of the administration of the Volstead Act.

And finally, we claim that this amendment would not give the government power to dictate the kind and amount of education of every child. The amendment does not, in fact, confer on the government any power over education. That function is reserved to the states, and could not be exercised by congress without a specific grant of that power. Every constitutional lawyer knows this, whatever his interests may induce him to argue.

We believe, from twenty years' experience, that if this amendment is not ratified generations of children in many parts of our country will have to grow up without the protection you want for the children of your own state. This is why we urge its ratification. We believe our government ought to have power to protect its children, and we believe our government is worthy to be intrusted with such power.

RESOLVED THAT THE PROPOSED TWENTIETH AMENDMENT
TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES
SHOULD BE RATIFIED

(DEBATE: NEGATIVE SIDE)

Hon. Charles S. Thomas, Denver

At the outset, let me warn you that it is not possible for anyone fully to present the objections to this proposed amendment in the short space of an hour. Half a day would barely suffice. I can therefore only touch what might be called the high points which convince me that this proposed amendment, miscalled a child labor amendment, is fraught with all the consequences, actual

and potential, which the distinguished speaker who preceded me says has affected the minds of some people who are opposing it. I may be mistaken. I do not pretend to be infallible—perhaps I am—nevertheless, I can cordially agree with the first proposition of the speaker, that the amendment is in no danger of immediate ratification, and I hope he will agree with me when I assert that the danger isn't even remote. The people have pronounced their opinion of it, and once his attention has been seriously given to it, every man of reflection realizes that popular opinion does not consist in what people say, but in what they do.

You will notice that the champion of this resolution was discreetly silent regarding the verdict of Massachusetts. Just before the last election, the legislature of that state submitted this proposition to the electorate of the most intelligent commonwealth in the Union, if we are to believe the confident assurances of the inhabitants of that commonwealth. The electorate of Massachusetts, after patiently listening to both sides, by a vote of three to one, consigned this amendment to the "demnition bow wows," where it properly belongs. The opposition carried every county, every judicial district, every congressional district, every legislative district, and every city in the state; since which time the complacent members of the Congress which voted to recommend it for ratification under the crack of the whip, the threats and entreaties of lobbyists and of classes, of groups, and of expectant bureaucrats, are now trying to explain to their constituents that they didn't know it was loaded. Of course, the movement still exhibits signs of life, just as did the beheaded terrapin whom an old Swede encountered one day. To an approaching stranger he said, "Look at that; his head is gone, and he is still alive. What does it mean?" And the stranger said, "Oh, the darn thing is dead, but it doesn't know it."

But my time is flying, so let me mention some of what I have called the high points of this discussion. At the outset, Mr. Lovejoy said that a sovereign nation or a sovereign government should be endowed with power to protect its own citizens. Certainly. We have forty-eight sovereign powers in this country, and each of them has the sovereign right to legislate as it sees fit upon this subject. The federal government never was sovereign, never was designed to be, and ought not to be sovereign, except as to those subjects which were specifically delegated to it for the common good. It is a government of limited powers, and the powers which were reserved to the states by the especial declaration of the tenth amendment include those which Mr. Lovejoy's amendment would transfer from them to the central authority. To do this, however, is radically and fundamentally to change both its character and purposes by reducing the states to the status of provinces, chiefly distinguishable from the general government and from each other by geographical boundaries.

What was the occasion of the formation of the general government? And what the pressing need for it? It was the chaotic condition of Colonial affairs. These colonies had just acquired their independence, and conditions material,

political, and social were in hopeless conflict, threatening civil war. They had frequently flamed into rebellion, while commercial rivalries and resentments threatened the disintegration of the social fabric. A central government was absolutely essential to the general welfare, but its creation was a most formidable task whose performance was possible only by confining its prerogatives rigidly to national affairs—affairs affecting the people as a whole, as distinguished from those concerning the inhabitants and citizens of the different localities. The effort succeeded after many months of patient and seemingly hopeless effort, and the experiment triumphed only because it was founded upon the bed rock of local self-government.

Let me call your attention to some words of wisdom upon this subject which fell, less than two weeks ago, from the lips of the President of the United States. On Decoration Day, at Arlington, surrounded by the monuments of the dead, upon an occasion dedicated to the memory of those who died that the nation might live, he used this language:

Our country was conceived in the theory of local self-government. It has been dedicated by long practice to that wise and beneficent policy. It is the foundation principle of our system of liberty. It makes the largest promise to the freedom and development of the individual. Its preservation is worth all the efforts and all the sacrifices that it may cost.

It cannot be denied that the present tendency is not in harmony with this spirit. The individual, instead of working out his own salvation and securing his own freedom by establishing his own economic and moral independence by his own industry and his own self-mastery, tends to throw himself on some vague influence which he denominates society, and to hold that in some way responsible for the sufficiency of his support and the morality of his actions. The local political units likewise look to the states, the states look to the nation, and nations are beginning to look to some vague organization, some nebulous concourse of humanity, to pay their bills and tell them what to do. This is not local self-government. It is not American. It is not the method which has made this country what it is. We cannot maintain the western standard of civilization on that theory. If it is supported at all, it will have to be supported on the principle of individual responsibility. If that principle be maintained, the result which I believe America wishes to see produced inevitably will follow.

There is no other foundation on which freedom has ever found a permanent abiding place. We shall have to make our decision, whether we wish to maintain our present institutions, or whether we wish to exchange them for something else. If we permit some one to come to support us, we cannot prevent some one coming to govern us. If we are too weak to take charge of our own morality, we shall not be strong enough to take charge of our own liberty. If we cannot govern ourselves, if we cannot observe the law, nothing remains but to have someone else govern us, to have the law enforced against us, and to step down from the honorable abiding place of freedom to the ignominious abode of servitude.

The President concludes:

We have demonstrated in the time of war that under the Constitution we possess an indestructible union. We must not fail to demonstrate in the time of peace that we are likewise determined to possess and maintain indestructible states.

That is not the language of a state-rights Democrat, nor the fervid utterance of a public official appealing through the *Congressional Record* to his constituency upon a theme congenial to them. It is the formula of our scheme of government, voiced by its official head in warning against our sinister drift from its eternal

verities, and outlining the inevitable consequences of the absorption of the state by the national authorities.

I used to be a Democrat when I knew what democracy was, and if this message of Mr. Coolidge is not democracy, then I am in my dotage. It is sound doctrine for any party, a doctrine to which we must adhere if this nation shall continue for the future that majestic course which it has pursued since its foundation.

My friend has demonstrated the truth of the Shakesperian epigram that:

In law what plea though tainted and corrupt,
But seasoned with a gracious voice, obscures the show of evil.

The candid advocates of this measure do not speak of it as he does. They tell us that its purpose is to nationalize our children. Victor Berger says so. A lady who enjoys the very suggestive, and perhaps very appropriate, name of Mrs. Helbent so declares. In the common parlance of the rank and file, it is the evident purpose, and must be the logical consequence, of this amendment, when it shall reach the stage of vigorous administration, to place under the domination of a federal bureau some 35,000,000 citizens of the United States under the age of eighteen years. This will not come at once, of course—revolutions of this sort never do. But the measure is an instance of what is called boring from within. Once it is ratified, the work will begin, and once begun, it will continue. Never in all the history of humankind has absolute power been conferred upon men or seized by monarchs but that sooner or later it has been exercised. I defy the gentleman to cite a single instance in history where unlimited authority has been wielded within the limits of justice and moderation. When our Constitution was finally framed, it was replete with checks and balances. Many objected to these because they were surplusage. "We are a liberty-loving and sensible people," they said. "We will not abuse power because it is unlimited. The restraints of public opinion and the lessons of the past will be at all times effective." "But," Mr. Madison said, "let us, in addition to those already agreed upon, enact, a bill of rights by appropriate amendments. Unrestricted power is always dangerous." His adversaries, who objected that a government of delegated powers needed no declaration of rights, were reminded that the original declaration of the English people encountered similar opposition. Madison carried the day. Since the Constitution has been in operation crises have arisen when, but for the safeguards of the great bill of rights embodied in the first ten amendments, the liberty of the citizens and the rights of the individual, both to person and to property, would have been jeopardized, if not destroyed. Time has thus vindicated the foresight of these far-seeing statesmen.

And, in this connection, let me emphasize the fact that the child labor amendment, if ratified, being later in date than the first ten amendments, will be superior to them, and the rights guaranteed thereby will be subject, if not

subordinate, to any legislation which Congress may enact to make this proposed amendment effective.

My friend says that all that is asked by this amendment is to endow the sovereign nation with the same powers that the states possess, and I was much surprised when he added that every state in the Union had the power wholly to prohibit the labor of persons under the age of eighteen. Never too old to learn. I deliberately affirm that no state in the Union has such power, and cannot have, without material changes in their constitutions. What? Our legislature, meeting here at the end of this street, can enact laws prohibiting all persons under age from engaging in any employment whatever? It is preposterous. Yet this is the sort of argument with which the amendment is advocated. No legislature of any constitutional government upon this continent possesses, or should possess, that power. Yet it is deliberately proposed to delegate it to the federal government.

Let me forecast some results of this measure should it receive your approval. I do not wish to appear sensational, not even in the opinion of my opponent, yet he said something about the child labor act which the Supreme Court very properly set aside. He reminded you that under its operation nothing revolutionary occurred. Certainly not. These gentlemen were very cautious. They had good reason to anticipate the probable decision of that court, and before going to extremes, they ceased gazing at the rainbows and looked down upon their feet for awhile. Hence they became temporarily prudent, and trod the path of moderation. What they did then affords no measure for what they would attempt to do once the Supreme Court can no longer pass upon the validity of child labor legislation.

In the decision invalidating the act, that court, speaking through Mr. Justice Day, said:

The far-reaching result of upholding the Act cannot be more plainly indicated than by pointing out that if Congress can regulate matters intrusted to local authorities by prohibition of employment of individuals in interstate commerce, all freedom of commerce will be at an end, and the power of the states over local matters will be eliminated, and thus our system of government will be practically destroyed.

This is not the frenzied declamation of some excited opponent of this amendment. Am I therefore unreasonable when I affirm that in view of this judicial decision, which warns us that such statutes, administered according to their terms, will result in the destruction of our system of government; that this amendment, whose operation can be limited neither by presidents nor judges, would inevitably produce the same results? The mere fact that it is an amendment, instead of a statute, only emphasizes the certainty of the consequences of its due administration.

Legislation and authority both grow by what they feed upon, and a swelling army of applicants desiring to aid in the administration of the law sooner or later gathers as employees of the government for that purpose. It is my deliber-

ate conviction that this amendment is the child of propaganda inspired by socialism and fostered by bureaucracy; that it is proposed to do here what is being done in Russia.

Loyola said, "Give me the custody or control of the child until he reaches puberty and you may have him for the remainder of his life." The Soviet government paraphrases this wise reflection when it announces that, "If we nationalize the child, the next generation will insure the cause of bolshevism." Don't think for an instant that bolshevism is quiescent anywhere. It is active throughout the world. It works sometimes directly, sometimes insidiously, but it is always active.

Every association inimical to the government, or some feature of it, or to the prevailing social system, every movement committed to a change of, or revolution in, our political and industrial conditions, is behind and actively supporting this amendment. Its inspiration is not love or sympathy for children, but the potentialities which the administration of the measure may unfold for revolution, both social and actual. The American Federation of Labor is, as a matter of course, its champion, but its purpose is wholly selfish and economic. It proceeds upon the theory that whatever limits the volume of labor will enhance its value. In other words, that by decreasing the supply you increase the demand; wages rise, and the workman prospers accordingly.

But there are others. We have been going through a process during the last thirty or forty years of what, for the want of a better term, I might call uplift, promoted by a large class of people in the world who expect to go to Heaven by repenting of other people's sins. They propose to make you and me good by legislation; they propose to regulate us from the ground up, beginning with the cradle and ending after dissection. There is not an activity within the realms of imagination which is not, or is not designated to be, regulated by law. In the process of righteousness by statute, bureaus are created in order to enforce the law; these prescribe our apparel, when to put it on, when to take it off, what to eat, what to do, what to think, what to teach our offspring—in fact, our lives are regulated from one end to the other. We have so many laws that we have become the most lawless people on earth.

I might refer to the incident of an inmate of an asylum pointed out to a visitor. The attendant said, "That is the worst case we have here; he is a hopeless lunatic, and besides, he has St. Vitus' dance." The visitor said, "What is the matter with him?" The attendant replied, "Oh, for a week he tried to observe all the laws." These chronic reformers support the amendment by instinct.

Now let me refer to the phraseology of this amendment for a moment. You have heard it read. It states that Congress shall have power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age—no child mentioned. Perhaps there are some married women present who are not eighteen years of age. Are they children? Are boys and girls eighteen years of age

children? Yet they call this a child labor amendment. Congress shall have power to limit, shall have power to regulate, it shall have power to prohibit the labor of all persons under eighteen years of age. Do you tell me this does not carry with it the authority absolutely to prohibit all forms of industry to the prescribed class, "employment" or "labor"—call it what you please; golf, if you want to—by a central government located on the coast. It is our government, yes, but exercising its jurisdiction and administering its laws over a continent-covering republic by a bureau one million strong.

My friend says that there is no analogy between the Volstead Act and this. Yet when I was in the Senate discussing that act, we were assured by the hundreds of associations then lobbying for it, and now lobbying for this, that it did not mean absolute prohibition; that its administration wouldn't cost much; that its enforcement was easy; all Uncle Sam would do would be to turn off the spigot and the public would do the rest, and that the states would still retain their jurisdiction concurrently with that of the federal government—they would trot in harness. Cost! Why, it has cost us thirty millions, or about that, for the current year, and I presume that next year the entire navy will be enlisted for the suppression of the traffic. You know, I know, and everyone knows that this country is prohibition by law, and anti-prohibition in fact. Why deny it? It has cost us millions; we have an enormously increasing bureau, and its only result has been to make the nation safe for hypocrisy. Personally, I believe in prohibition, and I want to see it enforced, but I am not shutting my eyes to the unwelcome fact that it cannot be done. The only effectual solution of the problem is an aroused public opinion that is militant to prohibition; and you will never make men good by legislation, try all you please. It is a ghastly failure of the centuries.

The amendment continues: "The power of the several states is unimpaired by this article, except that the operation of the state laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by Congress." That reminds me of Henry Ford, who says if you buy one of his cars, you can have any color you want provided you choose black. Of course, the general power of the states is unimpaired except where it comes in conflict with congressional legislation. It is not necessary so to declare. That is the fact. It has been so decided many times by the Supreme Court of the United States. That phrase is simply molasses to catch flies. Once this amendment is passed, the power of the state, the power of the parent, and of the local public over the person or the up-bringing of the child is transferred bodily to the national authority.

How will you enforce it? My friend says it is not a law—it is merely an enabling act. That is true in a sense only: it will require legislation for its enforcement. But unfortunately the Constitution, and the laws passed thereunder, and treaties made pursuant to the authority of the United States are by the organic act made the supreme law of the land. The amendment, when ratified, is law, supreme law, organic law, changeable only by another amend-

ment to be recommended and ratified precisely as this must be, if it shall become effectual.

What is the need for it? I have heard some pitiful stories about children being forced to work by day and by night; that they need the powerful protection of the government against their cruel parents and more cruel employers. We are told, by insinuation at least, that the states either pass no laws, or fail to enforce them when they do. Upon the theory that all of the people are better than any part of the people, it is suggested that for the safeguarding of these poor children from a cruel and impending fate the government of the United States put the states out of the child labor industry and assume it as a national function.

My friend told you of 1,600,000 children who, according to census returns, were at work. They say that statistics won't lie. I don't know whether they will or not. There used to be an old saying that figures won't lie, but liars will figure. I intend no reflection upon Mr. Lovejoy. I merely say that if I read the census of the United States rightly, all children engaged in gainful occupations under the age of fourteen—ten to fourteen—in 1920 numbered 378,000, of which 328,958 are in agriculture. Now, I think those statistics are appalling. I think those mentioned by Mr. Lovejoy are appalling. They are appalling to me because they disclose that out of some thirty millions of children within these ages in this country, only one and a half millions of them, at the outside, are at work. What are the rest of them doing? The real problem in America is not child labor, but child idleness. You cannot convince me that it hurts a child, either physically or morally, to make him work. I believe in the American father and mother. Where one child, in my experience, has been injured from work, ten thousand children have gone to the devil because of the lack of occupation. I have no doubt that Mr. Lovejoy himself was required to work by his father when he was a boy. Possibly he didn't. If so, it may explain his conduct in going around the country trying to secure sloth and idleness for all the children of the coming generation. He cannot name a man in the United States now distinguished—politician, preacher, manufacturer, or leader of industry—who did not work, and work hard, when he was a boy. I read a brief account of the life of Herbert Hoover only this morning. Orphaned at six, he went to work in a truck garden, and then as an office boy. Where is he now? Andrew Carnegie became the partial support of his mother at the age of six. He worked all his life. Abraham Lincoln was twenty-one years old before he could read or write—doomed to the hardest kind of physical labor from the time he was able to walk. I might spend the entire evening citing instances of distinguished men and women in this country whose characters were formed during those impressionable years when work should be a part and portion of every child's heritage. Do you tell me that if a child is prevented from working until he is eighteen, which will be the inevitable consequence of the adoption of this amendment, sooner or later, that he will be worth a "cuss" when he reaches his majority?

If the law teaches him that it is wrong to work until he is eighteen, and is enforced accordingly, he will believe that it is wrong to work, on general principles, thereafter. I do not care what the humane purpose behind this measure may be; I cannot conceive of a greater curse, a greater wrong, that can be inflicted upon the children of this country than to place them in charge of the tender mercies of a Washington bureau which shall limit, regulate, or prohibit their labor until they are eighteen years of age. It is the most fundamentally monstrous proposition that, to my mind, has ever been seriously considered as a policy or as an essential feature of the organic law of the nation.

How will you enforce it? By a bureau. That is the only way. That is the way we enforce all the modern legislation. Bureaus are bureaus. Do you know that we have 597,000 federal bureaucrats, and that we pay them \$1,600,000,000 in salaries every year? If I were doomed to pay Brother Lovejoy \$1,600,000,000 at the rate of \$500,000 a year, he would live 3,200 years before I could discharge the obligation and he give me a receipt. When you add all the state and city bureaucrats to those mentioned, you have 3,400,000 to whom we pay \$3,750,000,000 a year. Their mission is to care for us, teach us to behave ourselves, make us happy and healthy and wise, to spend our money, and obtain increases in salary whenever they are pleased to demand it. And if this measure is ratified and properly enforced by legislation, the child labor bureau will require as many employees and subordinates as all the existing bureaus combined, if it is to accomplish its mission. There will be at least one bureaucrat for every family. Mothers will take down their old emblems, "God bless our home," and replace them with "God bless the Washington bureaucrat." They will intrude into all the relations between parent and child, and in time convert the child himself into an informer against his parents, for the child will not work when ordered not to. Moreover, the bureau, to protect his labor, must regulate his leisure as well, since otherwise he might be made to work under the pretense of being made to play.

What is work, and what is leisure? When I see golf players out in the hot sun, walking and toiling and clubbing, it looks perilously like work to me. Tom Sawyer was punished by his aunt for some misbehaviors by requiring him to paint her fence. He obeyed sullenly, and then rose to the occasion. His unusual activity intrigued his schoolmates, who gathered around him accordingly. He soon convinced them that the job was one of recreation, and when they clamored for participation, he sold them the privilege of assisting him for marbles, frogs, wart cures, and other juvenile collections. He stripped them clean and made them work, but they didn't know it. Had Mr. Lovejoy happened along about that time, he doubtless would have taken Tom by an ear and his aunt by another and hauled them before a bureau magnate, and his charge against the unfortunate old lady would have been a violation of the child labor law, and for poor Tom a plea for protection.

What are the sterling virtues in life, without which men and women are

failures? Integrity, love of labor, thrift, and a desire for gain. Are these the offspring of idleness, either enforced or voluntary? What is the basic foundation of American citizenship and American institutions? Is it not individual character? Whence comes it but from the hard knocks and rugged experiences of everyday life?

Our country has lived and flourished for more than a century. During this time children have been required to work as well as to attend school. Has the fiber of American manhood and womanhood been weakened or corrupted by the prevalence of these conditions in my state or in yours? Is not the real menace to our national future to be found in these constant aggressions of the federal upon the state authority, and in the assumption that legislation is the only potent remedy for all our social and political evils? Are not our reforms generally based upon impulse and emotion instead of reflection? We are prone to assume that everything we condemn must be wrong, and that it must be at once corrected by statute, and then we can best serve our government and our country by acting as its agents in the enforcement of the law.

Overlegislation dulls the spirit of independence, destroys that self-reliance without which self-respect languishes, dies. We have come to consider the government of the United States as some great fraternal institution endowed with untold billions of wealth, constantly expanding with the flight of time; that it is indebted to the people, and that Congress is the agency for the disbursement of its unlimited treasures.

Such was not the spirit of the pioneers who braved the hazards of the plains and the perils of the savage to occupy the domain which was settled by them in this outpost of civilization more than fifty years ago. They asked no largess from the government, no safeguards for their future or for their protection. They took their chances with nature and her wild, savage populations. They were inured to labor and hardship from childhood. Their rugged independence was born of the need for struggle with the adversities of life. Such was the stuff of which our forebears were made.

My friend asserts the necessity of clothing Congress with the power to protect all of its citizens. I urge the need of the citizens to protect the government. The government is theirs, and they created it that they might enjoy the security of life and property while living their own lives in their own way.

Mr. Goshen, once chancellor of the exchequer of England, truly said: "If we may draw one inference from the teachings of history, it is that the confidence of the individual in himself and the respect of the state for natural liberty lie at the foundation of the greatness of peoples, the happiness of communities, and the wealth of nations." We shall weaken the fiber and destroy the self-reliance of the American child only at the peril of our immediate future.

The problem confronting this country, as I have said, is not one of labor—it is that of indolence. What are its manifestations? An outstanding one is the effort now universally prevalent to discover some substitute for labor. Another

is the prevalence and growth of crime, which runs riot and with impunity. Murder has become a fine art. Our harvest of homicide is double that of Italy in her palmiest day of banditry. Burglary and bootlegging are recognized professions, and Uncle Sam collects his income tax from the magnates who follow them. Men are daily robbed in the highways and byways; social vices never flouted virtue as they do now. The facts are of the gravest importance, but their most serious feature is that the larger percentage of the modern criminals comprises boys and girls ranging from fifteen to twenty-five.

For this awful condition there must be a widespread underlying cause or causes. Do you think, if our children were required to spend some part of their time at honest labor, that this carnival of crime would have arisen? Do you think, if they had less leisure and more occupation, they could be worse than they are now? The indolent child is a grave menace to itself and to society. So is the indolent adult. We are an eight-hour-a-day generation, and our grown-ups have not yet learned how to spend their leisure; they have too much of it for their own welfare, and will have until they turn it to more useful ends.

A prevailing theory is that a man should work eight hours, improve himself by study and recreation eight hours, and rest eight hours. What is the practice? The average family tends more and more to a one- or two-room and kitchenette apartment for lodging, to which is added an automobile for living purposes. The day's work ended, resort is had to riding, to movies, a spin around the park, a prize fight, if there is one, a country-club dinner, a golf course, a dance, and, of course, something on the hip. What care we for lectures and galleries, for music and books? Until people realize that the problems of leisure are as serious and important as those of toil, it were better that our unoccupied hours should be less both for parents and for children. Yet the whole tendency of the reformer and of proposed legislation is to penalize work more and more. They have ceased to recognize it as the greatest and best gift of God to man, the foundation of all law, order, property, and progress, of all virtue, and of all human happiness.

Indeed, the nearest approach to happiness in this imperfect world of ours is to have a steady occupation and be in love with your job. But that notion has lost its potency. Labor is no longer ennobling. It is regarded as a reproach to those who still perform it.

Something is wrong in this country, said the *Saturday Evening Post* a few weeks ago. There is something wrong in any country, it continues, where a loafer, disdaining work, and with no visible resources, can live on the fat of the land. They all do it, and the ranks are growing. Look at them everywhere, crowding the benches of the brokers' offices, assembled around the baseball scoreboards, and occupying the shady side of the streets. What do they do for a livelihood? Most of them are loafers from childhood, not required to labor, too indolent for the schoolrooms, and growing to maturity without any settled plan for life. A fine example for our children. They naturally conclude that if these do not work and yet live, well, why should we children do so?

A few evenings ago I encountered a boy and a girl upon the streets of Denver. They could not have been more than fourteen years of age. He was smoking a cigarette. She was upon his arm; her face was smeared with cosmetics, and she had the brazen stare of a woman of the streets. They are on the broad highway to destruction. I could not but feel that if these children were brought up as you and I were, if they were made to do their share of the domestic tasks of the house, to learn some trade, to realize the value and the nobility of labor, to acquire useful knowledge and the obligations of community life, the world would be better for their existence. But we know where they are now drifting. That was only one couple, nevertheless a type of the class which the uplifter would safeguard against employment.

Only yesterday I read of the plaudits of a crowd in a Buffalo courtroom who cheered a jury for acquitting a boy who had shot his father for denying his request for money, and who ordered him to go to work. His conduct was duplicated by that of a young girl in San Francisco, who shot her mother to death for a similar provocation.

But we are told that education is the panacea for all these evils. Education! Does education promote morality and its virtues? Are the morals of the time, even our public schools, what they were twenty-five years ago, before we had compulsory laws of any kind? Do the virtues of our educated classes reach a higher level than those of the mass? Frankly, I think that some children are better out of some of the schools than in them. I don't know. But from what I hear and from what I from time to time perceive, the conduct or the tendency of the child engaged in gainful occupations is quite as meritorious and as promising as that of the student, with his dislike of labor, his increasing desire for excitement, his eager contact with modern amusements, his familiarity with subjects which should never come to immature minds. Under prevailing conditions it is not surprising that juvenile depravities and delinquencies justify our gravest concern. They demand a cure, and, of all the cures I can imagine, that of intelligent, honest, and healthful labor is the best, if not the only, one.

I dare affirm that through its treatment of their children—its indulgence of them, its evident determination to shield them from the need for labor and the application of their faculties to the stern demands of life, its failure to impress them with the value and dignity of employment, its rapid accumulation of great fortunes, sometimes without apparent effort, its exaltation of wealth—the present generation is surely undermining the morals and the stamina of the coming generation.

Someone has said that the cure for democracy is more democracy. Like all clever sayings, this is accepted without reflection. We might as truthfully assert that the cure for laziness is more laziness; the cure for indolence, more indolence; the cure for vice, more vice. Hence these good people propose a scheme of compulsory leisure, subject to some possible official exemptions. If a mother wants her child to help her in her daily tasks or do some trivial piece of work she must, after this amendment becomes law, telegraph or write the

bureau for a permit, and, after conference with the director-in-chief, she will in due time get an order from that potentate, duly witnessed and acknowledged, granting or refusing her request.

I am speaking seriously. I am quite familiar with bureaucracy. Take our forestry bureau as an illustration, one with which we come in frequent contact here in Colorado. Ask the miner or the old prospector who has been regulated out of existence by that all-powerful institution. It is said that the forestry bureau is essential to the preservation of our forests. Possibly. But it is not essential to forest protection that our mining industry should have been strangled. Yet that is one result of its operation. It is the fruit of red tape, which is the ripe fruit of bureaucracy.

Suppose a prospector wants to hunt for mineral deposits upon one of our numerous reserves. He must file his application with the local chief, who will order a staff of inspectors to make a survey and report to Division No. 1, we will say, which, in turn, will report to Commissioner No. 2, who passes the subject on to Board of Review No. 3, which in the course of a few years will report to the Lord High Commissioner himself. Finally, after the applicant has paid the debt of nature and been laid away, the order may or may not be granted.

That is bureaucracy. It is the dry rot in the structure of government, and always pressing for increase of power and patronage. Every bureaucrat in the city of Washington is organized and affiliates with the American Federation of Labor. All of them joined hands with Mr. Lovejoy to help him put his amendment through. He tells us that we can rely upon the integrity of Congress and the statesmanship of its members for such legislation as may be needed fairly and justly to enforce this amendment. How assuring and how innocent Mr. Lovejoy is. Why, the average modern congressman is a man who has long since learned to keep both ears to the ground at the same time. His main concern is for his job. And that explains how and why this amendment was jammed through both houses. Of course, there are congressmen and congressmen. I am dealing with those who have been concerned with their seats, and who do what seems essential to their retention. I know a former senator whom I like immensely—I won't name him—who has always been opposed to bureaucracy and has said so in season and out of season; yet he voted for Mr. Lovejoy's amendment, assigning as a reason that otherwise the women of his state would not support him for re-election. That would seem to be a case of stultification. He was mistaken, for the women helped to defeat him and elected his competitor by a 28,000 majority. This would seem to be a loss of self-respect, of integrity, of conviction, coupled with the loss of a job.

Another and a very large class of people behind this amendment, and residing all over the country, are aspirants for public office. They hope to be rewarded with positions in the bureau after it has been created. A friend of mine overheard a young lady say in Washington last summer, before this corpse

was mangled, that she was then working for the Haugen-McNary bill, and that she had been assured of a job in the bureau of child labor just as soon as the amendment was ratified. The girl really seemed to think that the amendment was designed for just that purpose. And she was perfectly right. Had the amendment been accepted, a bill for a bureau to administer it would have been promptly introduced, and Mr. Lovejoy, with his association, would have been as promptly on hand to urge its passage. It would have proven enormously expensive in its administration, but what is expense when eighteen-year-old children exhibit symptoms of wanting to go to work and engage in gainful pursuits?

Take the child welfare bureau. It started with an appropriation of \$25,000 a few years ago. We were then told that that sum was sufficient for its purposes. Now we are paying a small army of welfare workers, permanently attached to their jobs in this bureau, \$1,154,000 a year, and child welfare is no better off than when the bureau was organized. In fact, that is true of about every bureau with which I am familiar, except the bureau of standards. They grow larger and worse with the passage of time. They are inspired by two prime ambitions—*increase of jurisdiction and of personnel.*

The Interstate Commerce Commission is an outstanding bureau, and nearly always referred to as an example of what a bureau should be. It was organized in 1887, to regulate and equalize transportation. Yet complaining merchants and communities, however summary their need for relief, find it impossible to secure action in less than three years; and when they obtain a decision from that tribunal, they are frequently unable to understand it. Our railroad rates are higher, and charges of discrimination are quite as numerous as when the Commission was created to relieve us of both. It began its mission in one floor of a small building. It now fills a huge modern skyscraper, and has more employees than the state of Kansas. Senator La Follette, in 1912, provided a basis for its operation by a national scheme of railroad valuation. He assured the public that its entire cost would not exceed \$2,500,000. It has cost, to date, more than \$95,000,000, and it will not be completed for three or four years, and its ultimate cost will perhaps be twice the sum already expended. And then the work will prove worthless for any purpose. It is as true as it ever was that liberty and bureaucracy cannot long coexist. One or the other must ultimately retire.

A few more words and I must give way to Mr. Lovejoy, although I have scarcely scratched the surface of things. It is your duty, ladies and gentlemen, as citizens of this great country, to study both sides, not only of this, but of every other proposed political change in our form of government which may be submitted for your approval. Do this before you commit yourself for or against it. Goethe says that the most terrible thing in the world is energetic ignorance. I have encountered more energetic ignorance regarding political and economic conditions to the square mile in the United States than I supposed could have

been found in any country enjoying the blessings of free speech and a free press. Thinking has become a lost art. Years ago Mary Taylor said:

How few think justly of the thinking few;
How many never think who think they do.

Thousands of men and women have committed themselves to this amendment who know nothing about it. They have assumed that the American child is exposed to some vague but terrible danger; that he is, or is about to become, the helpless victim of a heartless industrialism; that his parents are exploiting him, and the states are wholly indifferent; that he is doomed to horrors of perpetual servitude unless the general government be clothed with power to extend its shield of protection above him. These good people are afflicted with political nightmare. Let me assure them that every state in this Union has an effective child labor law which is being properly observed and enforced. While they differ in minor details, because of local industrial conditions, they are substantially alike. They are designed to regulate, without prohibiting, honest, conscientious effort. As a matter of course, if the states having supervision of the persons and property of its citizens, possessing all the powers not delegated to the federal government, have in the past demonstrated their incapacity to solve the child labor problem—if there be one—within their respective jurisdictions, the advocates of this amendment might claim some justification of their conduct. But this is not, and never was, so. If it were, will you tell me what can be accomplished by the agency which represents collectively the identical people who are thus derelict? That the national Congress, away off in Washington, can cure the terrible evil by a system of uniform legislation, which is the most unjust and indefensible sort of legislation in the world? We cannot ignore the fact that there is no uniformity in nature. Despotisms endeavor at times to impose it. They succeed transiently, and then comes the explosion. Your boy of ten years will develop certain tendencies. His brother of eleven will display other and different ones. Uniformity is contrary to nature. Diversity is the universal condition—diversity of soil, climate, people, institutions, pursuits. These require diversity of treatment and of legislation. The best laws are those which recognize and adapt themselves to these eternal and ineradicable differences. No two men or women are equal. The mountains are different in elevation, and so are the plains. Mankind, though one in the mass, is composed of its many units, and each unit is distinct from all the others.

"The same law for the lion and the ox is tyranny," said an old philosopher. When you place thirty-odd millions of children under uniform bureaucratic regulation and influence, administered under an inflexible statute of continental dimensions, which neither takes nor permits cognizance of their diverse nature, their physical or mental characteristics or conditions, you bind them with chains of steel which will crush them in body and spirit beyond redemption. Verily, the greatest curse of legislation is uniformity. We have avoided its application

thus far by preserving the integrity of the states, leaving each to the government and regulation of its own affairs in its own way.

Uniformity! Beware of it. Uniformity is stagnation, whether in man or nature, in philosophy or in religion. Life is variety. Death is uniform, because uniformity is death. There is no uniformity in the politics of the same organization. Just now there are more sorts of democracy than there are democrats; and yet, with diversity staring them in the face, numbers of good men and women come before you with quivering voice and tearful eyes, reciting nameless horrors which a distorted imagination convinces them are menacing their children and yours. They clamor for federal authority to enact uniform legislation to be rigidly applied to thirty-five millions of people distributed over a continent of infinitely varied resources, varied climate, and varied population. I fear they will never perceive that the remedy is worse than the disease, were the latter many times worse than they believe it to be.

If we credit a small percentage of rumor and assertion, men and women are also being exploited by hard-boiled employers. Why not bureaus for them as well, and others to care for the ills and to soothe the woes of the Jews, the gentiles, the Catholics, and the unbelievers? Why not? Our sovereign government, as Mr. Lovejoy describes it, should play no favorites in this policy of universal regulation. Are not our women as precious as our children? The Negro justly complains that the constitutional amendments designed for his social and political equality are flouted and ignored. Let us create a bureau and give it jurisdiction, under the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments, over the person and politics of the Negro. Are we not theoretically free and equal? And if a bureau will convert theory into fact for white children, surely it can do as much for the black men.

In all seriousness, let me ask, When will the tides of legislative invasion and control of individual conduct cease? Not, I fear, until people, goaded beyond endurance, turn upon their reforming tormentors, demand a halt, and then enforce it. We are gorged with nostrums, experimental legislation, welfare legislation, mandatory legislation, prohibitory legislation, regulatory legislation, bureaus, commissions, and boards; invasions here, and invasions there, until law has become synonymous with tyranny in its most searching and sinister forms.

Voltaire said that every lover of liberty seems determined to destroy her. It is as true now as ever. If we would preserve its remaining fragments, we would do well to recall and observe the precept of the Hebrew prophet: "Stand upon the old paths, walk in the ancient ways, observe them well, and be not driven unto change."

RESOLVED THAT THE PROPOSED TWENTIETH AMENDMENT
TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES
SHOULD BE RATIFIED

(DEBATE: REBUTTAL)

Owen R. Lovejoy

There are just a few points to touch upon. I had hoped Senator Thomas, somewhere in his address, would tell us what kind of protection he thought the working child should have. I was disappointed that he seemed to avoid doing so. But at least he has favored us with his position on this whole question. If I understand him, he does not believe in any kind of child labor legislation whatever. He does not believe in compulsory school attendance laws. He deprecates the efforts that have been made to protect children against exploitation. I can hardly believe that Senator Thomas is so ignorant of the efforts made in recent years in this and other countries as not to know that the condition of working children is far superior today to what it was in the old days in England, or in that stronghold of labor legislation today, Massachusetts. I think that what he said was for oratorical effect.

Those of you who are familiar with efforts to improve conditions of working children know that anyone who has any interest in the matter distinguishes between child labor and children's work. If the Senator knows anything about the activities of the National Child Labor Committee, he knows that its membership is made up of Americans of average common sense, many of them prominent business men, many prominent business women, and that they have always made it clear that what we seek to do is so to safeguard the surroundings of children during their early, helpless years that when they get to the point where they may reasonably bear their share of the burden of life, they may go into life's work with their eyes open instead of being blindly chucked into the first job that offers. I must flatly contradict the Senator's statement that children do not want to work. But there is a real difference between working and being worked. I have yet to find my first adult who did not want to work when he was a boy, provided the work was interesting. And if children are ignorant enough, the worse the conditions the more tenaciously they cling to their jobs. It is a matter of information, that is all. We have constantly to distinguish between children's work and child labor.

If I interpret the Senator correctly, he believes that the old days were better, when children were allowed to work all night at the ages of ten and twelve years, when little boys worked nine hours at a stretch cleaning coal, when in the textile industry in the New England states as well as in southern states, they worked at practically any age from eight years up for as many hours a day as the factory ran. I do not believe the Senator believes those industrial conditions were better than the present, nor that he believes there is such a difference in the make-up of human beings in the various sections of the country that it

can be right that while in one state a child has a chance to go through the elementary grades before he goes to work, another child in another state is allowed to go to work at eight years old without being able to read. That is the condition which exists. I cannot think the Senator stands for it.

Those who are for this amendment are charged with attempting to nationalize the children of this country. That was good! I thoroughly enjoyed the picture the Senator painted of what is going to happen—that bureau in Washington which will require at least three millions of dollars and four hundred thousand agents to carry on. But he has understated it, according to some of the associations opposing the amendment. They have said it would require a federal agent for every home and every farm in America. What are these agents going to do? They are going to take every child as soon as it is born, snatch it from its mother's breast, take it to Washington, put it in the national kindergarten, and keep it from doing any kind of work till it has passed its eighteenth birthday not allowing it to do any kind of work, even work with its brains!

In Massachusetts we found that a great many people had gone to the dictionary and discovered that labor means any kind of exertion, physical or mental, and they told the people that if this amendment was ratified no persons in the United States would be permitted even to think until they had passed their eighteenth birthday. And their reasoning indicated that many above eighteen thought the law had already passed and were setting a good example before the children.

He told us every government uses all the power it possesses; that we are in a bad way, with all our bureaus. It is a curious fact that the people responsible for the establishment of bureaus in the federal government never complained until we tried to get a little bit of a bureau to look after children who could not look after themselves. Now the promoters of the adult bureaus have become alarmed because some people want a bureau for children. The Senator said we ought to have a bureau for Jews, and a bureau for women! Today the women are citizens of the United States, participating citizens, and so are the Jews, and, in some parts of the country, Negroes. Theoretically, they have the right to participate in our citizenship, in the making of our laws, in the establishing of our institutions. Does not the child exist in an entirely different category? I agree with the Senator that all our responsibilities as citizens should be considered locally first, that we ought to get all reforms first through our cities, and only go to the state house when it is impossible to make improvement in the city, and only to Washington when it is impossible in the state. The child does not exist politically, but is the ward of the state, and when the Senator objects to the cost of its protection we call his attention to the fact that the government gives its citizens a rebate of \$400 on their income tax for every child under eighteen years of age. Has he, or any of his constituents of the National Manufacturers Association, protested against that?

It has probably not escaped any of our listeners that through the splendid

spirit and eloquence of my distinguished opponent two or three facts have been brought out. One is that the child labor problem in this country is belittled by him—there isn't any—and if there is, it's a good thing. Second, that the government is bad and getting worse all the time; third, that our citizens are becoming ignorant and lawbreaking and vicious, and we are on the way to the demnition bow-wows. I do not see how he can be cheerful about it all. He must be an incorrigible optimist! When he tells you that every state has a good child labor law, he simply states what is not so—unless you are prepared to agree with him that the best child labor law is no law.

I read that speech of President Coolidge with interest, and I read some things in it which the Senator did not have time to read tonight, but which have been called to the attention of the American people by the *New York World*. For instance, President Coolidge says that if questions which the states will not fairly settle on their own account shall have to be settled for them by the federal government, it will be only because some states will have refused to discharge their obvious duties. I prefer to stand in this respect with President Coolidge. In the application of this particular problem I do not believe that any state line is any more sacred than a county line. Because a child happens to live in Colorado, or Nebraska, or New York, or Georgia, it does not follow that the United States and its citizens have no interest, or right to an interest, in him. I believe in this indestructible Union, made so because of common purposes, common ideals, and a common destiny, and I am convinced that if any section of the country, whether state, county, city, ward, or home, becomes lawless and unwilling to give proper protection to those who live within its bounds, the necessity rests upon the American commonwealth to see that that sore spot is healed, not for itself alone, but for the health of the whole body.

THE RELIGION OF HUMAN HELPFULNESS

(CONFERENCE SERMON)

Rev. John Howard Melish, Trinity Episcopal Church, Brooklyn

Come ye blessed of my father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.—Matt. 25:34.

The mineral kingdom has existed from the foundation of the world. The vegetable kingdom, drawing its life from the rocks and the sun, the air and the water, has existed from the foundation of the world. The animal kingdom, depending in the last analysis upon the vegetable kingdom, goes back to the beginning of life upon this planet. Vitally related to all these kingdoms, his bones of the very substance of the rocks, his bodily organs similar to those of the animals, even his brain not unlike the brain of humbler creatures, there came in the course of evolution the kingdom of man. The human kingdom, like the

mineral, the vegetable, and the animal kingdoms, has been prepared from the foundation of the world.

Man is the inheritor of all three kingdoms. He is born to the scepter; but, like a royal heir apparent, he must grow up to it. And how slowly man has entered into his kingdoms! Throughout all the years that he has fought cold and hunger there was an unlimited wealth of coal beneath his feet, but he never discovered it until yesterday; the fertile ground was able to grow fifty bushels of wheat where it has grown one, but man did not know how to cooperate with it until today; water in vast quantities falls upon the earth and runs down to the sea, giving super-power of inestimable strength—its full use is the task of tomorrow; electricity was all-persuasive, ready to turn night into day, flash messages around the world, and perform every task; but man went on in darkness and put the heavy burdens upon the beasts or his fellows whom he enslaved. Man is just beginning to enter into his kingdom. We moderns talk about progress and pride ourselves on our achievements in the conquest of nature. And well we may, for in the past century we have made more advance than in all the preceding centuries. But from the viewpoint of the race, the progress has been humiliatingly late and painfully slow; and in the higher realms of our kingly inheritance we have only begun to wield the scepter and wear the crown.

The kingdom into which man is still to come, and which now is eagerly awaiting its heir and master, is the kingdom of man himself. This kingdom is like a great modern factory which is owned and run by large-minded men. Their first task, of course, is to finance the enterprise, build the works, and assemble the machinery; their next task is to organize their producing and selling force. Only when these tasks are completed can they undertake the supreme adventure of industrial life. This is to create the spirit of good will which, entering all, from president to scrub woman, makes of a factory a home of liberty and democracy. So our task as men and women, inheritors of the kingdom of man, now that we have in a measure entered into those other kingdoms of coal and electricity and mechanical inventions, is to come into the human kingdom. We are to humanize society. We are to socialize the world. We are to bring humanity under the scepter of the intellect and the heart. We are to have our nobler selves control our lower selves, even as we are to have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the heavens, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.

In the fulfilment of this great adventure religion has a part to play. What is its contribution to the humanizing of the world? Does it help man in the conquest of the earth? Does it inspire or strengthen him to gain the mastery over the brute in humanity and in nature? Does it furnish any truth, any knowledge, any power, any consolation, any inspiring vision which man needs and without which his task may end in failure? Let us bring the mind of Christ to bear upon this venture of humanizing the world.

Christ, the supreme religious teacher, divided mankind into two groups. The one he calls "blessed," and the other, "cursed." The kingdom of man, says the Master, belongs to those who help their fellow-men, and those who will not help cannot share the inheritance. Let us think of each of these groups in turn.

Who are the blessed? "I was hungry, and ye gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me in; naked and ye clothed me; I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison and ye came unto me." Feeding hungry people, whether it be by sharing a loaf with an individual or increasing the food supply of a nation, is part of the great humanizing task. The cup of cold water to a child or a reservoir of clear water to a city helps to give man the conquest of nature. The building of a municipal lodging-house, the maintenance of a social settlement, a branch of the Traveler's Aid—all take the stranger in. Many a factory clothes the naked, even as many a bureau of charities. What greater and more efficient ministry could be performed for the sick than that of the modern hospital? And to the thousands shut up in prison go the Prison Reform Association and the Mutual Welfare Leagues of Thomas Mott Osborne, as well as the prisoners' relatives and friends. All the rich and varied forms of social work are forms of ministry; they help men in their hours of need.

Christ claims all such helpers of their fellows as the inheritors of his kingdom. He pictures the claim as causing huge surprise to them. "When," they exclaimed, "saw we thee hungry, and fed thee, or athirst, and gave thee drink? And when saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in, or naked, and clothed thee? And when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came unto thee?" His answer was very simple and all-embracing: "Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these my brethren, even these least, ye did it unto me." Is not that declaration as surprising to many social workers today as to those folks in the Master's picture? "We are so busy keeping and applying the second commandment," some say, "that we have no time to think of the first commandment; we are so occupied in saving the souls of others that we have almost forgotten our own souls." All such helpers the Master claims without distinction. "Are you helping men? Then you are helping me, whether or not you are aware of it." Is not this a surprise to many?

Real religion is usually a refreshing and delightful surprise. It is so entirely different from what men generally think it is. Religion is not one thing more, something that is added to the sum total of human activities. Real religion is the spirit with which all things are done. All the social worker needs in order to become religious is to recognize the fact that in serving men he is serving the Christ. And in this recognition, when it becomes a motive, he gains whatever help and inspiration religion has. When I do the service I am set to do, not because I may have an aptitude for it, or because it is my means of livelihood, not merely because I conceive it to be my duty, but when I do it because I believe God would have me do it, and therefore I will do it because of my wish

to serve him and because of love for him, then there is a will to serve, a vigor, and enthusiasm which are matched nowhere else. That motive has been the mainspring of the golden deeds of the world. No man serving his fellow-men need wait unto the end to be surprised by the Master. He can enter into the joy of the Master in the midst of his work. "Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world."

And now let us turn to the other people whom the Master calls a hard name, "cursed." To our modern ears it has a harsh sound, but the fact behind the word is a harsh fact. There are men who live utterly useless lives; they take everything, and give nothing; they live on others, never for them; they are the parasites and the drones of society. They eat the food which others produce, and wear the clothes which others make, and sometimes keep well by making others sick, and shut up in prison any who question their right to exploit mankind. The kingdom of man is deferred, and at times defeated, by such men. Christ pictures such useless creatures as consigned by the King to outer darkness. And they are told the reason for their banishment: they never fed, clothed, visited, nor came to one of the least of the brothers of Christ and the sons of God.

The Master pictures these people as tremendously surprised when they are told that they are useless. They feel that some mistake has been made. "When saw we thee hungry, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee?" The King answered that inasmuch as they did it not unto one of the least of their brother men, they did it not unto him. If social workers are surprised today when they are told that their service to man is religion, some other people are due for surprise when they shall be told that their so-called "religious services" are not religion.

The story of the Good Samaritan is a perpetual warning to religious people. It was a priest who went down the Jericho road, and did nothing for the man wounded, robbed, and dying by the wayside. Would not that priest be surprised if he were told that he had no share in the Kingdom of the Father? He would have furnished a reasonable alibi today. "Real religion," said a priest recently from a distinguished pulpit, "is theocentric, awed, a thing of beauty and deep humility. We are not to seek it for the sake of preserving civilization, that relatively unimportant incident, we are to seek it because we have lost our way, in a maze of sin and pride; because we are lonely, and life is dull, and the world's gaudy baubles seem like tinsel; because God is our true home." So the priests might have argued in the days of Christ; so they did present religion in pre-Reformation days. It is not the religion of the great prophets of Israel, Isaiah, Amos, Jeremiah, who held that religion is justice, mercy, as well as humility. Nor is it the conception of the New Testament, which holds that religion is love, the love of God in the neighbor, and of the neighbor in God. The kingdom of man, fulfilling its destiny, is the Kingdom of God.

In the story of the Good Samaritan, the Levite, as well as the priest, was a

religious man and a servant of the church, but he passed by on the other side. If he had lived today he might have justified himself as others are doing. Humanitarianism has been called "a mawkish travesty of Christianity which transforms morality by basing it on pity, and transfers guilt from the individual to the state under which he lives. Man is always innocent; the government always guilty." Perhaps the Levite was a humanitarian who held that the state was responsible for robbers on the Jericho road, and that therefore it was the duty of the state to care for the victim of robbers; perhaps he held that pity is not kindness, and that men who stumble and fall in a hostile country need to be taken by the nape of the neck and shoved back into line. Much can be said for both positions. But, according to the Master, the test of a man is not his philosophy, but his deed. The Levite passed by on the other side.

Both priest and Levite, had they lived today, might have justified their attitude by a third argument. "Humanitarianism," recently said a distinguished visitor from abroad at Yale University, "is a religion which promises the nations an earthly paradise at the end of a flowery path." True religion, on the contrary, points to progress in the victory of the spirit over the flesh, but promises nothing as prizes of warfare, and pronounces the creed which carries war into the individual soul to be the only way of peace for the nations. Such is the creed of naked individualism in the field of religion, and it matches the theory of the survival of the fittest in sociology. In national life the fruits of that creed are twelve millions of dead, a burden of debt beyond our imagination to realize, and Christian civilization threatened with destruction. In industrial life such a creed arrays steel magnate against steel worker, dispossesses women and children from company house, and makes it impossible for a workingman to secure justice in any court as against a corporation. Humanitarianism may "not avoid sloppy sentimentality," but it avoids cruelty, neglect, and wrong.

Priest and Levite, if alive today, would have fallen back upon a fourth line of defense. This emphasis on the second commandment, to the exclusion of the first, is called today secularized Christianity; love of the neighbor, it is held, means merely an attempt to improve the physical condition of mankind and to make life more pleasant. Whereas one of the vital parts of Christ's teaching is that all good and all evil come from within. Reform begins with the will and conscience of the individual, and proceeds outward. It affects social amelioration by working on the moral character. Make the seed good, say these advocates, and its fruit will be good. Is it true that the man, had he been all he ought to be, would not have fallen by the wayside on the Jericho road? Is it not true that a road infested by robbers was a factor in the case, no less than the individual man who was robbed? Good seed is necessary, so is good soil, if there is to be a good harvest. Good physical conditions are good soil in which character may be grown more easily and generally than in stony ground. I would clear the Jericho road of robbers, and I would then send men down it ever ready to

serve their fellows in every way: not only serve their bodies, but serve their minds; not only serve their minds, but serve their whole manhood.

'Tis life whereof our veins are scant

'Tis life, not death, for which we pant

More life and fuller, then, we want.

The supreme task of real religion and true humanitarianism is one and the same. It is to assert the love of man and to keep it from degenerating into the unethical sentiment of charity; it is to assert the love of God and to keep it from degenerating into an other-worldly or antisocial pietism. The ideal of a regenerated human society, the kingdom of man and the kingdom of God, is the inspiration of the religion of human helpfulness. To bring this ideal into life and to try to realize it on earth is the supreme mission of men.

They who so strive fulfil their destiny and win from Him who made the vision clear, the welcome, "Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world."

WHAT SHALL WE DO ABOUT WAR?

*Sherwood Eddy, Associate General Secretary, National Council,
Young Men's Christian Association, New York*

Before speaking about "What Shall We Do about War?" shall we make a brief survey of the situation, as we see it, throughout the world? Omitting China because, however serious things may seem to be there, I believe the present difficulty will prove to be only local, without involving other nations in war, I believe there are four great danger zones today from which there may possibly arise war for the world.

First, there is the danger zone of Russia. Any nation which professes to be out for the violent overthrow of existing government and the substitution by force of another social order has embarked on a course that must make for war. Then there is a danger zone in the Balkans. In Bulgaria we see a conflict between the forces of the Red and the White, both equally ruthless, and where there may easily be found an occasion for world-war, as it was found in the Balkans for the last war. Third, there is a danger zone between Germany and France, made all the more acute by the election of General von Hindenburg. I believe he is too good a soldier to think now of warlike measures. I believe he sincerely desires peace, nevertheless his election plays into the hands of the military party. I believe Germany desires peace, but I found at the extreme right a nationalist party, both in Germany and in France, preparing for war and believing in war, 100 per cent suspicious and bitter, each toward the other, and looking forward to war as a possible settlement. Some of you may be surprised, some may challenge the fourth danger zone I shall mention, but millions

there are today who look to America as one of the chief danger zones in all the world. Millions in Latin America and millions in Europe are looking to us, the great creditor nation, fearing lest we develop imperialism; looking also, to see what may happen as a result of our exclusion of the Japanese. The fact that there is a demand for increasing our fortifications in Hawaii, and that our fleet go on a costly voyage to Australia, to many this warlike gesture means that we are taking a stand for the white races as against the yellow races. The fact that we profess innocence does not settle the question. In Germany I heard a college professor claim that the Germans were 100 per cent innocent of bringing on the Great War, that they never dreamed of using their fleet for warlike purposes. One might wonder if this old man expected they were going to be used for Sunday school picnics. I met many in Germany who felt themselves innocent, but that did not make Germany any the less a danger zone. Take our Japanese exclusion act. I believe no country more than Japan recognizes our right to protect our people from the indiscriminate dumping of undesirable populations upon us, and no country more readily would respect wise immigration laws, but haven't we done the right thing in the wrong way? Suppose we had admitted them on the quota basis. While admitting over 100,000 a year from some countries, we would have admitted only 150 Japanese, about 100 Chinese, and about 10 Indians a year. More than that are coming by the route of evasion. Our course has not closed our doors, nor settled the question. If we had permitted President Coolidge to call a friendly conference with that friendly nation, how gladly would they have agreed to any arrangement to keep back even the 150. They want their people in Korea and Manchuria. But no. We said, "We will keep them in their place. We will show them where to get off." We have thereby left a lasting and a growing wound in the heart of that people. Would we permit the Japanese ambassador to express the fear that our action might lead to serious consequences, as it already has? For, having driven out Japan, we have driven her into an alliance with Russia, a combination that may easily become significant. Would we permit the Japanese ambassador to tell us that he feared our act would lead to serious consequences? No. And as a result I fear it will lead to very serious consequences. Are America and Japan going to become a danger zone of the world? We are increasing our munitions, our defenses in Hawaii, sending a fleet on this voyage to Australia, lining up against the yellow races, as it seems to them. I hope we shall not become one of the danger zones of the world, but there is occasion for some fear that we may.

But over against these four danger zones of Russia, the Balkans, Germany and France, and America and Japan, let me speak of four great movements making for peace, because I believe that greater are the forces making for peace than those that make for war. First, the churches have taken their stand against war. I have not time to read these voluminous resolutions which I hold in my hand, that have been passed by all, or nearly all, of the great religious bodies,

such as the Methodist Episcopal church, the Friends, the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians, the Protestant Episcopal church, the Lutherans, and various other denominations, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the World Alliance for International Peace, and many others. That means something.

Second, I note other organizations making for peace. Take the bulletins of the National Council for the Prevention of War, that fellowship uniting some seventy-five other organizations into one great movement for peace, among them the Fellowship of Reconciliation. These are significant. Again, take the movement in the world outside America making for peace, for conciliation, for international understanding and cooperation. Take the proposed disarmament of brave little Denmark, to reduce its army to a police force, to destroy its forts and fortresses, and no longer to have a minister of war and navy, but only a minister of peace. Take the movement under Gandhi in India. Take the various movements inaugurated by the missionary societies in this country in order to make the 18,000 missionaries sent from America, the 28,000 sent from other Christian countries of the world, the 600,000 bible students in the mission schools in the various lands of Asia and Africa, one vast international agency for peace, an agency of good will and mutual understanding.

Third, take the great agencies making for peace in still other parts of the world. In Germany today there are many organizations whose sole object is peace. It has not all been made public yet—it is still in part confidential—but Germany is proposing, first, to be the first great nation to follow Switzerland in denouncing war and taking a stand forever against it; second, though they believe it unjust, to accept the western boundaries laid down by the Treaty of Versailles and to count Alsace-Lorraine a closed issue and lost to them forever; third, to apply for entrance into the League of Nations, to refer all justiciable questions to a world court, and to make provision that non-justiciable questions go to boards of arbitration.

Fourth, I would call your attention to the World Court and League of Nations, and to the great movement for the outlawry of war. I mention these two movements together, which at first thought might seem antagonistic. I believe it will be with the loss of all vision and of all statesmanship if we in this country allow ourselves to be bitterly divided and to bring the country to disgrace over this issue of the World Court, as we have permitted it to be over the issue of the League of Nations. We must have a vision of statesmanship, a vision of tolerance, a vision of sympathy and understanding, in order to work together so that our forces for peace shall not be defeated. On the one hand there is a large majority out for the World Court and ultimately for the League of Nations; on the other hand is a powerful minority out for the outlawry of war. All of us are in favor of the abolition of war, but I appeal to you social workers to join the small but powerful minority group who look upon outlawry as the panacea to solve this problem. It is a small but powerful group which cannot be ignored. It stands for three things: first, let the nations get together to outlaw

war as piracy and slavery have been outlawed; second, let them agree to codify international law, based not upon war, but upon peace. The bulk of international law now seems to take war for granted. Let the first article be that all war is outlawed. Third, the World Court with plenary jurisdiction is to be looked upon with alarm if based upon the antagonisms of the last war, but with favor if divorced from the present rules of war. I was recently at the most hopeful conference I have attended in many years, where this powerful minority representing outlawry and the larger majority standing for the World Court and the League of Nations were trying to see if they could not find common ground and finally come to a common mind. We felt if we could combine the great passion for idealism and the splendid personnel of this minority group with the plan for immediate entrance into the World Court it would be a great thing. If this plan goes through it will mean something like this. Let America propose in good faith, in the Senate on December 17, immediately to enter the World Court; but let America enter it upon a basis not of war but of peace; let America hold the right to withdraw if the nations are unwilling to outlaw war or to codify international law on the basis of peace. This would mean that we would not stand aloof, but go into it wholeheartedly and in earnest. It would mean that all the nations would have to discuss the outlawry of war within the next two years. I believe it would lift the whole question to a higher plane.

At Geneva, as I studied the situation, I was impressed with the growth of the League of Nations during the preceding year. I found fifty-five great nations supporting it, practically seven-eighths of the civilized world—all the great nations except Russia, Germany, and the United States. I found that already they had averted six wars, had made powerfully for disarmament, for there are a half million less men under arms today than there were a year ago, and that they were helping economically in Europe with tremendous effect.

Take the World Court. Why should we not go into it? It was indorsed by President Harding, by Secretary Hughes, by President Coolidge; indorsed by the leaders of both parties that were unsuccessful in the last election, and supposedly by the Republican Party also; indorsed by the leading institutions of the entire country—by the United States Chamber of Commerce, the American Bar Association, the Federation of Women's Clubs, the American Federation of Labor. The House of Representatives voted more than ten to one in favor of it last March. Even the vote of the Senate lacked only seven votes of a two-thirds majority. Can it be that a little bit of an opposing group can, by their own tactics, after two year's delay already, continue to defeat the issue until the whole country is as sick of the World Court as it has become of the League of Nations, and thus render the Republican party devoid of influence among the forces for peace? Can we not find a common ground? Can we not outlaw war and join a world court and try to make it do what it ought to do? I do not claim that the League of Nations is perfect. It is no more perfect than was our feeble Continental Congress, when thirteen jealous colonies got together and tried

to frame a constitution. That was far from perfect, but it was the best we had, and we made it work. Let us make the best of what we have got and take the next practical step looking toward the higher ideal of the ultimate outlawry of war. We must organize our forces for peace. I believe we are either peacemakers or warmakers. This very body of social workers represents very great forces across the length and breadth of this country.

[For the second part of Mr. Eddy's address, see *The Abolition of War*, by Sherwood Eddy.]

THE STATE AND HUMAN WELFARE

Hon. William E. Sweet, ex-Governor of Colorado, Denver

It is a matter of great regret that Governor Smith of New York could not be present to discuss the subject of "The State and Human Welfare." Without question, he is one of the best-informed chief executives in the country on this subject. He has been eminently successful in persuading the legislature of his state to grant large appropriations for welfare work, and his long administration has been notable for the social legislation which he has initiated.

As you know, Governor Smith is a Democrat. I am of the same political faith, and I like to believe that a keen interest in the state's relation to human welfare characterizes the Democratic party. However, no party is possessed of all the virtues. President Roosevelt, on one occasion, was speaking in the rock-ribbed Republican state of Maine. During his address he arraigned the Democratic party quite severely. There are a few Democrats left in Maine, and one of them happened to be in the audience. He arose and told Mr. Roosevelt that he was a Democrat, that his father had been a Democrat, and his grandfather before him. "I suppose," said the President, "that if your father had been a horse thief, and your grandfather had been one, you would have been a horse thief too?" "No," the man replied, "I would have been a Republican."

The National Conference of Social Work is just entering upon its second half-century of life. No one can read your program without being impressed with the vast scope of your work. It touches every phase of city and country life. Social service has become so widespread in this country that in the single state of Massachusetts it is carried on by over one thousand private corporations which expend more than \$33,000,000 a year. It serves 355 cities and towns, and the commonwealth, through its different departments of public welfare, has supervision over 80,000 persons.

The average citizen thinks of the functions of government as limited to the maintenance of an army and navy, dispensing justice through the courts, and preserving law and order, coining money, and regulating the currency, conducting the postal service, imposing duties on imports, and many similar activities.

There are a multitude of ways in which the government should advance human welfare and improve our economic and social life. People of social vision must use their efforts to mold public opinion in order that the government may function to this end.

Our educational system, more than any other department of government, clearly illustrates the principle of the obligation of the state to advance human welfare. There was a time when all schools in this country were private, and education was confined to those who could pay for it. Indeed, it was not until 1867 that New York state had a complete free school system. In the beginning, the state assumed responsibility for the child only in its primary years. Then came the development of the high school, and finally the great state university for higher learning. Today education is as much the province of government in this country as handling the mails or telling us what kind of weather we may possibly have tomorrow. America would not diminish in the slightest degree the emphasis placed on public education, for it is the bulwark of our democratic system of government. The public school is primarily a social institution, and education is a social process.

The fact that the state accepts such a large responsibility for education does not result in the privately endowed colleges and universities diminishing either in number or efficiency. Both educational agencies progress together. In the same way, private organizations for social service work hand in hand with state agencies doing similar work.

The responsibility of the state for human welfare has been greatly emphasized in recent years by the exercise of the police power of the state. From the very beginning of our national history the courts have refused to define explicitly "police power," but have placed it upon the broad basis of public necessity. The recent awakening of the social consciousness has led the states to a more frequent use of this power. The affirmation of this principle by the Supreme Court of the United States makes it possible for the state to extend its power in the field of human welfare far beyond any limits of which we have heretofore dreamed.

Individual interests were the first to be recognized legally, because individuals existed before the state, but as groups were formed and civilization evolved into the complex relations which now exist, the public interest became paramount. Under the police power of the state certain lines of business have been declared to be vested with a public interest, and may not be conducted in a manner detrimental or injurious to society. The state has the power to regulate and control any business coming in this category. It must not, however, be the function of government to stifle individual initiative or progress, but rather to strike a just balance between private and public interest.

President Coolidge recently aroused the ire of certain private interests by declaring that rent regulation and control was highly desirable in the District of Columbia. And this, be it remembered, in peace times. The epithet of

"socialist" was immediately hurled against our conservative, New England President, but President Coolidge was applying the principle that the business of housing was clothed with a public interest, and therefore could be regulated.

The most important law involving the police power of the state which has not stood the test of the courts is the minimum wage law for women, involving an act of Congress applicable to the District of Columbia. The district court of appeals divided four to four on the constitutionality of the act. When it came before the United States Supreme Court, the court divided five to three against the law. Had Judge Brandeis, who had heretofore been of counsel, taken part in this decision, the court would have been divided five to four.

The states of Oregon, Washington, Minnesota, and Arkansas had all passed similar laws, and the supreme courts of those states had approved their legality, in some instances by unanimous decisions. Summarizing the vote outside of the Supreme Court, we have twenty-nine judges thinking that compulsory wage legislation for women was valid, as against four judges thinking the contrary.

Lester F. Ward, the eminent sociologist, summed up the principle of the police power of the state as follows:

The state is the organ of social consciousness, and must ever seek to obey the will of society. Whatever society demands, it must, and always will, endeavor to supply. If it fails at first, it will continue to try until success at last crowns its efforts. If it is ignorant, it will educate itself, if in no other way, by the method of trial and error. Higher and higher types of statesmanship will follow the advancing intelligence of mankind, until one by one the difficult social problems will be solved. It is useless to maintain that the functions of government are necessarily limited to the few that have thus far been undertaken. The only limit is that of the good of society, and as long as there is any additional way in which that object can be secured through governmental action, such action will be taken.

The relative value of voluntary and state agencies for the promotion of human welfare will always be an interesting subject for discussion. It will be admitted, however, that these two agencies should be most closely related. Undoubtedly there are some lines of social work, including experimentation and research, which the state cannot enter upon because it is impossible to secure adequate appropriations. The public is eager for results, especially in welfare work. The state seems to be willing to carry on experimentation in science and agriculture, but when it comes to experimentation in welfare work at public expense, our state legislatures draw the line. Private agencies are far more elastic in their organizations and more capable of initiation and enterprise than state agencies.

President Norton, in his address last Wednesday, said: "Organized social work is an essential supplement to the elemental political and economic philosophy upon which the American commonwealth rests." The self-determination of the individual with opportunity for the free expression of his personality and powers, together with a social order which shall guarantee to him the full product of his toil, we recognize as elementally American. That government

has a vital relation to the economic advantage of the possessing group has long been admitted, but it is only in recent years that we have realized the responsibility of the state to improve the economic status of the wage-earner and toiler. Furthermore, the full product of capital cannot be secured without healthy, contented, and prosperous industrial workers. It is therefore logically the function of the state both to remedy and remove as far as possible every condition which hinders labor from producing to its fullest capacity.

Germany has gone farther in recognizing the relationship which should exist between government and industry than any other nation. Fifteen years ago the industrial growth of Germany astonished the world. It was accompanied by tremendous commercial and colonial expansion. At the time of which we are speaking there were no evidences of want and misery in Germany such as we associate with the East Side in New York or the Hull House district in Chicago. A writer, who is not a sociologist, but an economist, says that before the war there was in Berlin nothing like the American slum; that the visitor saw no signs of degradation and misery in the people on the street and the children running about. How shall we account for this absence of extreme poverty among the working class of Germany? It was undoubtedly because the educational system of Germany went far toward eliminating that class of helpless incapables which is the despair of the charitable societies of England and America. In most German cities it was compulsory for every man to receive instruction in his trade. Germany has never feared paternalism as we do in America, and this may account in part for her great success as an industrial nation.

Since the war, Czechoslovakia has led all other countries of Europe in the emphasis which it has placed on human welfare. It is counted so important that there is a minister of social welfare in the cabinet. Indeed, social policy forms the most characteristic feature of all the legislation of the Czechoslovak republic.

Social workers in this country know about President Masaryck and his daughter, Doctor Alice Masaryck, who are responsible for much of the social spirit of the Czechoslovak republic. The fact is not so well known, however, that when President Masaryck, who was for many years professor of sociology in the University of Prague, was sent as exchange professor to the University of Chicago, he and his daughter Alice came in close personal contact with Miss Jane Addams, one of America's most beloved and outstanding leaders in social work. As a result, something of the spirit and method of our social work has been transmitted to Central Europe.

During the war it was found necessary to establish a very close relationship between government and human welfare. We said repeatedly that our social work was bound to be greatly broadened by this experience. This was true, but the pendulum swung back after the war and much social work was dropped. A necessary development of the post-war period, however, which the national

government could not drop, from motives of patriotism, was the rehabilitation of the disabled soldiers. Many of the state institutions of Minnesota have recently revived their vocational work all along the line, and under a state board for vocational education have undertaken the task of rehabilitating civilians. An emergency measure which the war forced upon us has now become a regular part of the state's activities in social work.

Those who are opposed to the principle of the participation by the state in matters touching human welfare say that we have too many laws now in America. While it is true that there are many laws on our statute books which remain unenforced, nevertheless we cannot depend upon volunteer agencies of a charitable and philanthropic nature to correct existing evils in our social order. Professor John R. Commons has well said:

Voluntary organizations of a charitable and philanthropic nature can do much to correct existing evils, but it is only through political action that the great entrenched wrongs can be wiped out. The power of government is supreme. It is the only force strong enough to cope with the interests of selfishness and greed. The power of the state must be invoked to supplement voluntary effort. Society cannot wait until good will voluntarily percolates through the spirit of greed and avarice.

I like the use of the word "commonwealth" as applied to the state. It emphasizes the spirit of government rather than the method, and signifies that the state exists for the "common weal" of the people.

James Russell Lowell said that the democracy was an experiment. There can be no chartered course over which it must advance. Circumstances and conditions, wars and pestilences, science and invention will all determine its direction in the future. As the pioneer sets his face toward the setting sun to explore the unknown land, not knowing the exact route by which he shall proceed, but keeping his destination in mind, so these forty-eight great political subdivisions which we call states, and which make up the American commonwealth, by experimentation will bring to fruition all the hopes and aspirations of the common man.

My friends, it is a great adventure to which you have put your hands and hearts. It will demand intelligence of the highest order, a stout heart, a great love of humanity, moral courage, and a dauntless spirit.

Have faith in democracy, for democracy connotes the right of the people to rule and relies upon their ability to do so. Democracy, in an industrial age, must seek to know what is just before it exacts what is profitable.

The political conception of democracy is a government of, and by, and for, the people. The ethical and spiritual conception of democracy is that every citizen of this Republic shall have, as far as possible, the fullest opportunity to express the best that is in him.

My friends, believe these things with all your soul, with all your mind, and with all your strength. They are the warp and woof of democracy. Honor them in your private thinking and in your public utterance. "Bind them about thy

neck, and write them upon the tablet of thy heart." Then thou shalt have good success.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE JAPANESE PROBLEM

Frederick Starr, University of Chicago (retired), Seattle

I am, of course, not intending to take up the political side of the Japanese problem, nor do I intend to give any attention to the recently passed immigration law. I regret the law because of its race prejudice so clearly shown, and because of the grave consequences which it inevitably involves, and which we can under no circumstances escape.

I am here for a quite different purpose—to discuss the social aspects of the Japanese problem. First, let me say, we have the Japanese with us and they will remain with us. It is a great mistake to think that because an exclusion law has been passed there will no longer be a Japanese population to deal with. It will continue through all time. We shall never get away from it. It is to be hoped we shall deal with it wisely. I will quote a few words from Mr. Gulick, who knows well the political side of this matter. He speaks definitely upon this subject, no matter what law is passed now or in the future. He wrote this five years ago, but on the whole, with one difference, his statement stands very well as he wrote it.

Even if Japanese immigration be completely stopped, it is not likely that the Japanese population will "dwindle away." There are already in California some 15,000 Japanese women of child-bearing age, most of them still young. There are approximately 20,000 Japanese children, of whom presumably one-half are girls who will be married in the course of the next fifteen or twenty years. There are approximately 40,000 men, of whom about 25,000 are not married. Some of these will return to Japan permanently; some will die without marrying. But not a few, becoming prosperous, will go to Japan, find their wives, and return with them to America.

There will not be these unmarried men, no matter how prosperous, going back to Japan to get their wives. With that exception what Mr. Gulick says is as true today as when he said it. Continuing, Mr. Gulick says:

Under these circumstances, while it would be foolish to forecast the future Japanese population in any statistical way, it is quite clear that even though Japanese immigration may be completely stopped by federal legislation, Japanese population in America and in California is never likely even to "dwindle." For a decade or two departures and deaths may perhaps balance births and arrivals of wives, parents, and children. But a growing Japanese population will always be with us. This fact should be recognized and frankly faced. Energetic steps should be taken to give that population full justice and equality of treatment. Only so shall we have a right to expect it to be really Americanized and thoroughly loyal.

I will quote a few words from Mr. Roosevelt bearing upon the matter of what treatment we should give to immigrants who are in our midst. In the final analysis it is absolutely necessary that we shall see the problem from a dispassionate point of view, and in dealing with a problem so complex and

vital as the immigration problem, we should approach it in the spirit which is so well expressed by ex-President Roosevelt:

We must treat with justice and good will all immigrants who come here under the law. Whether they are Catholic or Protestant, Jew or Gentile, whether they come from England or Germany, Russia, Japan, or Italy matters nothing. All we have a right to question is the man's conduct. If he is honest and upright in his dealings with his neighbor and with the state, he is entitled to respect and good treatment. Especially do we need to remember our duty to the stranger within our gates. It is the sure mark of a low civilization, a low morality, to abuse or discriminate against or in any way humiliate such a stranger who has come here lawfully and is conducting himself properly. To remember this is incumbent on every American citizen, and it is, of course, peculiarly incumbent on every government official, whether of the nation or of the several states.

Remember it was we who forced the gates of Japan open and compelled her to come into relations with the outside world. Remember Japan did not at first send laborers to the United States unrequested. In other words, this immigration business is a thing for which we are responsible. We encouraged it; we compelled it. Now, having the Japanese here, it is only wise and fair that we should do as Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Gulick say, treat them decently. They are here legally. Whatever laws there are now, the Gentlemen's Agreement was observed. Mr. Roosevelt himself said: "The arrangement we made (the Gentlemen's Agreement) worked admirably and entirely achieved its purpose."

These are very simple propositions. We may safely say we are going to have a Japanese population; it is not likely to be smaller; it is here legally and honestly and it deserves fair treatment on the part of Americans, who boast that fair play belongs to each and all, everywhere.

Now, taking up the social aspects of this question, I wish to lay down a few simple propositions relative to this Japanese population. First, it is docile and amenable to a remarkable degree, although it is right in its persistence in demanding the respect which is its due. Second, it is anxious to adjust itself to the conditions it finds, whether they are fair or unfair, kind or unkind, so as to get along happily in every way with us. Third, it is an industrious and intelligent population, anxious to learn and to inform itself, anxious to give return for value received, and (as they say out in California) "carrying the work intrusted to them through to the end."

Again—and this is the only statement where I shall quote figures—we often hear it said that we do not want America to be a dumping-ground for the worthless, the degenerate, the poor and weak of other lands; we do not, of course. We have never had that kind from Japan. It is not a criminal nor a degenerate population, which breaks the laws. It is very rare that the Japanese are in law courts, or arrested for offenses against our laws. Few are in our poorhouses and insane asylums. Here is a datum from California. It is taken from California because there they have the problem to a larger degree than any other section. That is why, all through, I shall quote California. This is recent. It says that all state insane asylums had a total of 11,567 inmates. And how many do we

find are Japanese? One hundred one. How about prisoners? The prisons had a total population of 4,430, and the Japanese element was thirty. Let us reduce this to the equivalent per ten thousand of the population, and all state asylums have twenty-nine persons as inmates out of every ten thousand; there are but ten Japanese out of every ten thousand who are insane. The prisons have eleven convicts for every ten thousand of the population; of Japanese there are three convicts for every ten thousand in the population. I want to emphasize this fact that we are not dealing with dumpings. The Japanese came here poor, perhaps, but not degenerate, nor criminal, nor imbecile. Japan has not dumped her refuse on our country. Our Japanese population is not degenerate, vicious, nor criminal. It is a loyal population, with American tendencies. If I get time later on I shall say something about the way in which the Japanese have shown loyalty in times of crisis in this country. As a characterization of this population, I say it is loyal, and with American tendencies; it is docile, amenable, dignified, anxious to adjust itself, industrious, law-abiding, with good health as to body and mind. It is not a bad population to have with us. I hope it will remain with all its good qualities, which I have simply named and not enlarged upon.

I want to call your attention to this. The laws are unkind; they were brought about by hostility and hatred. The laws under which this population live are harsh and have an element of hatred in them. How can they be enforced? With hatred, with race prejudice? With kindness, with decency, with honesty and honor? Or politically? In my home city there was an election a while ago, and the district attorney, who was running for office, took pains to state how actively he was going to put these laws into operation. Without hesitation he intimated that he was going to apply them to this people as though they were criminals, when they are only the unfortunate victims of circumstances for which they are not responsible, and into which they have been led. There is danger of other district attorneys trying to make political capital by emphasizing the vigor with which they will enforce these laws without regard to mitigating circumstances. Continue that awhile, and are you going to have a population that is loyal, amenable, good, and desirable, or are you going to have a population that will have been made devils by the devilish way in which they have been treated?

To come more specifically to my subject of social phases, I shall call attention to three things which have been agitated to a great extent. In connection with one of them I shall call attention to dangerous misunderstandings. The first is labor competition: underbidding, crowding out of workmen from certain markets. The second is the "awful" birth-rate. I am afraid that if I were to say all that is in my mind about this, some of the people connected with this Conference would shake their heads sadly, for I maintain that a large share of the present agitation for birth control is due to cowardice and selfishness. After all, the production of children is natural. A good, healthy, vigorous man has

no time to think of theoretical birth control. He is too busy making a place for himself and his family after him. There is a good deal of rot about this subject. But I refrain. I shall, however, speak about the birth-rate among the Japanese. The third is the claim that the Japanese are non-assimilable.

First, as to labor. An audience interested in the subjects in which you are interested realizes perfectly the fact that a population from any given country, immigrating into the United States, drifts into one or another field of work; it knows how overwhelmingly some things are in the hands of one given class. This is inevitable. When I was a boy there were certain things we knew the Irish would be employed in. They are not in those things now; they have been crowded out; they are in better jobs. They are merchants, are on the police force, and in state and national politics, at which they are very skilful. They have been crowded out from the things they were in. We might go on. I remember when all bootblacks were Italians. You do not see Italians blacking boots today. I remember when there were no Greek restaurants anywhere. Now we have them in large numbers—in Chicago. It is perfectly natural for a people who come from any district, if they can get work of a certain kind, to take it; it is natural for their successors and friends to drift into the same thing. Almost all Japanese at home are agriculturists, and of a hard and intensive kind. Overwhelmingly the population of Japan is agricultural. So when Japanese come to new lands, they are going to be found in the fields, in agriculture, and in the kind of agriculture they are used to. They are not accustomed to complicated implements, nor to enterprises on a big scale; they are used to a deal of careful attention; with tired backs and aching legs they care for each individual plant. They came here because they thought the chances were a little better in those directions. They found districts where they could do that kind of work splendidly, to a degree such that their production has come to be one-sixth of the total agricultural production of the great state of California. There is no element of our population, which has come from outside, but has crowded out someone. If only those crowded out find better fields as they pass on, the situation seems to be a happy one. That is what happened in California. One-sixth of the agricultural production of the state is produced by Japanese labor, and represents such products as strawberries, asparagus, onions, tomatoes—things which the white man likes to talk about as profitable, but which he does not go into. When Senator Phelan—I never realized the possibility of giving a lecture upon Senator Phelan until I began to get ready for this affair; it would be possible to prepare a most telling lecture on the subject—says that Japanese labor leaves no room for the white man, Colonel Irish answers him. Colonel Irish says he is a farmer himself. Maybe so—he is at all events a landowner—and he has been in the habit of hiring Japanese to work his land. He says that the claim that the Japanese have crowded the white man off the fields is a lie. There was no white labor in the fields where the Japanese have been working and producing, and we needed labor there. The Japanese were willing to do it.

It is interesting and curious how they have adapted themselves. I think Colonel Irish is nearer the truth than Senator Phelan in his statement. They have added to the productive area and to the income of the state, and their loss will be severely felt in California, as it will be also in Oregon and Washington. Neither the Mexicans, nor the Armenians, nor the Portuguese are going to give the satisfaction that the Japanese have given. Do not misunderstand me. This statement is not based on race prejudice. These nationalities have their admirable qualities; but a Mexican is not going to give the satisfaction, in the production of strawberries, asparagus, onions, and celery, that the Japanese have given in those three states.

The second point is the matter of the birth-rate. I could not help laughing when I saw myself announced on the program as an anthropologist and found I was expected to be scientific; I hope, however, that I am going to talk sense. I am not going to indulge in deep anthropology about this birth-rate. The Japanese birth-rate in California has been alleged, in a quotation from Mr. Phelan, as "a child every year for every picture bride." Senator Phelan and Mr. McClatchy, of the *Sacramento Bee*, are also credited with the statement that at the present rate of increase there will be more Japanese in California in thirty years than white persons. This birth-rate is terrific—"one child a year for every picture bride"—"in thirty years more Japanese in California than white men"! "And," says Senator Phelan, "they immediately convey their real estate to their infant children almost as fast as they are born." Of course; they have to do so. There is nothing else for them to do, because the law has put them in such a position that, in order to save the property which represents the work of years and hard effort, they are obliged to put it in the names of their infant children. It is a shame; but they are driven to it. That is one of the strange things about Senator Phelan. He never sees where he is leading to.

I have whole pages of this birth-rate business, but I must condense. What is the actual ratio of population of Japanese in California today? Two per cent. Is it not interesting, when 98 per cent of a population that numbers three millions trembles over the frightful increase involved in the 2 per cent? More Japanese than white people in thirty years! That is prodigious multiplication.

There is another thing Colonel Irish said; it is on this matter: "In their statements made to the committee on immigration of the United States Senate, there were found to be twenty thousand picture brides, and each gave birth to a child once a year, etc. There were 4,738 births in that state for that year. Quite a shrinkage! There must have been some sixteen thousand brides asleep at the switch."

From 1915, for a period of five years, there were a good many Japanese coming in under the Gentlemen's Agreement. More came than were anticipated, and the law was construed in a way we had not thought of. It permitted them to bring wives, but we did not think of their bringing wives in just the way they did, so numerous. Especially in Mr. McClatchy's and in Mr. Phelan's heart, this

created a state of panic. People began to say that the Gentleman's Agreement was not being observed, and they did not take into consideration the advantage and the desirability of the picture brides. I can talk to you quite frankly. It is not a good thing for a population to have a concentrated mass of thousands of young, unmarried, foreign men. I do not like to think of it. It ought not to be. I am glad those Japanese wanted wives, and that, when they began to be prosperous, they wanted to found families. In the Orient the founding of a family is held to be a man's first obligation. There is an old book, that used to have weight and respectability among us, in which it is laid down as a fundamental fact that the founding of a family is the obligatory thing in humanity. I am glad these Japanese wanted their own kind; that they did not marry American wives. I am glad they were not willing to get along, as lots of people would have done, without marrying at all. I am glad that they brought their wives over after the fashion of what is known as the picture bride. How mysterious that sounds! What deep plots seem to be hidden in the picture bride. Yet it is very simple. If a man was successful, he wrote to his parents in Japan that he wanted them to send him a wife. That is legitimate and regular in Japan. There the young man does not have so much to say about marriage as in America. When it is thought well for a young man to marry, the parents employ a middleman to look for a promising girl. The middleman wants to make a good record for himself, so he sets about looking for a girl, and takes into consideration family, wealth, position, health, and mode of life. He reports to the parents, and if they think he has shown good judgment, they have the young lady brought around for inspection, or perhaps arrange things so that the young man may see her without a too formal inspection. The marriage takes place. I think there is a good deal to be said in favor of this method. While I am not urging the adoption of the system in this country, I confess it has its advantages as compared with the western way of doing things. We allow young people with no experience in life to choose their mates by indulging in sentimental love; often they want to separate the day after they are married. Because we do it that way it is true, I suppose, that today we have more divorces and unhappy marriages than any other country in the world. I am sorry to think of Japan's changing her system. It was a good thing for those young fellows to send home for wives. The parents sent a picture of the proposed bride; if he liked the picture, the whole thing was arranged, and she came out to join her husband. It was a real marriage. The fundamental idea was to live happily and found a family. And we have such terror about those picture brides! They came in great numbers and, as might be expected, there was a high birth-rate in the years that followed. It would have been strange if there had not been. But those were not normal years. Look at Japan's story in Hawaii, where its birth-rate, on the average, does not equal that of several of the other populations, and is only a little larger than that of the white population. The picture bride system made for decency, developed family life, gave men some-

thing to live for and work for. Instead of finding fault with these picture brides, we ought to think of them as an asset to our nation.

I suppose it is true at the present time that the Japanese birth-rate in California is about two and a half times the birth-rate of the white people of that state. But it is bound to fall. It will come nearer to the rate of the white man in that section. I do not like to think that 8 per cent of the children in the country are born of 2 per cent of the population. The Japanese are doing their share, but not better than they ought to.

The population of California is composed of three elements: the first is the immigrant whites. That is the majority of what they get there. They are making bids for them all the time. They advertise for them. In Los Angeles they once told me they had 355 beautiful days every year. I was there just eleven days, and nine of those were horrid. You know their announcements. We get out something similar in Washington. "Filtered sunlight" is what we specialize in. Here in Denver you are behind, with your bright skies. What you need is filtered sunlight. California is getting quantities of immigrant whites and is going to get them in time to come. The second, is the white births. Do you realize the actual situation in California? We all do. We know that a great many old people go there to end their days quietly; they are not having children. Many go there who are broken in health, hoping to find improvement in California. They have no children. California is full of invalids. The population of California as regards white births is exceptional, just as it is exceptional in the proportion of Japanese births. A percentage of the population of California has no children because it is old; a percentage is invalid, or has something else the matter with it. A third percentage of the white population remains. Instead of wishing the Japanese population to reduce its birth-rate, it is up to that third percentage to do its duty. The white people, not aged and invalid, would better think seriously of life's duties.

Third, there is the matter of assimilation. And here, the Senator! And McClatchy! And talking about assimilation, isn't it interesting to notice their names! It seems to me there must have been some kind of assimilation there. Mr. V. S. McClatchy, for example, testified before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization last June, saying: "Now the objections to the Japanese are that they are non-assimilable. They don't intermarry, and we don't want them to intermarry. That Japanese is always a Japanese." There is argument for you, just bristling with matter! Senator James D. Phelan has resorted to the same method of attack. He said, during the same hearing: "If there is any way of putting them on an equality in all respects we would do it. It is an economic proposition, because the races are not assimilable, and we can never have that equality." Farther on he said: "It is our duty to exclude the Japanese for economic reasons. Their competition is deadly and their non-assimilability established. Heretofore the Japanese have objected to discrimination, but God made them so and it is the nature of things. If we were to swallow them and

could assimilate them as an American community, it would be well and good, but we cannot do it. They, therefore, should not complain except against the decree of nature."

It is possible to understand what is the matter with both Phelan and McClatchy. People frequently, instead of assigning their real reasons, assign the exact contrary. It is psychopathic. The real truth is that the Japanese is remarkably assimilable. He is quick to take on American ways and to become like Americans. It is not that he is unassimilable; the trouble is that he assimilates too easily. That is what worries these two men. You get it in the admission that Japanese competition is something that cannot be overcome.

I will tell you two personal stories. I have a Japanese boy in my home in Seattle who is attending college. He came to this country for a university education, and had his freshman year at the University of Chicago, and his sophomore and junior years in Seattle. In Chicago he had a good time. My friends were his friends, and he enjoyed his stay there. When we came to Seattle, I said to him, "You will be all right here because there are so many Japanese. You will feel quite at home, especially with the boys in college." He went to college, but said very little, and when I asked him how he was getting along, gave evasive replies. When I asked him if he had joined the Japanese Club, he said he had not, and when I asked why he said, "Oh, they don't care for us." There are perhaps fifty Japanese in the university, but they were born in Seattle, or Washington, or Oregon, and have not learned Japanese ways. They scarcely speak their parents' language. They look at everything with American eyes. They have graduated from high school, with superior marks usually, and they are making good records in the university, but, bless you, they do not care a cent for a boy that comes from Japan. He is slow, backward, foreign.

Mr. Harding was in our state a little while before his death and a reception was given by the school children; among them were several Japanese children, one a little boy. President Harding, with that kindness that was characteristic of him, patted the youngster on the head and said, "Little Japanese boy?" "No, sir," said the youngster, "I am an American boy." Talk about assimilation! These young people are Americans, not Japanese.

In 1913 I made the circuit of Mount Fuji with a young Japanese. When we came back to his home to rest for a few days, we found the daughter of the family all excited. The father was a Buddhist priest, a dear old man; the mother was a kind, gentle soul; the temple in which they lived was a home of peace and joy. Well, we found this girl all excitement because she was going to America as a picture bride. All the details had been arranged, and she was only waiting for the steamer to take her to Seattle. She asked me many questions about what she should do, and how she should act, and whether people would be pleased with her. The next time I went through Seattle, in 1915, they saw by the newspapers, that I was in town, and came to see me, and brought the baby. Senator Phelan's statement about picture brides worked out just right in that case.

The baby was a dear little fellow, and the parents were proud and happy over him and over living here. The bride was getting along much better than she expected, and she found the American ladies kind and gentle; they did not make fun of her mistakes. I went through Seattle again in 1917, and this time they came in their automobile to take me to the steamer. The little fellow was now beginning to talk and to be interested in things. When I went to Seattle in 1923 to live permanently, after a time I began to wonder why this family had not been around to see me, and was a little peeved. I made inquiries, but could not locate them. Presently I went across to Tokio, where, the afternoon of my arrival, the man called upon me to pay his respects. They had gone back to Japan for a visit, he explained, and so had not been able to call upon me in Seattle. They had seen in the newspapers that I was going to ascend Mount Fuji. The wife and children were at the temple, and when I descended from the mountain they would see me. They did so. I asked the little boy how he was getting on. He had been brought up to respect me—they respect the aged in Japan—and he said, "I don't like it at all. I want to go back to my country. They are so slow and things are so inconvenient here." Americanization? Assimilation? Why, in Seattle you will find in their homes chairs—rocking chairs—and tables, and doilies, cushions on the davenports, and photographs and pictures on the walls. They do not have any of those things in Japan. There you can take comfort in your rooms and not be disturbed by the clutter of furniture around you. The point I want to make is this, that that little fellow was not a Japanese. He loves America. And yet Senator Phelan says, "God made them so." They cannot assimilate.

In this effort to assimilate themselves to their surroundings there are some things that lead to misunderstandings. I will mention three things that are good and ought to remain, but which are suspected and misjudged. The first of these is the Japanese Association. It is a splendid thing. It has made life tolerable for the Japanese here. It has helped them in trouble and directed them in time of need. It has interpreted American ways to them. Americanization has been its aim. Some Americans think it is dangerous. It has been claimed that it is maintained by the Japanese government, that it has imperial political aims. Nothing is farther from the truth. It is an organization of mutual helpfulness. We should encourage these Japanese Associations. There are three of them on the west coast—one in southern California, one in San Francisco, and one in the Northwest. They help to develop friendships, and they help to maintain order, and they deserve encouragement from us, and aid.

The second is the Japanese school. I approve of it, but I expect it will disappear. The question might be asked, If they are to assimilate, why have Japanese schools? It is to keep them in touch with their parents, and to help them not to forget their language. It holds one or two hours outside public school hours. It supplements the public school. It is a saving thing and a safe thing, but it will die naturally before long, probably.

The third thing is the Buddhist temple. I shall quote Senator Phelan. At the San Francisco hearing of the Immigration Committee, he testified: "There are seventy-six Buddhist temples in California, and I am told that they are regularly attended by 'emperor worshipers' who believe that their emperor is the overlord of all." Think of that! Somebody ought to have told the senator a thing or two so that he need not have insulted the intelligence of the Committee by remarks of that kind. Mr. Phelan never found a Buddhist temple, in any country at anytime, that taught emperor worship. Nor did any one else. When we go to Japan to live we expect them to tolerate our churches in their country. We insist on their doing so, and in the cities where there are any number of foreigners there are foreign churches, so that foreigners may continue to worship after their own belief. But there is more. Not only do foreigners establish churches for their own worship; they attempt to force their religion upon the Japanese. American missionaries have sought to introduce a religion the principles of which Americans themselves do not practice. Yet the Japanese have put up with it. They have not only permitted foreigners to have their own churches; they have not interfered even when churches have been introduced for proselytizing purposes, bound to have an effect on the social and political and economic situation of the country. When the Japanese came here, the old folks wanted to have their own way of worship—which, in my opinion, is better for them than Christianity. The Japanese brought up in Buddhism and remaining in it is likely to be a more amenable, more controllable, more assimilable character than the one who becomes a Christian. But because they have a few temples and religious services, we have a panic. They do not try to proselytize, nor to take Christianity away from our people. They want only their natural, legitimate, normal, ordinary religious opportunity, and we cry out, They must go, those Buddhist temples! I presume they will go. It is unfortunate.

Once I was in conversation with a Japanese gentleman about the troubles between our nations. He said, with great show of enthusiasm, "The trouble is, we have different religions. If only we would become Christians, the whole thing would be solved, and then there would be no troubles between us and the Americans." My answer was: "My friend, the fact that you are Buddhists is only made an excuse. The real thing that counts is that you are different in blood. We have in our country ten or twelve million people who are good Christians, unusually good Christians, who love to go to church, and sing, and pray; they are children of Jesus, sons of God; Christianity means more perhaps, in their daily life, than in the life of any other element in the population of the United States; but their skin is black, and the hostility toward them does not seem to be the less because they are Christians." The Buddhist temple will no doubt go. It has a proper place in the Americanization of those Japanese people, but it will go, and when it has gone prejudice of race or the difference of color will not be affected in the least by the fact that we have some thousands more of Christian converts in our churches.

To sum up what I have tried to say: The Japanese population will remain with us. We should treat it with justice, decency, and respect. The three great points of objection that have been urged against the Japanese are (1) that they crowd out other labor and lower the standard of living; (2) that they are increasing and will increase by an abnormally rapid birth-rate; (3) that they are non-assimilable. None of the three contains a serious threat. In Japanese life here there are agencies good in themselves and helpful in the control and assimilation of our Japanese population. Among them are three, which are often misrepresented, but which are wholesome: the Japanese Associations, the Japanese school, the Buddhist temple. All are legitimate, but suspicion and hostility are so strong that the school and temple are likely soon to disappear. In the Japanese Association, however, we have an agency of incalculable value, that deserves the heartiest sympathy and support. Its chief functions are to harmonize, to work toward mutual understanding, to Americanize.

A MESSAGE TO TAKE HOME WITH YOU

*Halsted Ritter, President, American Association
of Community Organizations, Denver*

I have been interested in the magnitude and the personnel of this conference. For some months many of the public who are not social workers, like myself, have been wondering what sort of people would come to Denver for this week. We now know that Denver never had an assemblage as seriously intellectual as this. A woman who runs a café nearby which has been popular with the women attending this convention said the other day that in all her history never has she had such a fine lot of women in her place. This convention would impress anyone who gives a minute's consideration to it that the men and women engaged in social work in this country have a determined purpose to help needy humanity.

You assemble here, just as you have assembled in other places during the last fifty-two years, and it seems to me there must be a great accumulation of experience, a vaster knowledge of policy, and an increased community of interest which is going to contribute something definite to the welfare of the American people. What is it? That question has been asked time and again in Denver. I have asked many people attending this convention about it. Are these great social forces operating in this country destined to accomplish a great work in the near future because of the preparation of the years past, and the accumulation of facts, and the experiments carried on in many places? Is it not time that there came out of this national conference and the forces represented some great outstanding effect upon the American nation? I have a conviction of what that ought to be, and I am not alone in that conviction, as it has been expressed

by many people during the past week, and I am going to give it to you tonight for your consideration, and as the idea you may take home with you.

The prosperity and the happiness of the American nation lies largely in the cities and towns of this country. The roots of our American liberty lie deep in our municipalities. There are found the great masses of the population, our great newspapers, our book and magazine publishers; there you find the great banking and financial institutions; there are our industries, and the political and social forces which direct the currents of American progress. There are, also, the swamps of misery, of crime, and corruption which broadcast the influences of evil. There are the centers out of which come the leaders in all lines of thought and action. We may, in our American policy, forget state lines and lengthen out the arm of the national government, but the people will ever hold inviolate the principle of local self-government as exemplified in our municipalities. That is the great institution in our American life. Our cities must lift themselves out of the troubles in which they find themselves. Once in a while a city rises up and turns things over and then the good people lapse back into complacency, and vice and corruption and misery spring up again. Vice, misery, disease may be checked for a while, but they are always rising up again at the first opportunity. The reason we have not maintained permanently good government in our cities and towns and held the advance in better things is because after a reform there seems nothing for good people to do to hold the position which they have gained by their spasmodic action. But social service, social science, developing in this country, has drawn into its fold thousands of citizens in all of our cities and towns for an all-the-year-round work of betterment. So that the forces of good are now lined up for a steady hold upon our cities and towns, constantly on guard against the very active forces of evil, and by reason of the drawing into activity of the citizens of our communities through social work and social institutions and social welfare, we are developing a power in our American cities which must contribute ultimately to the stabilizing of them, and thus reach our nation and the development of that civilization we boast of. We are learning in our cities that health and sanitation, child and family welfare, hospitalization, and other means of welfare are as much a part of civil government as water and light, and police and fire departments. Chambers of commerce, boards of trade, and city councils now listen in many places to the advice of the social welfare leaders in a city program. Our cities have never considered that the humanities of government were just as important, just as much a function of municipal life, as these other functions and political elements, and we have left to the politician the job of going down into the so-called "poor districts" and there using the social idea of helpfulness and relief to maintain his political power. I heard a good woman, when I was in Toronto last year, in addressing a division of the conference, tell how, in a certain district in Chicago where the neighborhood house was endeavoring to work out a program among the people, she went into politics and defeated the ward boss, for the

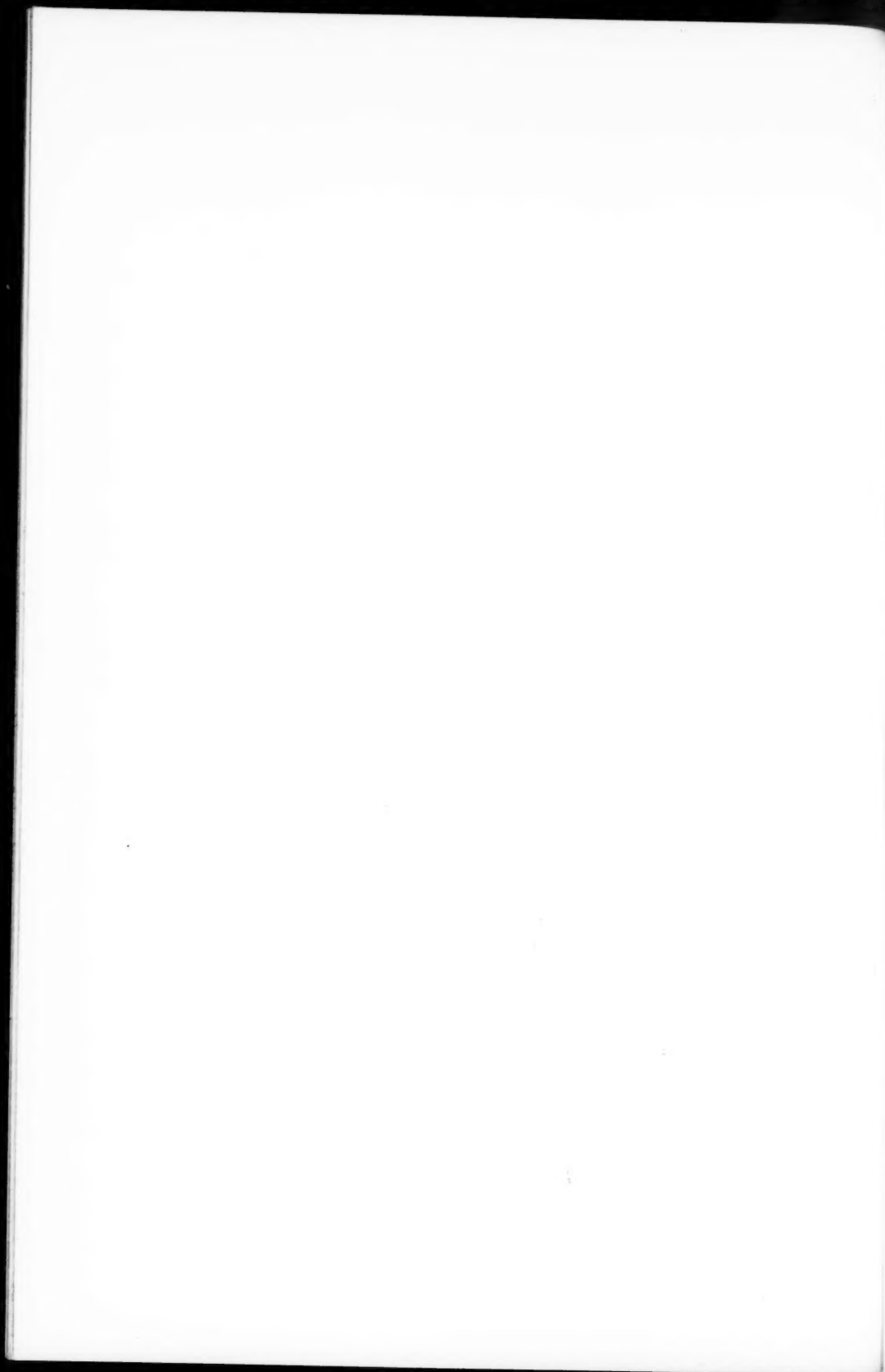
purpose of establishing the political leadership of that house so that it might lead the people into liberty, and a broader view of things, and self-help. I am not advocating that social workers should go into politics, although I think the time will come to throw the forces of social betterment into the political game, perhaps, when absolutely necessary. (But I know that idea is not popular.) I have great admiration for that woman.

Our cities are getting better. Our slums are disappearing, due to the activity of social forces. The leaders of industry, operating great plants, have come to view welfare of employees and sanitation as of great economic value, and our cities must come to view these social forces as of money value in the community. The people are ready to contribute the money for this work in the cities as soon as they can see a program.

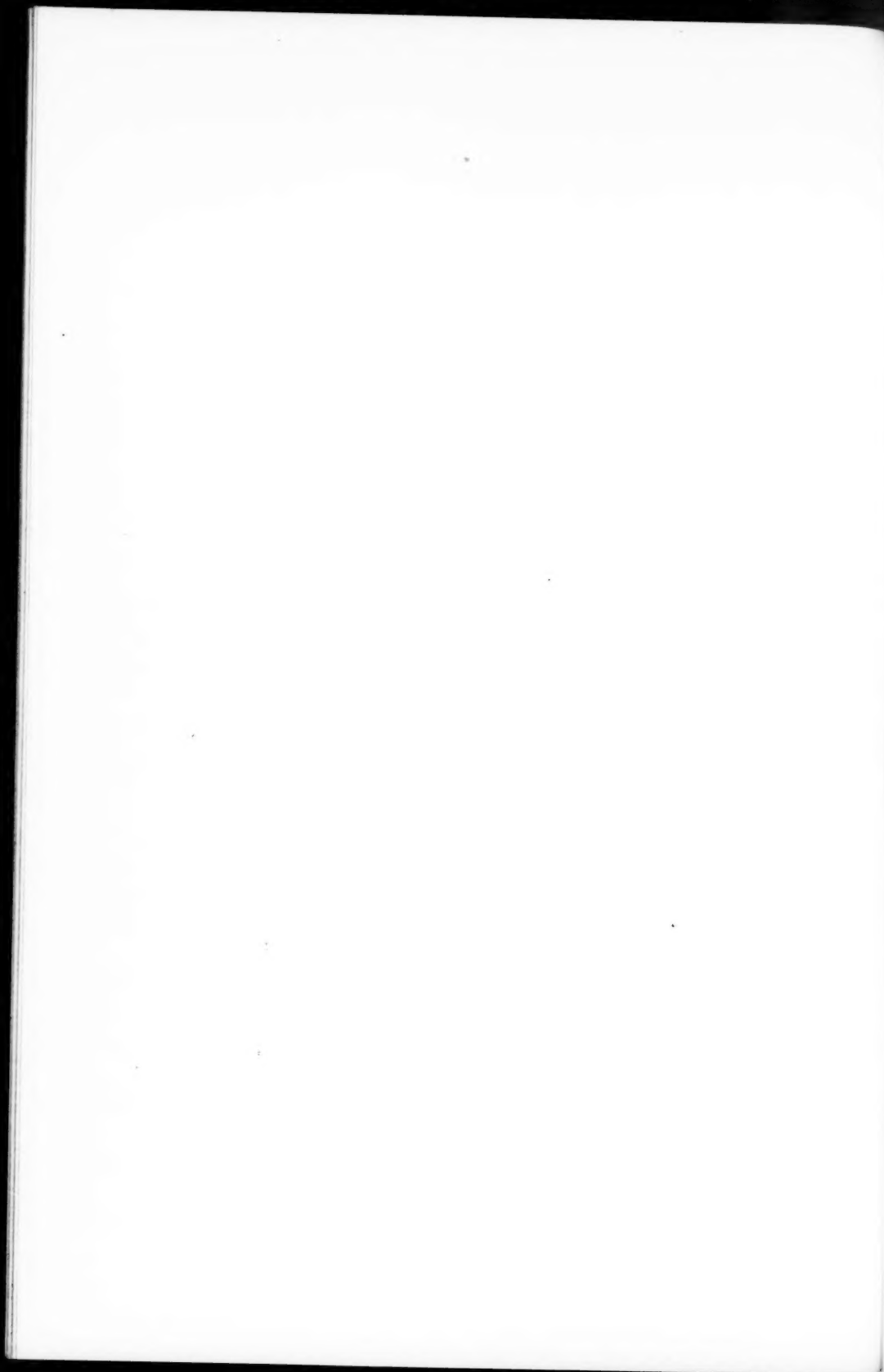
Now you will ask, what am I getting at? This: that this conference, spread out as it is through its many branches, must sooner or later concentrate upon a program, and the place to put this into effect is in the cities and towns of this country. In these places the union of these social forces upon a city-wide program backed by a union of the business element, of the chambers of commerce, and the city councils, working out a common program attacking the forces that drag down community life, will regenerate our cities, will put strength and vigor into the foundations of our American life, will put vigor into our American system, sending an influence up through the state and into the nation—yes, and into the world at large. The time must come in the near future when this National Conference, or these agencies represented in its membership, everywhere must consider some form of union in our municipal life. I do not care under what name, whether community chest, or community welfare, or whatever other name it may be; the name doesn't count. It is the object, the purpose that counts. It is the attacking of the forces of evil, lined up for their own preservation. How can an army, broken up into divisions, fight against the enemy? How could they ever win a victory? The most unselfish people in the world are the social workers. You work, for the love of humanity, on just a bare living wage. The same spirit of unselfishness must enter into your cooperation in the working out together of this program, and the idea that your particular line of work is the only means of accomplishing the end, must not stand in the way of your ultimate combination for the accomplishing of a great end. If I am wrong, you will correct me in my thinking. These social workers in our cities and towns which are now interested, understanding the common life and welfare, can work out a program before long which will draw to it the support of all the cities and towns, and will offer a place to the social worker far better than he now has. Say, you desire to clean up a town; is it not better to work with all the stabilizing and helpful forces than to go it alone? There is no doubt that the social worker will, by working up a large program, win a place in our American life. I am asking social workers to look a little farther than the present day and hour, beyond the present job, to that day when your work—added to

the work of every other social worker—for war upon the forces of evil will produce a power that is overwhelming. I like that definition of social work which is given by the New York School of Philanthropy, which says that “organized social work is the effort of public and private agencies to improve conditions of life in the community, whether through the relief and care of individuals in distress, or through the removal of causes of adversity and the enjoyment of opportunity necessary for normal living.”

Ladies and gentlemen, this social force must not be like the river Jordan which flows into the Dead Sea, but like the river Yukon, gathering to itself the waters of many streams, collecting as it flows such great power and strength that it drives back the waters of the salty sea ten miles from its mouth. So through the country this stream of social work and community work must unite to push back the forces which are trying to destroy our civilization.



B. DIVISION MEETINGS



I. CHILDREN

INTAKE OF CHILD CARING INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES

WHAT CHILDREN SHOULD BE RECEIVED FOR CARE BY AN INSTITUTION OR AGENCY AND WHAT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THOSE NOT ACCEPTED?

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This paper is principally intended for the discussion of the kind of children's problems with which agencies other than the child's own family should be concerned and with which they should equip themselves to deal intelligently.

Forty-two states and the territories of Alaska and Hawaii have passed laws which make it possible for the state or local units within the state to provide for certain dependent children in their own homes. The conditions as to whether such support is given in the families of widows only, or in families where the father may still be alive, or to unmarried mothers, vary from state to state. Likewise the length of time that must elapse before the family becomes eligible, and various other conditions differ very much in the various states. The principle is, however, well established. Most of the states have more law than is now being used, or at least satisfactorily administered. A greater uniformity in the conditions applying to mothers' assistance funds is undoubtedly desirable, but in most of the states the administration of these funds is at present of greater concern than any amendment of statutes. Such an administration is largely a question of the better application of case work principles by the social servants of the local units as well as by the supervising visitors of the respective states where the state departments are in position to provide such supervision.

This paper is, however, not intended to discuss the various questions of mothers' aid, but we desire to express our interest in having every case of dependent children considered first of all from the standpoint of the possibility of applying the mothers' assistance principle to the solution of the problem, consistent with the maintenance of safe and intelligent care for the children.

A further fundamental principle akin to this is that all applications for the care of children must be examined from the standpoint of making such slight or even complicated adjustment, with or without financial assistance, that will make it possible to maintain the family home, or if a brief absence of the children is necessary, to rebuild it again. Homes should not be broken up because

of poverty, nor should they be broken up on slight provocation. On slight study a breakup sometimes seems justified, but when a more complete study has been made there are revealed those intangible home qualities which counterbalance the lack of more obvious and tangible qualities and home comforts. The sense of belonging to a family and the alternative sense of being lost when that family life is broken are real things in the lives of children.

A modification of the last principle expressed also leads efficient social work to examine the resources that relatives provide. The thoughtless forcing of children into the homes of relatives who have ample means and plenty of house room but who are not sympathetic to the needs of the children of their poor relations or who make them feel dependence in the household or even would exploit them is not good social work. On the other hand, if the child's home has been broken up, the kindly interest of an older brother or sister, of an uncle or aunt, perhaps less often of a grandfather or grandmother, may make up for some of this loss.

We desire also to register here our profound conviction in the interrelationships of the various fields of social work. Sometimes homes can best be saved by the development of a better health program, by better probation, by the development of a preventive mental-hygiene program, and in other ways too numerous to mention.

But when all these things have been done there still remain many children for whom some provision must be made in either institution or foster home. It is the needs of these children that we are concerned to analyze in the rest of this paper. A program for children in any given community includes the use of homes for adoption, free, school, wage, and other boarding homes, as well as institutional care. Each of these should be chosen specifically from the standpoint of the child's own needs. No community can consider itself equipped until it not only has the various kinds of facilities for such care but also has an organization, either as a separate inquiry agency, an inquiry department of a child-placing agency, or an inquiry department of an institution, to determine what the particular needs of the child are.

But such a department or agency needs also certain supplementary equipment, such as provision for temporary shelter care, either in an institution or in specially selected shelter foster homes, medical examination both for quarantine purposes and also for the determination of special needs, the psychological and psychiatric clinics, now often called child-guidance clinics, where the child may not only be examined to determine his mental levels but may also have careful study of his personality traits, in order that the acquaintanceship with the child may become an intimate one and the needs may actually be met if they are at hand or planned for if the community's equipment is still imperfect. In the past we have too frequently decided what kind of service we wished to institute, and then in a Procrustean fashion made the child fit into our equipment. Our present tendency is a more scientific one; we are endeavoring to

find what the peculiar needs of the child are; we aim to learn how these needs are best met; and then we ask the community to provide that need.

Assuming now that a careful medical, social, and personality inquiry has been made in each case, let us consider various groups. The full orphan child of good or reasonably good parentage, attractive in looks and demeanor, should be considered as suitable for adoption. Such a decision is modified by the age of the child, since it is often difficult to integrate completely a child ten years or older into a new family. Here also consideration of relatives should not be forgotten, and if suitable adoption into an uncle's family can be worked out it may be considered highly advantageous. The child having fewer attractions will sometimes prove equally suitable for adoption, but may need a longer probation period than a year for adjustment between the time of the original placement and the completion of adoption. In certain instances such a child may be placed in a free home with slight or no prospect of adoption. In this case close supervision is very much needed. The minimum standards of the Child Welfare League of America of four visits a year would hardly satisfy the need, even when circumstances seem reasonably favorable. An easy turning to adoption for the solution of complicated children's problems is perhaps the greatest danger in work for dependent children.

Full orphans that are not considered suitable for adoption and who are in danger of exploitation in free homes should be placed either in institutions or in boarding homes, subject to certain conditions mentioned below.

There is also the child of the mother whose husband has died and who wishes very much to keep the child in her own care, but whose home is not eligible for mothers' assistance funds. Perhaps she has not been in state or nation long enough to satisfy legal requirements. This problem is one of the most complicated in that many communities have too slight financial facilities available for the subsidizing of family homes under these circumstances. Poverty should not make it necessary to separate mother and child in this case; unfortunately it often does, and an institution or boarding home is the usual resource to which a community must turn. Sometimes the institution has made it possible for such a mother to become a house mother and to give her child or children the opportunity of living with her in the same cottage and keeping that contact alive. We consider this not the most desirable plan but a reasonable one where the community cannot maintain the home by any other means and when the institution makes it possible for mother and child to live in the same cottage. Certain church and non-sectarian institutions have come forward in the last few years to maintain, through their own resources, such homes as are not eligible for public funds, without the necessity of either child or mother going into the institution itself.

Then there is the child whose mother is dead and whom the father wishes to keep, either in his own home or at any rate in his control, so that the father and child may see each other frequently and the tie between them may

remain alive. The very fact that the father is often in position to provide financial resources has kept communities from developing their own facilities to meet this need in an adequate way. Children from widowers' families become social problems in large numbers. Again, institutions and boarding homes must come forward to meet this need in most instances. Where the boarding home is available, the father should have free access to the child at reasonable times, but both he and the foster mother should have their financial relations entirely with the organization under whose supervision the child has been placed. No system of direct contact between parent and foster home for working out their financial plans is, in the long run, adequate. The foster home must have money assured and the organization must command the wholehearted cooperation of the foster home in developing team-work plans.

Then there is the group of children whose parents have neglected them and who, either temporarily or permanently, must be separated under court order from either one or both parents. In some of the states, after the separation has become long enough to justify considering it permanent, these children may also be given for adoption. The tendency, however, exists in many states, and is becoming increasingly marked, to keep the door open for rehabilitation longer and longer, and therefore adoption is not as full a resource in such cases as it used to be, and will probably become a slighter resource in the future than it is even now. These children have in many instances suffered serious deprivations; they are apt to be below par physically; their education has been neglected; they are mentally retarded or below normal. The free home is not as large a resource as it used to be. As a matter of fact, the free home is likely to neglect or exploit such children in such a large number of instances that the institution or the boarding home is more likely to give these children the care they need.

This brings us to the large group of children who deviate in small or considerable measure from a normal development, either physically or intellectually or in their habit development. Many of these children have been placed out in an experimental way, either by the institution or by a placing agency, but they have not proved successful either in a home for adoption or in a free home without adoption. The so-called "unplaceable" fall in this group. The situation in the Middle West, from Illinois to Colorado, inclusive, is interesting in this particular. Their schools for dependent children are full of these children. The habit and guidance clinics have helped us to see this problem more clearly. A special type of service is needed for these children. Fewer of them now go out in an experimental way into adoption or free homes than formerly, for they have special needs requiring special attention. Courts formerly committed all such children that did not meet the conditions of probation satisfactorily in their own homes to industrial schools, but these have been found in many instances to be trouble-makers in such groups; they have become the grit in the machine. Here too we learn that special kinds of service are needed for them, and in in-

creasing numbers the boarding home has been turned to for the care of the delinquent child whose home is not able to grapple with the problem.

No single city or state, as far as we have been able to learn, has all the facilities that are necessary to meet the various needs that we have indicated. But with the present development of the theory and art in child care we believe that every community should equip itself with an agency for social inquiry into every application for social service to a child. This equipment need not always be organized in the same way, but in general it should preferably be a separate children's organization with a trained staff rather than a family welfare society under the constant direction of a supervisor trained in children's work. This agency should be equipped to make its own inquiries, accepting always the inquiries of other agencies as far as they have covered the ground. Every community requires clinical service, first of all medical, secondarily psychological, to supplement the social agency in its work. This clinical service can also advantageously serve the court and perhaps the school department. It will often find case problems that cannot be adjusted properly in their own homes, and thus the children's agency becomes the adjunct of the clinic, just as the clinic often is the adjunct of the agency. No children's program is complete that does not provide institutional, boarding, free, and adoption homes, as the need arises. A community that is well equipped with these various resources will less and less need large institutional facilities.

Where family placement is well developed and where a supply of boarding homes on a social service basis is available to meet the needs of the physical, intellectual, and emotional problems, the institution will render its most important service for temporary scientific care and for special education and training. But unless the community is willing to devote its resources to the building up of a carefully selected and supervised staff for home placement, the latter involves substantial risks. Much child placement work has not sufficiently safeguarded the children placed by them. Where it is well done in a flexible program it comes nearer meeting all the needs in child care than any other single form of service.

In many communities the child placing work is either too new, too undeveloped, or not sufficiently safeguarded to justify making it the main resource. Besides providing temporary shelter care and diagnostic service in such communities for years to come, the institution has an important place in the program. It should, however, if it is true to the scientific study of the needs of the child, develop its own careful intake work and its own placement and careful follow up. And in the care of its children it should honestly approximate a family group in size, and not have more than fifteen in any cottage.

The scientific progress that has been made in child study has helped us to individualize our children. That seems to me to be the key to the development of the near future. To build on such a recognition of the child's needs requires

trained service, whether it be in institution or child placing agency. It means that intake service cannot be thought of as an incidental duty of the superintendents or of a board member, nor can placement work any longer be justified when it is but one of the tasks of a district superintendent or an employee. We have now better facilities than ever to learn the facts in the case and the child's needs. Are we willing to face an honest solution?

AGENCIES FOR DETERMINING WHETHER CARE OUTSIDE
OF OWN HOME IS NECESSARY, AND IF SO,
WHAT KIND OF CARE

Rev. John Doherty, Director of Catholic Charities, St. Paul

The more experience we have in caring for children outside of their own homes, the greater is our precaution in determining whether foster home care or institutional care is necessary. We are beginning to realize more and more how difficult it is to provide the child with a proper substitute for his own home regardless of how poor that home might be. The slogan today in children's work is "Back to the Home." This is so, not because social agencies have discovered something new in their search for an environment that will best satisfy the needs of the child, but because they have arrived at a better understanding and appreciation of the merits of the oldest institution of society, an institution established by God himself for the care of the child, and that is the child's own home.

When a request, therefore, comes to an institution or a child caring agency for the removal of a child from his own home, a very careful investigation should be made to determine why the child should not remain where he is, and if he is to be removed, whether or not the new home will adequately supply his needs. The agency accepting him should know all there is to be known about him, so that upon the basis of this knowledge he might be adjusted properly in his new environment.

The findings of a survey made in 1922 of eight child caring institutions in a city of the Middle West show that these institutions did not make, nor did they have the means of making, a proper selection of the children admitted. Out of 200 cases studied, 165 lacked sufficient social history to warrant the separation of the child from his parent or parents. In 34 cases there was a possibility of keeping the child with his mother by assisting the mother to secure county allowance. There were 156 cases in which the names of relatives and other genealogical facts were missing, the lack of which precluded the possibility of establishing the proper relationship between the child and the members of his family. In some instances no address of parents was given. The survey studies disclosed that in 22 cases there was a health condition in the child's family which

would indicate that the child needed special attention, yet there was nothing in the records of the institution to show this. Other agencies in thirteen instances had discovered symptoms in the children that were not on record at the institution. Likewise, signs of feeble-mindedness and insanity evident in the family history were not on record. There was nothing in the institution records to show that in seven cases the children were non-residents and should have been the charge of other communities. On account of lack of information regarding the social and financial standing of the child's family the institutions were not able to determine accurately the amount of money to be paid for the child's care. This information was lacking in 150 cases out of the 200 studied. For example, an uncle who was guardian of two boys paid nothing for their support, although he was vice president of a flourishing construction company. One father who was earning \$182 a month had three children in one institution and was paying \$9.00 a month for their care. In another institution a mother was paying \$20 a month for one child and supporting herself and another child on a salary of \$80 per month.

Need of investigating agency.—From the facts disclosed in this survey it is quite evident that a more careful investigation should have been made before these children were removed from their own homes. What should be the procedure, then, in such cases? If, instead of accepting children solely upon the recommendations of parents and relatives, the agencies concerned will consult the confidential exchange it will be found that many of the families from which these children come are already known to other organizations, which organizations, if consulted, will be able to give helpful information regarding the child in question. Some of these organizations may be already following a well-defined plan in the care of the child and his family. If the child is suddenly removed without consulting such an organization, needless to say this plan will in many cases be entirely upset.

After a careful check-up with all other organizations interested, the agency should endeavor to obtain any other necessary information that might be lacking. If there are no other organizations interested a careful study should be made of the child himself, his family, and his environment. He should be given, first of all, a routine physical examination, and if he presents a mental problem he should be given the usual tests applied in all such cases. His school record should be investigated and particular note should be made of his behavior in the home and the community and the effects that these environmental influences have had upon him.

If the study of the family discloses economic conditions as a reason for the child's removal, every effort should be made to set right these conditions by supplementing with relief from a family agency, mothers' allowance, insurance, workmen's compensation, etc. In cases of neglect, desertion, and non-support, assistance might be obtained through the courts to compel delinquent parents to support their children. If the family history shows evidences of feeble-minded-

ness or insanity, the child should be given a mental examination and the findings of tests made by a psychologist and a psychiatrist should be used as a basis for determining whether he needs institutional or private home care.

When this kind of investigation is made for each child seeking admission to an institution or a foster home, it will be found that many of them can be readjusted in their own homes; and for those who must be placed out there is at least some assurance that they can be placed in homes that will satisfy their needs.

Kind of investigating agency.—Should every child caring agency or institution be required to make its own investigation? The general opinion seems to be that it should not. It would be deemed unwise from an economic standpoint, for it would be necessary for each institution to employ on its staff one or more workers of sufficient skill and training to make such an investigation. Most institutions would be handicapped in securing the proper staff for this work because of the lack of funds.

Secondly, it would be inadvisable because those engaged exclusively in children's work invariably view the cause necessitating the child's removal purely from the child's angle of the problem, and are apt to overlook the bigger family problem and the possibility of solving it in order that the child might remain in his own home.

The method followed by most child caring institutions and agencies is one which permits a family case working agency to make all investigations of applications for placement. This method seems preferable, for family agencies have the more perfect machinery for doing the work. Their highest aim is that of preserving the integrity of the family and they are usually in close touch with all other social agencies whose cooperation may be helpful in doing this. For this reason child caring institutions feel safe in acting upon the recommendations of a family case working agency, for it is only after family case work has been thoroughly but unsuccessfully pursued that the family agency recommends the removal of children from the family.

Cooperation.—There should be, however, a very close cooperation between the family agency and the child placing agency, for after it has been determined exactly what was lacking in the child's own home, the next step is to decide how this need will be met in the child's new home. A complete history, therefore, should be submitted by the family agency with each child who is in need of foster home care and the selection of the new home should be made upon the basis of this information. The child placing agency will no doubt have to refer frequently to the family agency for advice as it proceeds in the selection of the proper home for the child. The family history may be complete in every detail but there are always points that need further explanation when the occasion arises, until finally both organizations are satisfied that the child is properly adjusted.

If there is hope that the child's own home can be rehabilitated, there is

need of further cooperation between the two agencies in order that the child might be returned as soon as possible. Even when this is done and the child is returned, the family agency must exercise adequate supervision over the child to see that he might adjust himself properly in his rehabilitated home. It is quite obvious that according to this method of operation the carrying through of each case to a successful finish will depend largely upon the harmony and the smoothness of this cooperation between the two organizations. This raises the question as to the best methods under which this cooperation may exist.

Methods of cooperation.—At the present time there is a difference of opinion as to what is the best method to follow. In Cleveland, for example, the children's bureau makes all of the investigations for the admission of children to all of the institutions in the city. In this method there is an economy of effort and operating expense. There is an economy of effort, for since the bureau has complete control of the intake of all institutions, it has first-hand knowledge of the vacancies in each one. By virtue of this fact it is able to place children directly in those institutions where vacancies exist, rather than to waste time and effort going from one institution to another before a place can be found for the child. This is especially helpful in cases of emergency such as occur in times of sickness, death, and desertion. This plan affords a further advantage in community-wide planning for the care of certain types of cases.

There is economy of operating expense. Because of its centralized plan the bureau can operate with a smaller staff than would be required if the institutions had to make their own investigations. Because of its working relationship with other organizations it can summon practically all of the resources of the community to assist it in making the proper selection of children for placement. For example, the services of a central medical dispensary are available at all times.

It might be said in criticism of this method that on account of the volume of work done it is difficult to meet the immediate needs of each child when he is removed from his own home. This difficulty is met in Cleveland by placing all children needing care in an institution until such time as the proper kind of foster home might be secured or the children might be returned to their own homes. While placement in an institution might afford opportunity for the children to receive medical care, discipline, and general preparation for placement in private homes, yet it is hardly probable that all would need to be confined in the institution for a certain length of time. Some, no doubt, could be placed immediately in private homes, and thus be afforded the advantages of normal home life.

A second method is that followed by the Philadelphia children's bureau and organizations opposed to centralized investigation, who feel that an agency does better work with its cases if it handles them from the very beginning. It is held that this plan is especially desirable in large cities, where it would be practically impossible for a central investigation bureau to give its cases the personal atten-

tion they demand. According to this plan each child caring agency should make its own investigations to determine whether or not the child concerned is a fit subject for placement. In this way it is argued that a more direct and personal understanding can be arrived at in each individual case, and because of this first-hand knowledge and understanding there is more assurance that those advantages which were lacking in the child's own home will be supplied in the new one.

The difficulty with this plan is its operating expense. It is generally admitted that economy of dollars in social work is bad business if clients are thereby deprived of the advantages they should have, yet in spite of this fact most social service organizations find themselves handicapped because of this lack of funds, and any scheme which involves a greater outlay of money is to be questioned as to its practicability. This handicap might be overcome by a long process of educating the public regarding the necessity of appropriating more funds for this kind of work, but we in Minnesota who have recently emerged from a long and unsuccessful struggle with our legislature for funds to carry on even a more necessary kind of social work realize how difficult a task this is.

But even if the necessary funds are available there is still a question as to the wisdom of this procedure. If this method is to be followed it will be necessary for the case worker to see her case through to a successful finish, and in order to do this she will have to be thoroughly familiar with the technique of both family work and child placement work. But since social work has reached the stage of specialization in these two fields, it will be difficult, if not impossible, for the same worker to excel in both of them. Hence a division of the two fields seems advisable.

Perhaps it would be better to have the family work and the children's work grouped together under the one organization. This would serve as a compromise between the two methods just outlined and would seem to be a more satisfactory solution of the problem. In this way specialists in each department might function in their own field as parts of the same organization with a better understanding and a closer coordination of effort. This is the method followed today in many Catholic and Jewish centralized bureaus.

In securing material for this paper, questionnaires were sent out to six Catholic and three Jewish central bureaus operating in nine of our large eastern cities. Information was asked regarding the methods used in determining when children should be cared for outside of their own homes, and, if removed from their own homes, the kind of care they should receive. Eight of these questionnaires were returned giving practically the same answers. Each bureau has its family department and child placement department. The family department makes all of the necessary investigation before the child is removed from his own home, and continues to supervise the family from which the child has been removed, with a view toward returning him to his own home at the earliest possible convenience. The child placement department, on the other hand,

makes the selection of the foster home for the child on the basis of the information received from the family department regarding the child's history and background and does all the followup work necessary either to adjust the child permanently in a foster home or to return him to his own home at the proper time. One of the bureaus gave reasons for the division of the work as follows: "This division of the work is based upon the principle that the family agency has the resources, personal and financial, for doing the job, and has as its highest aim that of keeping the family intact. It reserves for itself the right of doing all of the case work toward this end, and except in cases of serious emergency, or where immediate removal of the children is patently indicated, it attempts to work with the family in order to obviate the removal of the children."

All bureaus questioned seemed to feel there is an advantage in having the two departments under the one organization, for when there is question of the removal of a child both departments are so situated that they can work hand in hand for the best interests of the child. There is a better understanding on both sides of what is considered a common problem, and less danger of friction than might otherwise exist if the two agencies were separate organizations. Under this plan there is a further advantage in the easy access which the family agency has to the children's department for assistance not only in cases in which the removal of children is indicated, but also for those of their cases in which highly specialized case work with children in their own homes must be done.

Kind of care.—The same facts which help us to determine when a child should be removed from his own home should guide us in the selection of a home that will be most suitable for him. This principle will permit no such arbitrary arrangement as placing those under a certain age in institutions and those above that age in private homes.

By institutional care we no longer mean care only in homes for dependent and neglected children, such as our orphan asylums offer, but care also in hospitals, training schools, and correctional institutions. If the investigation discloses that the child is crippled or is suffering with an infectious or contagious disease, he should be given hospital care. If he is definitely feeble-minded he should be cared for in a special institution rather than in an orphan asylum or private home. If he presents a social problem, such as incorrigibility, he should be given a period of training in a correctional institution. And finally, if there is need of immediate removal, or care for a short period of time outside of his own home, he might be placed in an orphan asylum.

If the child's needs can best be met by private home care there are the following types of home to be considered: the boarding home, the free home, and the adoptive home. The boarding home should be used for the child who is eligible for temporary care in a private home. If this home is well chosen it will afford not only the best opportunity for the development of the normal child, but in many instances for the problem child as well. The child, for example,

who presents a behavior problem which is due to the incompetency of his parents should not be deprived of normal family life, but should be placed in a home with foster parents who are able to give him the proper guidance and direction until such time as it might be deemed wise to return him to his own home.

The free home affords practically the same kind of care as the boarding home, with the exception that it is not usually available for the problem child. Both types of home should be supervised carefully by the child caring agency in order that the foster parents might be assisted and directed in caring for their charges. In this way misunderstandings which might necessitate untimely removals will be prevented.

The adoptive home is used when the child is in need of permanent placement outside of his own home. Great care should be used in the selection of this type of home, for here the child is to take root and become a member of the family, hence the necessity not only of a careful selection but of careful follow-up work for a time to see that the child is properly adjusted.

The question is often asked today, Will this widespread use of the carefully selected private home ultimately obviate the necessity of institutional care for children, such as is afforded in orphan asylums? For the present, at any rate, there seems to be sufficient demand for such institutions to justify their existence. Although children are no longer kept in them for a long period of time, they seem to serve admirably for emergency placements. When there is question, however, of building new institutions, I believe there is more serious consideration given to the respective merits of the two systems, and when the cost of building is compared with the cost of providing children with private home care, the latter is usually considered the better investment.

Conclusion.—This paper attempts to show the necessity of family case work on all applications for the admission of children to institutions and private homes, and the need of close cooperation between the family agency and the child caring agency in all such cases. The methods used by two outstanding organizations engaged in children's work have been briefly dealt with and compared with that used in Catholic and Jewish centralized bureaus. If we are agreed that the selection and placement of children must be done by two agencies, each one specializing in its own field, then it necessarily follows that the closest cooperation should exist between the two organizations, otherwise the children involved are apt to suffer.

COUNTY PROGRAMS OF CHILD CARE

WHAT SHOULD A COUNTY PROGRAM UNDERTAKE?

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At the Baltimore National Conference of Social Work in 1915 Mr. C. C. Carstens presented a report under the title of "A Community Plan in Children's Work." Today, ten years later, this epoch-making report stands as our best guide when considering questions dealt with therein. Mr. Carstens set forth certain principles as fundamental. While these cannot here be quoted, they should be studied in detail by all interested in the subject under consideration.

The report clearly sets forth that a community should provide for destitute, neglected, delinquent, and defective children, should be provided with a staff of social investigators, and a juvenile court with probation service. It further recommends the creation of a state board of children's guardians to supervise or administer aid to mothers; to receive as wards of the state needy children requiring care outside their homes; to board such children or place them in free foster homes, or to provide institutional care according to their needs; to become guardian of all illegitimate children, securing for them support and protection; to license and inspect maternity homes and hospitals, and, when necessary, to maintain a receiving home, or homes, for the temporary care of its wards.

With the state as the unit of administration, it was suggested that local administrative agents should be stationed in various smaller geographical areas, the county, on the whole, being the most practicable unit; that county boards of public welfare be appointed to perform the various duties of a social nature connected with programs of public health, of education, relief to the poor, of child protection, probation, and recreation, and further, that the county board should act within the county as the agent of the state board of children's guardians. The case work function reserved exclusively to the state was the placing of children who had been committed to the guardianship of the state.

Since this memorable paper was written, several states have put into practice the suggestions therein contained, with modifications to meet local situations, traditions, and institutions. Possibly the most significant of these are found in states which have established programs entirely under public control, although there are significant developments in which private agencies have had a part. I desire to consider a few outstanding features of the child caring programs in North Carolina, Minnesota, and Dutchess County, New York, because they present three types of state and county relationship in public child caring administration. By a curious coincidence all three laws were passed in 1917.

Of these, Minnesota follows most closely the form suggested by Mr. Carstens. The State Board of Control, through a Children's Bureau which it has

created, is practically a state board of children's guardians. It may receive as wards of the state children committed to its care by the courts, and is the guardian of all children in state institutions. It is responsible for the welfare of illegitimate children; must promote the enforcement of laws protecting dependent, neglected, and delinquent children; must look after the interests of the blind, deaf, and feeble-minded; license and inspect boarding homes and supervise child placing and child helping agencies, visiting each home into which a child has been placed, and ascertain the condition and antecedents of the child and suitability of the home before legal adoption is granted by a court. The state board of control, through the state school, but not as yet through its children's bureau, places children for adoption. Mothers' aid is administered by the county juvenile courts, but the state board of control is charged to promote efficiency and uniformity of administration, and to advise and cooperate with the courts in relation to state aid. In general harmony with Mr. Carsten's plan, Minnesota has provided for county boards of child welfare consisting of five members (seven in the largest counties), three appointed by the board of control together with the county superintendent of schools and a member of the board of county commissioners, both elected officials. The county welfare board performs such duties as are required by the state board of control, whose agent it is. It may employ an executive secretary when funds are appropriated therefor by the board of county commissioners. The county welfare board may, upon request, assist the juvenile court in the administration of mothers' aid, and the board of county commissioners, or the supervisors of the various towns, in the administration of outdoor relief.

Minnesota presents an outstanding illustration of state responsibility for child care administered largely through county units. It is also trying out the use of volunteer members of county boards in the case work field on a large scale. It is securing desirable protection for illegitimate children to a degree nowhere else approached. It has practically wiped out baby farms and uncontrolled maternity homes. However, there is divided responsibility as between the county board of child welfare and the state board of control which it represents, the county juvenile court which grants the mothers' allowances, and the county commissioners, and in half the counties, the town supervisors, who support poor persons. There has been a lack of provision by state, county, or town for the support of children who can neither be helped through a mothers' allowance nor by commitment to a state institution. The state provides institutional support only for defective and delinquent children, and in the state school for those pending placement in family homes. Children who cannot easily be placed for adoption or who should not be permanently separated from their homes are unprovided for. The state board of control has so far failed to secure state appropriation for the non-institutional support of its wards, and counties and towns, although authorized to support poor persons, seldom support children except through mothers' allowances. In Minnesota the state carries adminis-

trative and case work responsibility while the county is meeting the expense of local administration and the non-institutional support of needy children in so far as they are publicly supported.

In North Carolina the system is radically different. The State Board of Charities and Public Welfare does not assume the guardianship of children. The state board is empowered to investigate and supervise, to study the problems and promote the welfare of children, to inspect and license private institutions and agencies, to inform the public as to social conditions and remedies for social ills, to recommend legislation, and to encourage counties to employ county superintendents of public welfare. Recently the state board has assumed its only direct case work responsibility. In supervising the expenditure of the state funds, which pay half the allowances to mothers granted by board of county commissioners, the state board of welfare is reviewing mothers' allowances, case by case.

North Carolina has created county boards of public welfare consisting of three persons appointed by the state board. These county boards act as agents of the state board, performing such duties as are imposed upon them by the state board, which, as we have seen, are purely of an advisory and supervisory nature. Responsibility for the care of individual children is left with the county. The North Carolina program is unique in approaching the child caring program largely from the standpoint of school attendance. Every county has a county superintendent of public welfare, who, in the smaller counties, may be the superintendent of schools, and in other counties is appointed jointly by the county board of education and the board of county commissioners. This superintendent, and not the county welfare board, is responsible for the care and protection of children.

The distinctive methods of the two states should be kept clearly in mind. In Minnesota the state board of control, through the children's bureau, is responsible for case work throughout the state, and the county social case worker, where one is employed, is responsible to the state, although paid by the county, and the state assumes guardianship of children. In North Carolina case work is a county function and the case worker is paid by, and is responsible to, the county.

The superintendent of welfare in North Carolina is primarily chief attendance officer, but is also chief probation officer in the juvenile court, and carries many other duties and responsibilities relating to public welfare within the county. In North Carolina, as in Minnesota, there is difficulty in securing funds for the support of children other than those reached by a mothers' allowance, or who are in state institutions, although the county is responsible for such support. In both states the law permits public officials to support children as poor persons, and in North Carolina the county board of education may also contribute to support when school attendance is involved. In both states officials have been slow to recognize their responsibility to pay for the support of chil-

dren, and private child caring institutions have largely been relied upon to support them.

North Carolina presents an alluring program. With county boards of education and health, and county juvenile courts, and with a closer coordination of their functions than most states have developed, it was natural to introduce a county welfare agency to perform duties relating to schools, juvenile courts, and public charitable relief. The system presents comparatively few pitfalls, but appears logical, and with an adequate staff capable of operation with a minimum loss of motion. Responsibility is definitely placed as between the state and the county.

In contrast to both systems may be cited that of Dutchess County, New York. The County Board of Child Welfare is the exclusive administrative agency for the public care and protection of county children. Its duty is to provide suitably for destitute, neglected, and defective children, and for such delinquent children as may be committed to it by the children's court. To it has been transferred all the powers and duties of the local officials as they relate to the care and support of children. This board consists of six citizens appointed by the county judge, who is also the children's court judge, together with the county superintendent of the poor, and representatives of the county board of supervisors. Its service to needy children is limited only by the size of the appropriation it can secure from the county board of supervisors.

Inspection, licensing of agencies, and such functions remain with the state board of charities. Probation is left to the court, school attendance to the educational authorities. The Dutchess County law, therefore, is much narrower in its application than either the Minnesota or the North Carolina measures, but it does state clearly that the county board shall administer allowances to mothers; accept destitute children as its own wards; investigate complaints as to neglect of children, instituting proceedings in the juvenile court when necessary; secure care for defective children, and obtain medical care in their own homes or elsewhere for poor children. Its advantage is that a socialized public administrative agency, determining the needs of children by the case work method, administers the public funds available for their support or relief.

All too briefly have I outlined three types of administrative machinery for public child care. In building our state and county programs, have we not failed to take into account with sufficient definiteness what public money will be necessary to carry our case work treatment into effect, what bodies should make the appropriations, the relative responsibility of the appropriating and the administrative bodies, and the relation of the two? As I have studied these states, certain opinions have tended to crystallize, which I venture to present for criticism and discussion, although there is left little time to develop them.

First, except as courts commit to state institutions, the state or county, whichever is to determine the need for support for children, should pay for such support, and should also pay the salaries and expenses of the social service. A divided responsibility at no point shows more acutely than when expenditure

of public money is involved, and as a rule the appropriating and the administrative unit should be one and the same.

Second, the county generally is the most practicable unit for case work responsibility. It is improbable that state legislature ever will make sufficiently large appropriations to provide an adequate number of social investigators to undertake case work in each county of the state. It is impracticable to expect volunteer county board members, acting as state agents, to investigate intricate social problems calling for the highest degree of case work skill, and it is illogical for the county to pay the salary of a state agent.

Third, as the state is too large a case work unit, the township is too small a one. Neither state nor township juvenile courts have ever been seriously urged. Juvenile courts, with their probation service, and the administrative child caring agencies, when serving the same territory have common interests and can work together more effectively.

Fourth, unless the state supports children requiring temporary provision away from their family homes, the support of children, pending free home placement either in a state school or elsewhere, should be left to the county, although a state-wide agency for actual placements is desirable. Permanent separation of children from their families is likely to be determined too readily by courts and local administrators without this added inducement of state care as against the cost of local support.

Fifth, while urging the county as the case work unit, I would emphasize the importance of a state board having some degree of control over the county administering board, body, or agent. Through a system of supervision, and with power to enforce rules and regulations, it should be placed in position to insure acceptable and uniform methods and desirable standards in the programs for child care in all the counties of the state.

DEVELOPING THE LOCAL PROGRAM

Charles F. Hall, Director, Children's Bureau, State Board of Control, St. Paul

In Minnesota the responsibility of the state for promoting child welfare is placed on the State Board of Control. This board of three members has the exclusive management of the state's charitable and correctional institutions, including those caring for dependent, delinquent, and defective children. Not only is the board authorized by law to license and supervise all agencies working with children, but it may organize in each county a child welfare board to perform duties required of it by the state board of control. Section 4, chapter 194, Laws 1917, provides:

The state board of control may, when requested so to do by the county board, appoint in each county three persons resident therein, at least two of whom shall be women, who shall serve without compensation and hold office during the pleasure of the board, and who, together with a

member to be designated by the county board from their own number, and the county superintendent of schools, shall constitute a child welfare board for the county, which shall select its own chairman; provided that in any county containing a city of the first class five members shall be appointed by the state board of control. The child welfare board shall perform such duties as may be required of it by the said board of control in furtherance of the purpose of this act, and may appoint a secretary and all necessary assistants, who shall receive from the county such salaries as may be fixed by the child welfare board with the approval of the county board. Persons thus appointed shall be the executive agents of the child welfare board.

The original bill proposed to the legislature of 1917 required the state board of control to appoint in each county a child welfare board. This sweeping provision was opposed by certain reactionary elements of the legislature as an unwarranted interference in local matters. However, the compromise that "the state board of control may, when requested so to do by the county board," appoint in each county a child welfare board, has since been regarded as in all probability the wiser plan. Law enforcement and good standards depend upon the existence of a substantial public opinion. Unless there is in the county public opinion strong enough to move a county board to request the appointment of a county child welfare board, the law will be of little effect.

The law became effective January 1, 1918, and from thirty-nine boards appointed in that year the movement progressed until we now have seventy-seven boards in the eighty-seven counties of Minnesota.

The county child welfare board was designed by the Children's Code Commission to provide: (a) For the decentralization of the administrative forces of the state; and (b) To secure interpretation, adaptation, and law enforcement in the county by local representatives and agents having a knowledge of the communities' experiences and ideals. The importance of the personnel and the method of its selection was recognized. The county is permitted to have a voice in the selection of the board in that a member of the county board of commissioners, selected by the board itself, and the county superintendent of schools are ex-officio members of the child welfare board. The other three or five members, of which two at least shall be women, are chosen by the state board of control. This combination of elective and appointive members has worked well in practice and appears to be accepted as good policy. For, while the members are residents of the county and two are chosen locally, the state board of control names the majority of the board and thus is enabled to select the best qualified persons who are sympathetic toward the policies and standards of the child welfare program.

The organization of county child welfare boards has been encouraged by the board of control through the six field representatives of the children's bureau. Each representative is assigned approximately fourteen counties which she visits several times in each year. In counties where there are no boards, when she is called at times for purposes of investigation and court action in matters relating to child welfare, she has an opportunity to meet with public officials and leading citizens and point out to them the value of a child welfare board in

such cases. Success is achieved in the proportion in which socially minded persons are found as leaders in official and community life.

A program of publicity is needed to bring the work to the attention of men's and women's clubs, church, school, and community organizations, and to secure their indorsement and support; reports, general articles, and editorials should be published in the local press. Obstructionists are found at times in certain county commissioners, judges, or county attorneys, who fear that such boards will interfere with their prestige and prerogatives, or whose egotism seeks to express itself in a desire to name the appointive members of the board.

When a county has requested the appointment of a child welfare board, it is the delicate task of the representative of the children's bureau to visit the county and interview persons of judgment and discretion who may serve as members. The boards are almost equally divided as to sex, as the county-commissioner member thus far has always been a man.

Largely, the members of these boards are nobly striving to carry out the duties required of them by law, handicapped as the most of them are by the pressure of their private vocations and by general lack of training. In some instances, due to the want of personality, the ex-officio members are not as cooperative as the appointive members of the board; considering that politics at times produces strange results, it is not to be wondered at if occasionally a county superintendent of schools feels that the work of the child welfare board was improperly imposed on his office without added compensation, or that the county commissioner may feel that his special mission as a member of the board is to guard the treasury of the county. However, we may say that some of the very best members of our boards come from the ex-officio members.

The Minnesota plan of county organization centers around the child welfare board. Though executive powers are conferred on the individual members of the board, the board is intended primarily to act as an administrative and supervisory board for executive agents. While there may be some difficulty in securing the appointment of a child welfare board, the second step, that of securing an appropriation by the county commissioners of public funds for the support of necessary paid workers, is still more difficult. Minnesota now has twenty counties that have paid executives, of which several were initiated by the American Red Cross. Ten of these are now paid for full time services by the county, two by the Red Cross, one by the county and Red Cross, and several are paid by the county for part time only. The number of counties now employing paid executives for their child welfare boards is the high-water mark, although we have been passing through a period of depression and retrenchment in the expenditure of public funds following the impetus given human values by the Red Cross and other organizations as a result of the war. Also, several counties are now favorably considering small budgets for the expenses of the county child welfare boards and, here and there, inquiries are made for part-time workers.

In this connection it is important to emphasize that the development of the county program is done by education and more education. The amount of work that should be done, the need for a good trained worker, the abolition of the antiquated idea that any goodhearted person who is not qualified to do anything in particular may do social work, the recognition that an appropriate salary is needed to retain persons qualified by inheritance, education, training, and experience to work successfully in one of the most difficult fields of life, are facts that must be borne home and pressed down in the mind of Mr. Average Citizen. As noted before in this paper, such education can and must be carried on by timely and well-arranged presentations of the work to all of the various groups of educational, civic, and social organizations of a community or district, and by following up the matter by full reports and articles in the press. Stereotyped matter is of little value. Advantage must be taken of the "moment of interest" created by some gathering in which people are interested. In one county a program was followed throughout three years of presenting the work of the Minnesota child welfare program to the Federated Women's Clubs, Women's Christian Temperance Union meetings, parent-teacher associations, teachers' institutes, school officials, and Red Cross annual gatherings in all of their local and county meetings. Such meetings are usually made up of the leaders of the community interested in humanity. For this reason the annual gathering of the school officers of one hundred school districts of the county afforded one of the most favorable opportunities to outline the program, as both men and women chosen by each community as representatives to promote educational interest must have human welfare at heart.

Through the field representatives of the children's bureau, the board of control maintains contact and exercises supervision over county child welfare boards. After the child welfare board is appointed the representative arranges to meet with the board in order to give suggestions as to details of organizations, record-keeping, and manner of carrying on the work. Forms for investigations and reports are distributed and explained. A few elementary principles of case work and the necessity for secrecy as to records are stressed. The responsibility of the child welfare board as a part of the state program is emphasized. The objective of the field representative is to establish in each county a well-organized board holding regular monthly meetings and keeping permanent records in a business-like manner. An endeavor is made to have the board do business as a board, and not as individuals, although a single member or committee may be assigned to perform certain tasks. Where a trained executive agent is employed, the work of the field representative is lightened and simplified. Case work is developed in a measure by the continued followup by the field representative on the cases of the county. This is accomplished by her personal contact with the board in her monthly visits and also by correspondence from the state office. The correspondence of the office relates to requests sent out from the children's bureau, usually accompanied by forms and sug-

gestions, asking for investigation of the case of an unmarried mother, the placement of a child in a home, or a report on a boarding home or an alleged maternity hospital. If the return by the child welfare board is imperfect, the matter is again sent out with instructions for additional information. While these methods are probably not to be commended for their efficiency, yet under the circumstances they do tend to harmonize the policies and preserve the standards of the state board of control in the various counties. Also, socially minded and thoughtful members of the boards gradually acquire knowledge as to elementary principles in case work.

The state has recognized the need of education of the officials charged with the enforcement of law for the protection of children by providing that the board of control may at such times as it deems advisable call an annual conference of such officials. Also, the law provides that the expense of the probate judges and of one member of each child welfare board attending these conferences shall be paid by their respective counties. Therefore the board of control has arranged that at each annual session of the state conference of social work special provisions are made for the discussion by county groups of methods and policies. In addition to the state conference, in 1921 a series of regional conferences was organized wherein groups of three to seven counties met at convenient centers for discussion of policies and exchange of experiences. Sixteen such conferences practically covered all the counties of the state, and in 1924 a second series was begun wherein ten such conferences have been held. These conferences have proved to be of much value and have aided greatly in molding public opinion and developing standards of social work in the child welfare boards.

The stability and efficiency of the county work depends also on the extension of the work to persons outside of the child welfare board itself. There should be an effort to secure voluntary workers to whom the executive agent of the child welfare board can turn, who can act as the big brother or big sister to some maladjusted child. Men's clubs, as the Kiwanis, Lion, and Rotary, women's clubs, fraternal organizations, and committees from social groups or classes of churches and Sunday schools, school teachers, should be enlisted in the general program. Only wisely directed action develops strength and power, and the field of the voluntary worker should be cultivated if we would develop our county resources.

THE RELATION OF PROBATION TO OTHER COUNTY SOCIAL WORK

Mrs. Katherine Gibson, State Supervisor of Juvenile Courts, Little Rock

The program maker was generous in her instructions to me when she stated that I was expected to stretch my subject sufficiently to make it cover the particular field of work which I represent. Being a woman, this latitude pleases me, and later I shall use it.

I have found myself wishing that my subject were the relation of the juvenile court to other county social work, for if juvenile court workers are permitted to dream and idealize despite the harrowing human situations with which they daily cope, my own hope is that in time we shall come to the place where detention and court procedure and probation will be forced into the background, and the seeking out and saving or segregating of the seemingly doomed little child will become the chief problem of every juvenile court. Surely this was the ultimate expectation of those persons who waged legislative attacks in behalf of our underprivileged and erring children. Conceding, then, that this was their hope, we shall have to acknowledge that they have reason to be deeply disappointed in the manner with which the members of the judiciary of our several states have met the expectations embodied in the statutes.

We are prone to congratulate ourselves upon our rapid progression from the old methods to the new in handling our wayward children. Much of this pride is justifiable; but I wonder if future generations, looking back upon us, will not consider us as lacking in vision and abounding in stupidity, because of the hundreds of thousands of children whom we annually permit to become court and institutional cases? I hope that my attitude suggests neither pessimism nor criticism. I do not so intend it, for I am certain that each one of us looks forward to the time when fewer and fewer of our children shall come under the jurisdiction of the court or any of its adjuncts, except in a preventive and protective way.

The relation of prevention and of probation to other county social work is one thing in the urban district and quite another thing in the rural one. And inasmuch as rural social work resembles Mark Twain's weather, in that a great deal is said about it and almost nothing done about it, I think I shall confine my discussion to a consideration of rural problems.

Someone has said that social workers can give only half their time to their work, devoting the remainder of it to "getting along" with other social workers. If this be true, the rural probation officer frequently furnishes an exception to the rule, for she often represents the only organized social work in the entire county. But even where this is the case there are certain contacts which must be satisfactorily established if any measure of success is to be attained.

I do not wish at this time to consider cases, which lead us directly into the home, but rather the whole preventive problem of juvenile neglect, dependency, and delinquency. With this thought in mind, I think we may safely say that the first cooperative relationship which the county juvenile court should seek is that of the administration of the public school system. The prime purpose of this relationship should be not for aid in carrying out probation methods, but for the discovery of those children over whom a cloud of social disaster seems imminent.

The school has one decided advantage over the home in locating the handicapped child. Many times the eyes of the home are blinded by an amazing

lack of recognition of the child's deficiencies. This blindness may be the result of a mixture of ignorance, hope, and love. Occasionally it appears to be a direct refusal to acknowledge what the specialist considers a very evident weakness. To illustrate my point: All my life I have been told that a favorite sister of mine has a slight deficiency in her enunciation—a sort of a lisp. But I have never been able to discover it. Parents frequently find themselves in the same position in regard to the mental, moral, and even physical defects of their children. But the teacher, with keen and impartial eyes, should readily detect those traits and conditions which indicate social malady. If perchance the school is manned by teachers who have a nice mixture of wisdom and love added to their discerning powers, the school at once becomes a powerful factor in the process of prevention and probation.

A lack of understanding should be recognized by both educational and social forces as a serious handicap. History itself has proved their interdependence. Yet we seem far from a proper conception of the value of the one to the other. Frequently the educational people feel that the social worker is an intruder (if they are kind enough to refrain from using the word "busybody"), and the social worker in turn is all but overcome by what she terms the stupidity of the teacher; or her indictment may include the whole process of education. Doubtless there is something of truth in both criticisms; but I believe that every social worker recognizes the school as the greatest public institution for the making of citizens, and that we should consecrate ourselves to the task of serving as a complementary agency so that the system may in time be able to meet individual, rather than mass, needs.

If at times we become discouraged (I, myself, plead guilty) because the school will not understand us, because they will not employ teachers who have a practical idea of the whole scope of education, let us stimulate ourselves with the hope that through our constant and occasionally successful efforts we may help to bring about a better understanding and application of those methods which will actually achieve the real purpose of all education, i.e., to produce citizens who have the knowledge and ability to solve, with skill and courage, their own particular problems of human existence in such a way that the pattern of the whole will at once be made stronger and more beautiful.

A satisfactory relationship between the church and the juvenile court, or any form of social work, is more difficult to bring about than that of the school. The school has been forced, as it were, to reckon with ever changing social and economic conditions. It was inevitable that the pinched-faced little boy with the tight, threadbare jacket, as he sat day after day shivering and hungry and failing in his studies, should in time plead his own case. Only a cruel heart or blinded eyes could have resisted his appeal, or that of the mentally deficient child who, try hard as he might, could not be interested in the three R's, but could create more disturbance than all the rest of the children put together. Some effort in behalf of these children had to be made in order that the ma-

chinery of the school might move. True, the effort has not yet become universal nor scientific nor even systematic, but a general recognition of the importance of physical and moral fitness in connection with mental development is fast gaining ground, even in rural districts.

But the group represented by these children has not always found its way into the house of worship. Or if it has (as the result of some campaign for increased attendance or membership), the sharp contrast in clothing and manner has been too great, and the following Sunday the underprivileged children have remained at home. Meantime the church has continued to follow its ancient custom of glorifying God in its cushioned pews and its best Sunday dress. But in the last decade I think an elevating of church purposes and ideals has come about. We are coming to believe that the halo about Christ's head is pictured as the reflection of the light of his simple life of love, service, and sacrifice, rather than an indication of a mystical birth or a triumphant death. Women's church organizations are becoming more and more interested in social service, and if the right appeal is made they frequently answer with valuable assistance, though it is evident that they do not respond to situations as readily as to definite cases.

I have dwelt at some length upon the school and the church, for in many rural communities these two are the only centers of common human interest. We are rapidly coming to the place, however, where every county has one or more men's civic clubs. These men are often eager for a program of real service.

County federations of women's clubs are fast bridging the chasm that divides the remote rural woman from the town woman. This chasm has ever been a needless one, and with the arrival of good roads and with the leadership of our home-economics workers, it bids fair to disappear entirely. Woman is coming, at last, to know that every woman's child is her child, and that if she fulfills her obligation as a citizen she must concern herself with the welfare of all children.

It is difficult to win and hold the interest of the organizations referred to, since the educational program must be carried on as a side issue, while the regular work of the court receives proper and adequate attention. But it is worth while, and we should recognize the importance of bringing our ancient institutions and general public (quite as ancient in its line of thought) to a clearer conception of what we are trying to do. Thus only can we hope to create the requisite equipment for achieving our purposes. But let us not become confused as to our needs. Intangible equipment, those things which pervade the minds of men, must always precede the acquisition of all tangible equipment.

I have not spoken of the cooperative relation of the juvenile court to established law-enforcing agencies, for I am certain that its value needs no emphasis here. Neither does it seem necessary to speak of the proper cooperation with specialized agencies of health, family welfare, and recreation. Many times the rural probation officer's task must be attempted without the aid of such organi-

zations. This greatly complicated an already difficult problem. Occasionally in my own state I have been amazed to find the existence of a sort of competition that amounted to envy between the juvenile court and other social agencies. Usually this is brought about by what is considered a usurpation of rights. Whatever its cause, it is a condition which should not exist. A calm conference as to what is best for the client in question should result in an intelligent understanding ending the temporary friction and leading to permanent cooperation.

It is with some hesitancy that I close this paper by a reference to my own work. But I have been specifically requested to do so; besides, I feel that it is only just to Arkansas' twenty-six chief probation officers, with their nine assistants, to tell you something of their efforts as well as my own.

Three and a half years of state organization and supervision has raised our number of full time, paid juvenile court workers from five to twenty-nine, and our annual budget for juvenile court purposes is six times as large as it was in October, 1921. In several counties, through the preliminary state educational work, we have been able to obtain appropriations which have guaranteed the service of skilled probation officers—with transportation and adequate office equipment. This was accomplished before the worker began her duties, and in the event of an imported officer, before she was even on the ground.

It is with pride—and not a tinge of regret—that I tell you that in a few counties I have been able to secure better salaries for the local officers than I myself receive, and I state with even more pride that they are earning every dollar of their salaries. Full time service, with transportation, office equipment, and salaries commensurate with the work done, is ever my plea to county judges, quorum courts, and county juvenile court boards. The advantage of homes over institutions for all our children, and the wisdom of the administration of mothers' aid rather than paupers' pensions is constantly stressed. We realize that we have not even approached the standards that are set up for efficient juvenile court work; but we feel that by our constant efforts to cooperate, to increase our skill, and render real service, we are moving in the right direction.

You will readily recognize that my own share in this "moving forward" for the sake of Arkansas' unfortunate children has been very small, since we have seventy-five counties and the state department has ever been crippled by a lack of funds as well as of personnel. The most I can hope to do, barring the securing of appropriations, is to help create and maintain that "intangible equipment" of which we have already spoken.

The probation officers themselves, who have battled against great odds, are largely responsible for the ground that we have gained. For almost four years I have watched them with eager and impartial eyes. I have considered the conditions under which they have labored, the progress they have made, the service they have rendered, and the place they have won. Naturally, I have arrived at certain conclusions as to the requisite qualifications of a good pro-

bation officer. There is nothing new in my conclusions, yet I would set them forth here, and in the following order: love for people and for work; knowledge, which includes technique and skill; wisdom, which is a mixture of love, knowledge, and understanding; courage and faith in abundance, and having all these, I would add the medium of magnetic personality—for thus only can we hope to cross the bridge which divides us from our unfortunate children, and give to them those things which they need.

INSTITUTIONS FOR DELINQUENT CHILDREN

CAN THE INSTITUTION EQUIP THE GIRL FOR NORMAL SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS?

*Carrie Weaver Smith, M.D., Superintendent, Texas Training School
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My first inclination in considering this subject is to announce in clerical tones, "The morning lesson will be the first twelve chapters of *Youth in Conflict* (not, thank Heaven, by Saint Miriam Van Waters, but by very human Miriam Van Waters), after which we will be led in prayer by anyone whose humility does not inhibit his powers of articulate speech!" I have been superintendent of a state training school for girls for nearly ten years, but never have I so clearly realized that "I have done those things that I ought not to have done, and left undone those things that I ought to have done" as I did when I read Dr. Van Water's great, understanding book. Automatically I fell to singing that wonderful negro spiritual, "It's me, it's me, it's me, Oh Lord, standin' in the need of prayer." So my frame of mind in coming before you, attempting to answer the question of whether or not it is possible for an institution to fulfil its divine mission, is, I assure you, not that of one who has in any sense arrived, but who, in spite of recognized failures, continues to have enough faith in the possibilities of the job to travel hopefully.

Even though I may have to make use of what may seem the "vain repetition of the heathen," I propose to answer the question that has been put to me, by a series of "not if's."

Can the institution equip a girl for normal, social relationships? Not if it assumes that normal social relationships characterize the great world outside of institutional walls. That is not the statement of a cynic. The foundation of failure with a child in the so-called "correctional institution" is laid when an effort is made to get her to believe that between her and the normal a great gulf is fixed; that she had to be brought to the training school because her standards of conduct were so far out of line that the normal community would no longer tolerate her. She knows that, in the immortal words of David Harum, "There's as much human nature in some folks as there is in others, if not more."

Says Dr. Van Waters, "Almost all delinquencies of youth are the expressed social standards of a part of the adult community, which is under no indictment, and which flourishes without condemnation." For, in the processes of juvenile justice as practiced, one is reminded of the prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, "Two women shall be grinding together at the mill; one shall be taken and the other left." The moral delinquent may not have read Dr. Catherine Davis' startling report of the sex life of college women, but, paraphrasing Kipling, "Sallie ain't no bloomin' fool, you bet that Sallie sees."

As in a case of our own, Sallie felt the injustice of sending the Baptist preacher's daughter, with whom she had engaged in what is familiarly known as "hustling," to a finishing school in Virginia, allowing the eighteen school boys in the case to go "scott free," but sending her, the widow's daughter, to the training school. And, therefore, to what is already a difficult problem is added the still greater task of trying to make a sophisticated cynic of fifteen believe that while the "world," as she fondly calls it, is not Utopia, neither is it Babylon, but is the city of "Everytown," where Everyman and his family live, and where in spite of the injustice and hypocrisy of society there moves a great and ever increasing caravan marching steadfastly toward the Celestial City of Bunyan's dream, "wherein dwelleth righteousness" naturally and uncoerced.

Can the institution equip the girl for normal, social relationships? Not if the institution fails to give to its girls standards. There is no story in history more inspiring than the account of the Battle of the Standard between David of Scotland and King Stephen. In this battle a ship's mast was erected on a wagon and placed in the center of the English army. To the mast were nailed the standards of battle flags of the English. On the top of the mast was a golden casket, containing a consecrated Host. This standard, as we know, became the rallying point for the hard-pressed soldiers, around which they gained new courage. The chronicle records: "The fierce hordes dashed in vain against the closed English ranks around the Standard."

Have we, as institutional administrators, realizing the inevitable battle in which our children will be conscripted, provided for them a towering standard? In a "world not right" can they rely on the moral teaching, the habit-training, the self-dependence, the joy of workmanship, the recognition of the impositions of *noblesse oblige* that they should have achieved from their institutional experience?

Can the institution equip the girl for normal, social relationships? Not if the members of the staff of the institution are themselves lacking in the prerequisites so imperative for passing on to impressionable children the characteristics just enumerated. The institution for the delinquent girl is too much of a combination of a home for the aged, who for some political reason are state retainers, and whose lack of education and physical strength necessitate the use of mechanical means of control; too much of a training school for the inexperienced, whose motive in coming into the work is based on morbid curiosity, whose

interest is an effort to answer for themselves the prayer that is attributed to this jazz age, "Give us this day our daily thrill"; too much of a harbor for the middle-aged failure in everything else, who for financial reasons wants some sure money, coming at regular intervals, "with keep furnished." Quoting Paul, "Brethren and sisters, these things ought not so to be." Boards of control, legislators, and the public have the attitude that any old thing is good enough, generally, "for that kind of girls." The truth of the matter is that few things are good enough and nothing is too good. Our only hope for our girls is to give to them "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are lovely, and whatsoever things are of good report." A tremendous change of attitude will have to take place before we will be able to find those men and women who, in all relationships with delinquents, will be able to give of those riches which are within, which are so necessary. I rather doubt if this difficulty is altogether a matter of low salaries. The most devoted workers and the most effectual in schools for delinquents are not well paid. In fact, the sense of "importancy," as we say down south, which too frequently comes to even the social workers with the high salary, often militates against the possession of that quality which is the *sine qua non* for successful work, humility. There are no more successful workers with delinquents in the world than the unpaid sisters of the Houses of the Good Shepherd, because they have realized the truth of the social worker's creed so well formulated by Owen Lovejoy, "God is a Father; man is a brother; life is a mission and not a career; dominion is service, its sceptre is gladness; the least is the greatest; saving is dying; giving is living; life is eternal and love is its crown." When we stand baffled, as did the disciples of old in the presence of the demoniac, and ask in despair, "Why cannot we cast out devils?" the simple answer comes, which is as true today as it was two thousand years ago, "This kind cometh not out except by prayer and fasting." By "prayer" the Master did not mean the "praying machine" that revolves night and morning in most institutions, but rather a spiritual-mindedness which makes possible constant, unremitting faith, patience, and love. Nor by "fasting" do I feel that he could have meant an unreasonable abstinence from physical food, which, after all, is so incidental, but rather the spirit of unselfishness or even self-immolation which might well be expressed in the words of John the Baptist in referring to the Messiah, "He must increase, but I must decrease." A notable poem which, unfortunately, does not seem to have been sufficiently broadcasted, was some time ago written by Jess Pearlman. It too often characterizes the attitude of social workers:

He serves and struts; he cannot give
Himself and leave himself unsung.
He'd gladly die that they might live
Who less from life's rare stores have rung;
But of his dying hour, half
He'd use to write his epitaph.
There is no questioning his great

Unflagging service to his neighbors,
But like a child whose drawings wait
For names, He labels all his labors.
He serves and struts, as peacocks must,
Trailing his glory in the dust.

The person who goes into work for delinquent children with any ulterior motive stands as the greatest reason why institutions do not prepare for normal, social relationships. But there is a leaven of workers with disinterested motives, to whom is attributable such success as institutions attain.

Can the institution equip a girl for normal, social relationships? Not if it fails to recognize the intrinsic worth of the so-called "delinquent girl." I have used the word "intrinsic" deliberately because of its connotation of core, pith, and backbone. When will social workers with these girls realize the essentiality of Browning's conclusion:

Truth is within ourselves; it takes no rise
From outward things, whate'er you may believe.
There is an inmost centre in us all,
Where truth abides in fulness; . . . and to know
Rather consists in opening out a way
Whence the imprisoned splendor may escape,
Than in effecting entry for a light
Supposed to be without.

We have many times marveled at what are called "spontaneous cures" from delinquency. Perhaps we rather resent these demonstrations of children apparently elevating themselves by their own bootstraps. Like Naaman of Syria we wish to make a great display of our "methods and technique of therapy" and say, "I did it," when, many times, taking a child who is broken out with the leprosy of artificiality and dipping her into the river Jordan of naturalness will immediately transform her from an outcast into a normal individual. We often-times fail to realize the tremendous truth and human economy involved in the old woman's prayer when she said, "Good Lord, take care of me until black-berry time and then I can take care of myself." In the name of childhood, let us not, through our undervaluing of the individual's worth, complicate a simple situation by our ill-advised attempts at super-salvation. Among the greatest inspirational experiences that I have ever had have been the observations of the heroic fight put up by children in the training school to overcome their own faults, and the realization of the splendid qualities which our children have acquired like "Kiki," on the "corners of streets."

Can the institution equip the girl for normal, social relationships? Not if the institution for girls, in its vocabulary, methods, or sentiment, allows itself to be classified as a penal institution. Dr. Van Waters and a few other people know that the only definition of the delinquent is: "A delinquent is a child whom we have failed to educate properly." And yet the boys' and girls' training schools all over America are, by even the workers with juveniles, classified as penal institutions. It is done by the federal government. Witness the directory which

they get out in census year, in which information about the penitentiaries is bound in the same volume with the information about the girls' training schools. That is the attitude from the point of view of the "outside in," but still many, unfortunately, have the same attitude from the "inside out," as indicated by, for example, the very convenient booklet compiled by a training school for boys, in which the Girls' Training School at Gainesville, Texas, is listed between Ferguson Farm and Harlem Farm, two of the notorious Texas penitentiary colonies. Mr. Frank Tannenbaum wrote up the Texas Girls' Training School in an article on "Southern Prisons." The public takes its cue from the institutional people, and the child we have been trying to educate and treat as a school-girl finds herself, when released from the training school, thanks to our shortsightedness, looked upon as an ex-convict. This thing of public sentiment, as it affects the juvenile, is not to be considered lightly. It has blasted the hope of happiness of many a girl who was trying her wings after her training-school stay. I feel that heads of training schools for juveniles are making a grave mistake, far-reaching in its results, when they continue to meet as executives under the banner of the American Prison Association and the National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor. I have great respect for these organizations. They have most valuable functions, but a mission to childhood is not one of them. Our books on juvenile delinquency are printed in "The Criminal Monograph Series," and it is no wonder that when I went to the Dallas Public Library, in getting data for this paper, in looking for the subject "juvenile delinquency," I was promptly referred to "Crime." Such an attitude on the part of the public has necessitated the losing of his identity by the alumnus of the juvenile training schools. This is particularly true in the case of girls. Our girls in Texas, and no doubt your girls in Colorado and elsewhere, must repress all reference to their training-school days if they dare hope to be accepted on the social level for which they have been prepared. I have had a girl returned to the institution for no other reason than that the family with whom she was living insisted that she inhibit the childlike tendency to refer frequently to the only happy years which she had ever spent—those at the Training School. The conflict which is almost bound to result in such an attitude has caused the failure of many a girl on parole. Several years ago when the Texas institution was being attacked, one of the facetious Texas papers inserted the following in its joke column: "There is one thing about an inquiry into such an institution as the Girls' Training School, the alumnae never have meetings to protest." Why not? Because, the public hands hope to a girl with its right hand and withdraws it with its left, unmindful of its utter folly. Must we wait for the great celestial reunion before we see the evidences of joy over the return of one that repenteth on the part of the ninety and nine that safely lie in the shelter of the fold? Can it be that they are conscious of a feeling of insecurity themselves, which they dare not express, as they consistently refuse to make place for the more adventurous lamb?

Can the institution equip the girl for normal, social relationships? Not if it damns by classification and nomenclature. Dickens' character who continually referred to "him that shall be nameless" had the right idea. One perplexed child came to me and said, "Dr. Smith, I just want to ask one question, Am I incorrigible or delinquent?" Down in Texas we still have homes for dependent and neglected children and colonies for the feeble-minded, with their cognomens all spread out on the letterheads and painted on the automobiles which take the children to the circus. One lusty "dependent and neglected child" had the courage to protest, and was promptly told, without mincing matters, "Who are you to protest? You are dependent and neglected, whether you like it or not." The state is not always a tactful, gentle parent when *in loco parentis*.

Can the institution equip the girl for normal, social relationships? Not if the girls are expected to be inarticulate. For example, a man whose opinion I value most highly wrote me that the action on my part of permitting my girls to protest against the use of mechanical restraints which would so mar their happiness and their outlook was unfortunate; that "inmates of such an institution should not be allowed to express an opinion." I cannot agree with my friend. While I am no hobbyist on the subject of what is known as self-government in the institution for delinquents, as I feel that it is often artificial, I do absolutely believe in self-expression. At the Girls' Training School at Gainesville we have for eight years conducted, every Sunday afternoon, what amounts to an open forum. There is no curb whatever put on the questions which the girls are permitted to ask. Every question is read aloud and answered. A framed notice is kept on our bulletin board, giving any girl permission, at any time, to send a sealed, uncensored letter to the board of control. This notice has been up for months, but only one girl has ever taken advantage of the permission.

Can the institution equip the girl for normal, social relationships? Not if it is afraid. Institutional management must be emancipated from fears—fears of criticism, fears of the public, fears of losing the job, fears of politics. The institutional staff, with its ear to the ground, is apt to miss the heart cries of its girls. The institution must not be socially isolated. An institution should have no secrets. Everything should be wide open, from the books to the discipline rooms. The right kind of publicity is most wholesome. Nor must the institution teach its girls to be afraid. Public opinion must be educated and our girls must suffer while the public is learning, but the longer we teach our girls that under no circumstances must they let it be known that they have been in a training school, the longer do we put off the day the public will accept them on their merits.

Can the institution equip the girl for normal, social relationships? Not if it is lacking in patience. Down in Texas we prevent, by statute, the "swabbing" of oil wells. We retain 50 per cent of the production capacity of the well. But one of the greatest causes of failures with girls is our attempt to hurry up mat-

ters. We do this and that to the girl, then we justify ourselves by saying "we have given her a chance, and she wouldn't take it." We rationalize about the "good of the rest of the school," and make a summary disposal of a difficult case. In our part of the country they say that there have been three historical eras, characterized by, first, the passing of the Buffalo; second, the passing of the Indian; and third, the passing of the buck. This is all too true of institutions. We must bring to a child the heart of a child. Children cannot live by bread alone, nor do shining institutional floors and windows compensate for lusterless eyes and hopeless mouths. The "shining morning face" is even more necessary and should be more expected in the institution than elsewhere. Official dignity frequently befogs the institutional atmosphere. Most of it could be dispensed with to advantage.

Can the institution equip the girl for normal, social relationships? Not if it makes an obsession of economy. Business management is indispensable, extravagance is not to be condoned, but such matters should be considered only on the basis of their relative importance. Too many people, in their attitude toward institutions for children, are like the brother in the amen corner in the negro church. A new preacher was trying to arouse a spirit of enthusiasm in his flock. "Brethren," he said, "this church, ordained of God, has got a mission to fulfil, and Brethren, from what I hears, this here church has been a laying down on the job. Brethren, lets make her get up and walk." A brother in the amen corner shouted in approval, "Let her walk, Parson, let her walk." The preacher continued, "Oh Brethren, this here church can walk, but if this here church, ordained of God fulfils her mission, she gotta run." Again the brother in the amen corner cried, "Let her run, Parson, let her run." Spurred on to more grandiloquent heights, the preacher shouted, "Brethren, this here church, ordained of God, can walk, but halleluia, this here church has got to fly." Instantly came the answer from the amen corner, "Let her fly, Parson, let her fly." "Brethren," responded the preacher, "If this here church, ordained of God, is going to fly, we got to take up a collection and raise enough money to pay the preacher and to build a new church." From the amen corner and the congregation came the universal wail, "Jes' let her walk, Parson, jes' let her walk." It costs dollars and cents to re-educate a delinquent, but in actual money it costs more not to do it properly, and the real price of human wretchedness can never be estimated. The state should not expect the training school to contribute materially to its own support any more than any other junior school should be supported by the students. At the same time the girls should not be pauperized. Undoubtedly an effort should be made in every case to make the parents of the girl assist in their daughter's support while she is in the institution. This arrangement should be made by the court at the time of commitment. During the girl's stay in the institution she should be given enough work for the general welfare of the institution to enable her to feel that she is holding up her

end and is really entitled, through her labor, to "these beans and old state clothes."

Can the institution equip a girl for normal, social relationships? Not if any effort is left unmade to correct every physical defect from flat feet to myopia. The fight on the outside is hard enough at best without sending back into the conflict the young soldier who should be hospitalized. The laws of mental hygiene should be the code of procedure.

The institution is apt to fail completely if it emphasizes rules and regulations, order and system, uniforms and bells, rather than resourceful individual treatment and the pursuit of happiness. The system that is too often found in institutions has for its object the convenience of the staff, not the welfare of the children.

The institution must not preclude the possibility of escapes. "We only save that which we set free," said a Chinese philosopher thousands of years ago, but our American authorities have not yet learned it, and last year down in Texas they wanted to wall us in to prevent runaways. We protested. Our girls got out an extra of their monthly periodical known as the *Happy Dump Herald* and, quoting from their columns, is the following profound observation: "We need a will, not a wall," and ending up with the pathetic parody of the Mother Goose rhyme, "Humpty Dumpty may have had a great fall, but Humpty Dumpty don't need a wall." The protest against the wall became state-wide, and the girls won because the Texas people realized the importance of the spirit that giveth life rather than the restraint that killeth.

We cannot equip the girl for normal, social relationships if we make use of mechanical restraints, with the exception of the same type of restraints that are used for psychopathic cases in the best hospitals for the insane, namely: door panels have to be reinforced for a few cases, and some windows have to be guarded. But the purpose of such methods should be plainly protection, not punishment. There is no place in the training school for the lash, the handcuff, the strait-jacket.

Can the institution equip the girl for normal, social relationships? Not if it is patronizing. When in the name of common sense and human economy will we cease pulling out the Tremolo stop on the organ of life when we play for unfortunates and instead, once and for all, pull out the stop marked "Vox Humana"! That a bunch of girls should have staged a "cussin' bee" while a missionary society was giving them a treat—and incidentally improving the occasion by pious platitudes—should not be surprising, nor should the girls be considered young ingrates. I once had occasion to thank God for such a demonstration in my school. When the shocked official reported it to me, I said to myself, "Thank Heavens! they still live."

The greatest concern of the institution is to confirm, by its methods, an incidental delinquency into a social attitude. I have one stock in trade, prayer,

which I present on all occasions to the Almighty. It goes like this: "Oh Lord, this institution is the only thing in Texas that is supported by the state for the good of the delinquent girl. Oh Lord, don't let it do any harm, Amen." Institutions do do harm, and do harm in exactly the proportion of the use of mass methods, mechanical restraint, invariable routine, to individual handling of each case. The school must not make use of inelastic educational methods. The open mind and sane experimentation are absolutely essential. There may be chemical and electrical experts; there are no children's experts!

We must include in our program every possible wholesome child activity. Girls should not be made to feel that they are out of the world, but rather that new worlds have been opened up for them.

We dare not penalize an act in the institution which on the outside would not be given a second thought. We let our girls whistle! Failure in future adaptation is certain if impossible standards are set up and mountains made out of mole hills.

Can the institution equip the girl for normal, social relationships? Not if it disregards the girl's family ties. The love needs of a child are more important than its material needs, and far more neglected. A girl needs to love a mother even though that mother be unworthy. We have no more right to declare that a prostitute is of no salvage value, and that the love that she has for her child is to be ignored, than we have to disregard any of the other natural laws made by One far wiser than we are. It is not according with the facts to say that adults cannot be changed. One has only to read such a book as Begbies *Twice-Born Men* to realize the inaccuracy of such a statement. We need family case workers as part of the staff of the girls' training schools.

We must not undervalue the importance of memories. If, in after days, the girl thinks back on her institutional career with a shudder or a shrug, that institution is a failure, no matter how well that girl can scrub a floor, sew a seam, or bake a loaf.

Can the institution equip the girl for normal, social relationships? It can, and if it does not, the reasons are practical and remediable. The situation is full of hope if only we would realize the eternal significance of the advice of Paul: "Brethren, if a person be overtaken in fault, ye, who are spiritually minded, restore such a one in the spirit of gentleness, looking unto thyself lest thou also be tempted." The slave-driver's whip in institutions for children has given place to the shepherd's crook, but in the institution of the future, the shepherd's crook indicative of blind authority, will give place to the orchestral conductor's baton as a symbol. Children will respond to its guidance only because they themselves desire harmony; because they have learned that there is for them "music which is the gladness of the world."

WHAT IS THE TEST OF SUCCESS?

Miriam Van Waters, Referee, Juvenile Court, Los Angeles

In considering institutions so much depends on point of view. Aristotle thought that our miseries are due to defects in human nature; Plato, to defects in our institutions. With Emerson we may view an institution as a lengthened shadow of a great man, or we may say with Kropatkin: "Men are everywhere better than the institutions they have built around them."

Probably nothing is easier to achieve than the running of a model institution. But it is hard to make the institution run if the "inmates" are treated as human beings. If the individual is regarded first, if his present happiness and progress, his ultimate well-being, are considered the goals, then it is exceedingly difficult to run an institution. There is a natural conflict between system, order, authority, and organization and the complex needs and expression of human individuals, particularly young ones.

Today we are speaking of institutions for young delinquent girls. No one knows more about this than Dr. Carrie Weaver Smith. It is her kind of institution that must be considered if we speak in the modern terms of child welfare.

The goals of such a successful institution are derived from the essential needs of the adolescent; sound, vigorous health, this involves not only a good medical program and an inspired department of physical education but a staff interested in health and joy as youth's most precious assets; a modern school with teachers at least as well trained as in public schools outside; a vocational equipment which gives fascinating glimpses into the various industrial and commercial possibilities; a task, or project for the individual girl so that she will gain self-confidence and build a legitimate success attitude. Possibly this is the most important goal of all. It is the completion of an individualized task which brings to the girl that sense of well being—of rested nerves—which she so much craves, and for lack of which she becomes, under mishandling, so restless. The successful institution develops team play and furnishes opportunity for learning to live happily in groups, with some competition but not too much between groups. Above all the institution must furnish some leisure. "Children, like soldiers, must have periods off duty," remarked a wise European educator. Strictly speaking, children have no leisure. They are tremendously busy about their own affairs. The important thing is to surround the child with enough space and time for choices. What is there to do around the place in "spare time"? What the girl does of her own choice in her spare time furnishes the clue to her later success or failure. Finally, the institution must give ample scope to forming social relationships, within the school and the outside community.

The institution which follows these goals can never run smoothly, but in so far as it does follow them it is like life, and the girl who "makes good" in such an institution is likely to make a fortunate adjustment outside.

What is the test of success? Betty, aged nine, had been in seven boarding

homes before she was placed by a social agency in a genuine foster mother's care. She learned to sew beautifully. Buoyant with pride, she showed some embroidery to her own languid, alimony-supported mother. "Well," said the mother, "it may be all right, but I think Betty can get by without learning to sew."

Is "getting by" a test of success? Assuredly we expect something more of our delinquent girls. We would like them to achieve the expression of a normal personality, which includes, according to Dr. Rosanoff, inhibition, emotional stability, rational control (a guiding line), and durability.

Let us look at two cases from a small institution, El Retiro, an adjustment or opportunity school for wards of the court. One case, Belle, represents an institution failure followed by community success; the other, Ruth, an institutional record of success ending in apparent collapse outside.

Belle was normal in intelligence and health. In the school she was listless, dirty, unpunctual, slack about work and personal hygiene, discontented, and insolent. After ten months she was removed as an unfit subject. Today she has a four-year achievement of outstanding community success. She is a competent wife and mother. She is a leader in social affairs. Her essential attribute is feminine charm and affection. She is frivolous, as so many clever young women are. With Belle the institution never emphasized the right things. All her personality attributes were penalized. There was no incentive. The world outside accepted her as she was.

Ruth was handicapped by an inferior physique and three years' mental retardation. Within the school she was obedient, trustworthy, taking the regulations seriously, acquiescing in the program and the standards of behavior, following all suggestions promptly and cheerfully. She graduated with the highest possible number of credits after eighteen months. Ruth has a four-year record of community failure. She is still obedient and acquiescent, but to the standards of an antisocial group. She evades the police because she conforms to certain exterior respectabilities, but she lives an idle, dissolute life. She is still cheerful and courteous. With Ruth the institution followed the line of least resistance: it developed no new possibilities. Perhaps the result could not have been different, but the keynote of her failure was already struck in the school, and could have been observed; it undoubtedly lay in her acquiescence.

The test of success is found in the ability of the girl to maintain responses and attitudes in the outside world of sufficient stability to withstand the innumerable onslaughts of antisocial groups and individuals. This can come about only if she believes in the fundamental righteousness of the standards she is taught in the school, and if she has not developed antagonism toward her teachers.

A study of riots and infractions of discipline in institutions is instructive. Usually correctional schools maintain discipline houses or rooms. In one state school, with a population of 320, the inmates of a discipline house were studied.

In five months eighty girls had been punished by terms of confinement ranging from three to ninety days. Forty-three girls had been previously punished five times; twenty-one, four times; eleven, three times; and the remaining five were in the discipline house for the first time. An analysis of the offenses showed the following: laziness, grouch, insolence, petty disobedience, forbidden communications, notes to other girls, thefts of candy, food, or cigarettes, and running away.

The atmosphere of this school was reeking with settled, deep antagonism to authority. The conditions under which this antagonism had developed were petty. Senseless routine, galling, unnecessary restrictions, trivial rebukes for trivial offenses, deepening into rebellion. The difficulty lay in the fallacy so common to institutions, the special institution fallacy which attributes to a single cause, that of delinquency, all the normal traits of human nature. Viola is sent to a state school because of theft. The institution program is not outlined to "cure" theft (to bring about a highly complex emotional readjustment). But within the institution Viola is punished because she always twitches her left shoulder when her matron speaks to her. The matron has an Intelligence Quotient of about 82, and Viola an Intelligence Quotient of 115, so the matron rather rightly maintains that Viola has a superior attitude. When Viola entered the institution she was frightened and a little sorry. Now, after nine months of "discipline" she is hard-boiled and bitterly rebellious.

The institution that likes to consider itself successful must ask itself, Do we meet the complex needs of adolescence so completely that none are restricted from the group and none develop permanent feelings of antagonism to authority?

What is a practical test of success outside? If this were a just world, it would undoubtedly be keeping out of jails and institutions, that is, there would be no more repeaters supported at public expense. Judged by these moderate standards no juvenile institution reports fewer than 60 to 80 per cent of successful cases. In some state schools ninety out of every one hundred make good.

But this is not a just world. Some are returned to custody for minor violations: going to dance halls, losing jobs, running charge accounts, smoking cigarettes; others live within the letter of the law, and lie, cheat, are disloyal to comrades and indifferent to the suffering of others, and "get by."

We should remember that some of our girls on probation or parole endure struggles beyond anything demanded of the rest of us.

Elsie, aged seventeen, with an Intelligence Quotient of 80, an insane father, and drunken mother, went to work for a cleaning establishment at \$16 per week after a period of ten months' training in a correctional school. She regularly paid \$4 a week for the board of her baby. One night, on the way home from work, she was summoned to the receiving hospital where her nineteen-year-old brother was dying of gun shot wounds inflicted by the police in a raid. She arranged for the funeral, bore part of the expense, and conducted everything

herself. Later her mother died on the street, literally in the gutter, after a spree. Undaunted, Elsie carried on the stern business of running her own affairs. In two years there were reported of her only three minor violations: she went to a dance with a forbidden companion, again she stayed out till two in the morning, and she bought a white fur coat costing \$60 on the instalment plan. She is now in an office earning \$19 per week. It is instructive to note that she was given opportunity to make trials and errors without being crushed. Our girls have little discretion. As Morley observes, "in order to attain discretion, one must have destroyed innocence. . . ."

The ultimate success of a large proportion of our wards should fill us with humility. It is they who have attained durability, and a guiding line, in the face of handicaps and failure which is often beyond our utmost reach. We should recognize that many who do not achieve a worldly success, who fail in their adjustment to our sordid city streets, have attained those priceless virtues, tolerance, good will, and the will to struggle.

STATE PROGRAMS FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN

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for Crippled Children, Elyria, Ohio*

Minnesota.—From the historical standpoint, Minnesota deserves first place among the states providing for crippled children at public expense. As early as 1896, Dr. Arthur J. Gillette, an orthopedic surgeon, and others aroused the public to the duty of the state to the crippled child.

The first appropriation amounted to \$10,000 for two years. The state university provided care for about seventy crippled children in the St. Paul City and County Hospital. In 1910 a county branch of this state hospital was organized for convalescent cases and opened its doors the next year at Phalen Park, with a capacity for about sixty patients. Thus, at the beginning, Minnesota had in reality two state institutions.

Since 1913 these institutions have been merged into one and the capacity has been increased from 130 to 210, the capital invested from \$68,000 to over \$420,000 for real estate and personal property, and the per capita cost from \$300 to over \$700. The expenditure for the year ending June 30, 1924, including construction, improvements, equipment, repairs and replacements, current expense, etc., was \$213,013.04. The average population is 200, with as many more on a waiting list. Only indigent patients are admitted, but the out-patient department, which is conducted by one paid employee and many volunteers, has contact with some 2,000 children. It is important to note that the superintendent, in her report to the state board of control, in 1924, estimated the additional needs of the institution at \$274,000.

A great part of the high-grade professional medical service of the staff of

thirty-five doctors is rendered freely to the children and the state. At present there is an orthopedic nurses' training school in connection with the state hospital, an elementary and advanced course of study in the hospital school, and provisions for vocational training.

Within the state there are about fourteen private institutions which have some cases of children with surgical tuberculosis, a unit of the Shriners' chain of orthopedic hospitals, and an endowed school and convalescent hospital in connection with the state university.

In 1921 the state enacted a law which established classes for crippled children in the public schools. Boards of education which organize such classes are paid from a state subsidy, not to exceed \$250 per pupil for a full school year's attendance.

Ohio.—The Ohio plan has three distinct periods of development covering a period of about twenty years. The first consisted in the enlargement of the administrative, co-operative and supervisory powers of the state departments of welfare, health and education. This development made it certain that the state institution was not needed in Ohio, and it never will be built.

The second period was from 1911 to 1921, when laws which took root from the principles laid down by the White House Conference called by President Roosevelt in 1909 were passed, providing that the state should plan to care for dependent children without additional institutions.

During the past four years the third period has brought forth additional laws and private organizations inspired by Edgar F. Allen, president of the Ohio and International societies for crippled children, which ordained a remarkable cooperative movement that is bringing to the crippled child his birthright of opportunity.

It finds crippled children unofficially through surveys and officially by school enumerators who are required by law to give special information to county auditors and to the state department of education regarding crippled children from one to twenty-one years of age. Expert diagnoses are made by approved and selected orthopedic surgeons in all parts of the state, especially in rural sections, in diagnostic conferences or clinics organized and supervised by the state department of health.

Parents, guardians, local nurses, Rotarians, teachers, health commissioners, welfare workers, and state nurses follow up the clinics and see that the existing facilities are brought to the children or the children to the facilities, as the cases respectively require. Many children are taken care of privately and the rest are taken to the juvenile court for commitment to the division of charities in the state department of public welfare, or to special schools for education, or given the benefit of trained field service or home care and instruction, depending upon their several circumstances and conditions.

The state division of charities is responsible by law, through its orthopedic nurses, for the care, relief, and education of committed crippled children. It

contracts with individuals, approves institutions and hospitals, pays the bills, which are then charged back to the counties from which the children are committed, and supervises the children, in their own homes or wherever they may be, as long as the commitments last. This division has a rotating fund of about \$53,000, which is protected by the attorney-general of the state, whose duty it is to collect from counties which allow their bills to become delinquent. The juvenile court collects partial payments from parents and guardians.

Education is, in a way, the most important part of the program, because it applies to all crippled children who are not feeble-minded, while the surgical operation applies to only about 20 per cent of them. Therefore it is arranged so that crippled children come within the provisions of the compulsory school law.

Local school boards, with the permission of the state director of education, may provide home teaching, special classes, special schools, or pay for the board, tuition, or transportation of crippled children when necessary. The state department of education, besides furnishing a state subsidy for the education of crippled children not to exceed \$300 per pupil per year, maintains a bureau to supervise special education, and a division of civilian rehabilitation for cripples over fifteen years of age.

Last available statistics show that 91 clinics have attracted 4,300 cases. Up to April 1, 1925, the state department of public welfare accepted 1,092 commitments. There are now 50 special classes and schools in 17 different cities, 7 of which are located in hospitals or convalescent institutions, and 95 home teaching cases in 35 different communities. The enrolment for special education varies, but is about 850 pupils. The annual per capita cost in the welfare department is approximately \$300, and in the educational department, for excess costs, about \$250. Including duplicates, the three state departments are in touch with more than 6,000 crippled children.

Iowa.—One of the states following the general principle found in the Minnesota plan, that deserves special attention because of the amount of work which has been accomplished in medical care for crippled children, is Iowa. The chief difference from the Minnesota program is that the care and relief is given at the orthopedic division of the general hospital at the state university.

As in Ohio, juvenile courts may commit "any legal resident of Iowa, residing in the county where the complaint is filed" to the university hospital. While any adult may file a complaint, a specific duty to do so is placed by law upon "physicians, public health nurses, members of boards of supervisors and township trustees, overseers of the poor, sheriffs, policemen, and public school teachers." Patients may be treated who are not committed, and the hospital authorities "shall collect from the person or persons liable." Patients may be treated also outside of the hospital.

There is no direct information at hand to tell how much money is spent on children with orthopedic difficulties, except that statistics show there were 1,576

such cases out of a total of 3,425 treated during the last fiscal year. The appropriation for all was about \$900,000, so that an estimate of \$415,000 may be made for crippled children. This is exclusive of capital invested. As stated before, this number of crippled children treated is relatively very high and indicates the law must be very vigorously enforced.

It seems to a limited degree that the Iowa plan represents a combination of the principles found in Minnesota and Ohio. It differs from Ohio chiefly in being a centralized plan, so far as treatment is concerned, and in that it greatly neglects the education of crippled children except during the period of their hospitalization. Great success in finding crippled children seems evident.

Massachusetts followed the lead of Minnesota and established a state orthopedic hospital, convalescent home, and special school. Hospital facilities for one-hundred patients provide medical, surgical, and nursing care. In addition to the standard public school curriculum, music, domestic science, cobbling, sewing, and other various industrial and vocational preparatory subjects are taught. Indigent children are admitted directly on a voluntary basis upon application of parents and guardians. A number of the admittances are private, or "pay" patients. When parents are unable to pay, the charges are referred to the county or city in which the child previously resided. The hospital and school have an average attendance of three hundred. The cost is approximately \$175,000 for 360 patients, as estimated by the state department of public welfare. We have no figures on the capital invested.

Probably the first state census of cripples was made in Massachusetts. She has a well-distributed number of private institutions and agencies caring for crippled children. These represent a unit of the Shriners' chain of hospitals, orthopedic departments in general hospitals, institutions for incurables and custodial cases, as well as for convalescents, agencies for after-care, and also research, and finally for various types of education. Some of these are related to the state government. "Institutional care is splendidly developed in this state. . . . Inasmuch as the entire . . . solution of this problem has been developed along institutional lines, and inasmuch as almost every one of these institutions possesses well-equipped schools, special classes are not greatly needed. . . ."

New York.—It is thought by some that New York State now represents a development which is most typical of the best sentiment of the country on the subject of state programs for crippled children. While she has had a state institution since 1900, a recent survey made by a special state commission has led to new legislation establishing a program largely independent of the institution, although including it in the major purpose to coordinate all efforts, public and private.

This act provides a statutory definition of a physically handicapped child, and an advisory commission for physically handicapped persons which, in addition to rehabilitating handicapped persons over fourteen years of age, is "to

stimulate all private and public efforts designed to relieve, care for, cure, or educate physically handicapped children, and to coordinate such efforts with the work and functions of governmental agencies." This commission is also "to maintain a register of physically handicapped children [and] to use all means and measures necessary to meet adequately the physical and educational needs of such children, as provided by law."

The state will seek out all crippled children, from birth to eighteen years of age, insist on their being adequately cared for, and furnish the costs of care, relief, and education when parents, guardians, and local communities fail to do so as required by law. Many leaders in the work in New York State believe this will, in a reasonable length of time, practically revolutionize the work of the state relating to cripples.

HEALTH ACTIVITIES OF CHILD CARING AGENCIES

EXAMINATIONS ON ADMISSION

Arlene Bauer, D.A. Blodgett Home for Children, Grand Rapids

The entrance examination is an old but still ever new subject as the advance of medical science and mental hygiene steadily renders it more complete. The opportunity it gives the child for far-reaching physical betterment often overbalances the seriousness of his removal from home.

Statistics show that a child is actually a liability until twenty years of age, rendering the establishment of a firm foundation of health through a preventive program of real social and economic value.

An entrance examination properly begins in the securing of a complete history of the family in so far as it affects the physical and mental health of the child, also the family's health habits, as a measure of its effect on his present condition as well as upon the cooperation one can expect upon his return.

Efficiency and cooperation through interest of the physician is most important in his selection, also the addition of ear, eye, nose, and throat specialist, if possible, to examine expertly the eyes and ears that, unknowingly defective, have so often wronged a child through a false terminology of dulness and even mental deficiency.

The routine given every child should consist of Wasserman, smear, urinalysis, nose and throat cultured VonPirquet, vaccination, and toxin anti-toxin, the latter harmless in their reaction after the sixth month.

Points of physical history including birth, feeding, development, previous illness, operations, immunization, hygiene, and habits, as well as physical examination consisting of general nutrition, heart, chest, abdomen, genitals, muscles, bones, joints, glands, skin, and nervous system were discussed with especial emphasis on tonsils and their far-reaching causes for ill health; also

teeth, and the fallacy of lack of care under the assurance that they will soon fall out, while in the meantime the child may be gathering infection or because of tenderness improperly masticating, resulting in lowered resistance or the beginning of a serious underweight condition; thyroid and its important relation to the building of bone and fat; and last, malnutrition with its varied serious effects and treatment. Dr. Emerson, of Columbia University, states that 90 per cent of children are underweight from physical defects, especially naso-pharyngeal obstructions, lack of home and personal control, overfatigue, faulty food habits and improper food, and poor hygiene.

In conclusion, I emphatically state that this valuable information is worthless unless used, not only until the child is as physically and mentally perfect as it is possible to make him, as thoroughly educated in health habits as his mentality permits him to become, but until this knowledge is so thoroughly disseminated in his home as to establish proper health habits and bring about a recognition of the need of periodic health examinations for the entire family. Only thus have we actually insured his health and given our organization the right to carry on child welfare work.

CONTINUOUS HEALTH SUPERVISION

*Mary E. Murphy, Director, Elizabeth McCormick
Memorial Fund, Chicago*

The title of this discussion indicates a different point of view on the care of children from that familiar to most of us a few years ago. It is distinct from the attitude with which a child caring agency brings to the attention of the hospital or dispensary the physical needs of children when symptoms of abnormality have already appeared. Continuous health supervision means a program of regular checking on the condition of children so that a healthful condition may be maintained or deviations from normal may be noted and corrected.

It is presupposed that the point of departure is the normal child, and that the program of health supervision is organized with a view to arriving at this goal of normal childhood.

Of course, a fundamental in this continuous health supervision is the physical examination, and with this distinct health point of view health supervision should provide a type of physical examination which not only notes real defects, but notes also such deviations from the normal as may have a direct influence upon the child's health. Such an examination can be made only by a physician who is familiar with the characteristics and the standards of development of normal children, and who also regards as important the whole program of the child in its relation to this physical development.

As an example of this type of thing, let me quote from the findings and recommendations made by the physician in connection with the examinations of

children in some of the work which we are doing in Chicago. Our work in this connection has included cooperation with United Charities in the continuous health supervision of their allowance families, and with the juvenile court in connection with the children of pensioned mothers. It is also included active cooperation with the Day Nursery Association in health supervision in regard to day nurseries.

In the case of Rose A. the findings were as follows: three carious teeth; tonsils large and cryptic; anterior cervical glands; nutrition fair. The recommendations were: dental care; watch throat; more milk; cereal for breakfast; stop tea and coffee; sleep with windows open.

It is evident that such notations on the part of the physician indicate that from his point of view a knowledge of the program relating to diet, sleep, fresh air, and exercise is an important factor in the diagnosis, and the correction of details in the program essential to the proper care of the case. Since this is true, it seems highly desirable that as a factor in this continuous health supervision the mother should be present at the physical examination, since it provides a most excellent means of education for her in the care of her child. This standard once established in her mind will then be re-emphasized by the nutrition worker or nurse, who follows through on the suggestions made by the physician.

Besides the first examination with its complete record of the social history, stock-taking of the habits of the child and of the family, and thorough physical history, there should be periodic examinations, which will probably take far less time, to indicate whether corrections have been made and whether progress is being made. Since it is now generally conceded that the growth record, especially relating to weight and height, is an important index of the child's physical condition, no program of health supervision can be considered complete which does not note regularly growth progress. A continuous record of a child with reference to weight and height should be a part of the physical record, and failure to make normal progress deserves attention.

This type of supervision, which is aiming at the normal child, depends upon very complete cooperation of all individuals who touch the life of the child. The child itself, of course, must be interested; the mother must cooperate on the program suggested; the physician's contribution has already been noted, and the nutrition worker or nurse provides the educational stimulus to both child and mother to carry out the suggestions. In addition, the social worker making contact with the family must be in spirit a health worker who cooperates closely with the physician and nutrition worker in re-emphasizing to the mother in the home the value of the advice given.

Our method in working with the agencies already mentioned is not to duplicate social visits to the home, but to expect the mother to attend the monthly or weekly meetings with the children. In the majority of cases the social worker is also present. If she is not, the nutrition worker and the social worker later communicate in regard to the essentials in the program to be followed

out, and the social worker then makes the necessary contact with the family. For the family agency, health supervision includes not merely the child whose condition indicates the need of special attention, but a regular health inventory of the entire child population.

THE USE OF CENTRAL CLINICS FOR CHILD CARING AGENCIES

*Alice H. Walker, Chief, Social Service Department,
Harper Hospital, Detroit*

Wide variations are found in the policies of child caring agencies regarding the most effective and economical plan of providing physical examination and medical supervision for their wards. The establishment of a small clinic within the department seems to be the most common plan. While highly commendable if no better service can be obtained, such a clinic is wholly inadequate when compared with the well-organized out-patient department of a hospital, made up of eighteen or twenty clinics representing all branches of medical service, and with the most complete modern equipment providing for all patients scientific examination and skilled treatment.

Outstanding physicians of recognized ability and wide experience are in charge of the clinics. The entire dispensary service is correlated, physician consulting with physician, and with a central record system assembling all records, laboratory and X-ray reports in one folder, this unified study passing finally into the hands of one physician for interpretation, final diagnosis, and recommendation for treatment. The facilities for making this study possible are under one roof, with hospital beds at hand for the acutely ill or for those who should remain under observation. The appointment system insures for each person sufficient time for an unhurried, complete examination.

It is extremely difficult to obtain the right type of well-trained, progressive physician to serve in an independent clinic, since hospital connection is of such vital importance to him. Furthermore, few physicians working alone in a meagerly equipped clinic, without X-ray, laboratory facilities, or opportunity for consultation, are competent to make an accurate diagnosis of illness in the early preventable or readily remedial stages, particularly if the symptoms are somewhat obscure.

Nor should the examination cover the mere physical condition alone. For the child caring agency it is essential that the personality of the child in the light of his past history and his present mental and social make-up should be studied if he is to be placed in the community to best advantage. A psychological study is particularly imperative for the difficult child who presents a behavior problem, in order that wise social treatment and proper community adjustment may be effected.

Psychiatrists, psychologists, nurses, social workers, dietitians, dentists, physiotherapists as members of the hospital staff stand ready to give their professional services.

The health conservation clinic should invariably be an integral department of the hospital dispensary, thereby insuring the maximum scientific medical service at a minimum expenditure of funds.

WORK WITH CHILDREN PRESENTING SPECIAL PHYSICAL PROBLEMS

Jacob Kepecs, Jewish Home Finding Society, Chicago

The physically handicapped child is rarely accepted by children's agencies because of its handicap. The handicap is usually discovered at the time of admission or afterward. There are, of course, exceptions to this rule, and as the facilities of the children's agencies develop for the care of the physically handicapped, their number will increase. The time may come when children's agencies will concentrate upon handicapped children as a special piece of work, not as incidental.

The obligation of the children's agency to the physically handicapped child is chiefly in the nature of social treatment. The medical side naturally is attended to in the clinic. There is some danger that social workers may neglect social treatment and emphasize medical care, accepting the purely medical point of view. The fundamental needs of physically handicapped children are identical with those of all children. Growth and development require nutrition, play, education, religion, and so on, and the difference in treatment lies in the emphasis of certain factors, such as rest for the cardiac, special food for the tubercular, etc.

The most important factor in treatment of the handicapped is education. It is not sufficient merely to treat a child for a certain period of time without educating him for the future in habits, hygiene, and the mode of living applicable to his particular handicap.

To be effective the agency must develop a special method in enlisting the cooperation of the child, the foster mother, the doctor, the school, and the child's own parents. Contact with special clinic or specialists is a matter of course and must be followed up by the social worker. The question is, should a social agency employ a special health worker for this or should it be left to the regular visitor?

Placement of the physically handicapped child should be made so that contact with the clinic can be convenient and close supervision possible during treatment. Country placements where clinical facilities are poor or non-existent are hardly desirable.

Children counted as specially handicapped are the cardiac, tubercular,

malnourished, enuretic, and those suffering from skin conditions, vaginitis, post-encephalitis, and the various deformities. General children's institutions are out of consideration, as they are entirely unsuitable for the care of these classes. Private home placements, hospitalization, or special institutions are the only facilities to be considered. The question arises as to which is the most desirable and effective mode of care. There are those who claim that the physically handicapped child, if permitted to be cared for in a normal environment, will develop an inferiority feeling on account of his handicap. On the other hand, there are those who hold that segregation in hospital or sanatorium or specialized institution makes the adjustment of the child in the community after the period of treatment so much more difficult.

Of all the classes mentioned the one most difficult to deal with is vaginitis. Opinion as to its nature, effect, treatment, cure, and prevention varies so greatly that a consistent policy is impossible or not even desirable. The claim is made by some physicians that vaginitis results in sterility, while others discount its seriousness and claim it disappears at the age of puberty without harm. There is also a difference of opinion in regard to method of treatment, and the only unanimity that exists is as to contagion. It is a question in my mind if any single children's organization can ever cope with vaginitis successfully until the medical profession itself comes to some decision in the matter. I wonder whether a social agency especially organized for the accumulation of material would not be the most effective way of getting to the bottom of the whole problem. Perhaps such an organization as the Elizabeth McCormick Foundation, of Chicago, which has done an unusual piece of health work for children, would undertake the care and treatment of children suffering from vaginitis for the purpose of such a study.

A practical medical arrangement for a children's agency, it seems to me, would be to tie up with a clinic of good standing; to include on its staff paid physicians, part or full time according to the extent of the work and the resources of the organization. Such a physician should have the responsibility of the first and recurrent general examinations, the supervision and check-up on refers to special clinics, and arrangements for consultations, etc. The board of directors should have one or more physicians to constitute a medical advisory board. In addition, if the organization is large enough, the responsibility for supervision of the work with the physically handicapped should be placed with one person.

Quality, rather than quantity, should be the keynote of the private children's agency. The physically normal child can well be left to the usual community resources and public agencies. If the private organization used better judgment in intake and discharge its population would decrease to a considerable extent, thus liberating funds for the more intensive work with the physically handicapped child.

THE SCHOOL AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

(SUMMARY OF MEETING)

*Jane F. Culbert, Executive Secretary, National Committee
on Visiting Teachers, New York*

What social workers should know about the school.—Dr. Jesse H. Newlon, superintendent of Denver schools and president of the National Education Association, said that any worker from outside the school should study the present-day report system so as to know what the curricula and other activities are offering before attempting to propose any worth-while program from outside. He spoke of the fact that not infrequently people wished to introduce work through an outside agency because they believed the schools have not met some particular problem, when, as a matter of fact, they are basing their theories on no more recent knowledge than that acquired in their own school days. The schools are constantly changing and developing, said Dr. Newlon, and there is a strong tendency toward socialization and an increased realization that the school is for the child. Teachers, he said, will be found to be interested and ready to cooperate for a child in practical plans which are clearly set before them. Social workers should learn what services are offered in the school by its various departments, and through which of these departments inquiries regarding a child can be made. Assuming that the social worker is a trained person with a liberal education, particularly in the social sciences and psychology, Dr. Newlon feels that she is, and should be, a welcome contributor to the school services. The effort should be toward the integration of the educational and social forces in the school.

The problem of the outside social worker's reaching the right source of information in the school.—In discussion, the opinion was expressed by some that the social worker often feels unwelcome in the school and finds it difficult to obtain information, about a child, which is necessary to her plans. It was also suggested that sometimes the schools found it hard to give time for interviews with these outside workers. The general conclusion seemed to be that the social worker should obtain as detailed information as possible from a department or a central bureau in the school, such as a guidance department, or any other special service department. After that she should consult with both teacher and principal, but should remember that the school's time is budgeted, and should therefore have very clearly in mind what she needs to say or ask, and keep clearly to the point. In response to a question as to just how or through whom a more complete cooperation of educational and social forces can best be brought about, how their purposes are to be best united toward the educational aim, the visiting teacher was designated as the school functionary who, with experience in teaching as well as in social work, is able to blend the two professions in a manner to increase the school's efficiency in its own field of education through introduction of social work methods.

Is it true that some children would be better off in industry than in school, and what is the responsibility of the schools?—This question was discussed in connection with the matter of compulsory attendance and the present-day tendency toward raising the compulsory age limit. It was said that in the cases of some over-age children the school had seemed to work more harm than good, and that occasionally a psychiatrist had advised industry in preference.

Mr. Newton H. Hegel, director of the department of research and guidance of the Minneapolis schools, further developed this point as one worthy of serious attention. As cases of serious school unadjustment had often been referred through his department of visiting teachers to the Child Guidance Clinic, Mr. Hegel asked that the problem be discussed by Dr. Lawson G. Lowrey, formerly director of the Child Guidance Clinic of Minneapolis, now of Cleveland. Dr. Lowrey called attention to children of the duller groups who, failing to make good in the regular curriculum, often become conduct problems in the more rigid school systems.

Miss Brown, principal of Skinner Junior High School, Denver, spoke of the very flexible system within her school, and the grading arrangement by which the duller children could advance at their own rate with a sense of normal achievement because of the adaptability of the marking system. She also spoke of the enriched curriculum, mentioning manual crafts, mechanics, shops, etc. She said that they had no trouble with children wishing to leave school, even from the dull groups.

Dr. Elizabeth Woods, school psychologist, Los Angeles, discussed modern trends in education which were developing out of the psychological gradings.

Dr. Lawson G. Lowrey emphasized the point that because the present school curriculum is too seldom adapted to the typical child one should not feel that the problem will be solved simply by releasing the child into industry, but look forward rather to the further development of the school to meet his needs. The consensus seemed to be that, when it comes to a point of responsibility for the child who wishes to leave school, provision for his education and training under supervision can be better met in the school than in industry. In this connection the problem of the gifted child was also introduced. Dr. Lowrey said that superior children, when misplaced in their grades and their abilities thwarted, will often produce a clinical picture not unlike that presented by the dull or even defective child.

SUPPORT AND INTERPRETATION OF CHILD WELFARE WORK

INTERPRETING CHILD WELFARE WORK TO THE COMMUNITY—THE PRIVATE AGENCY

Ralph Barrow, Executive Secretary, Connecticut Children's Aid Society, Hartford

Professor Lang, of the University of Alabama, tells of a curiously interesting incident of which he had been a witness during a season of post-graduate work in the University of Edinburgh. Announcement was made of a lecture by Mr. Arthur Balfour on the subject, "The Moral Values which Unite the Nations." Professor Lang, desirous of taking advantage of so great an opportunity, was among the first to arrive at McEwen Hall on the appointed evening. Seated immediately opposite him, he noticed a Japanese student also engaged in graduate work. Mr. Balfour's lecture proved a masterly presentation of the different ties that bind together the peoples of the earth, common knowledge, common commercial interests, the intercourse of diplomatic relationship, and the bonds of human friendship. As the presiding officer arose, following the great wave of applause, to voice his appreciation, Professor Lang saw the Japanese student rise also, and lean on the balcony, and before the chairman of the meeting could speak, the Japanese student had asked, "But, Mr. Balfour, what about Jesus Christ?" Professor Lang said that one could have heard a pin drop. Everybody felt at once the justice of the rebuke. The leading statesman of the greatest Christian empire in the world had been dealing with the different ties that are to unite mankind, and had omitted the fundamental and essential bond. And everyone felt, too, the dramatic element in the situation, that the reminder of his forgetfulness had come to him from a Japanese student from a far-away non-Christian country.

It seems to me that application might well be made of this story. It is the moral values which unite the social work organizations of today with each other and with the communities in which they exist. By values, I do not mean alone the results obtained from the working out of problems along prescribed lines through masterly technique, but rather the gaining of the shining principle of human unity and the giving to mankind the instruments through which its common life may best be expressed, and by which its common work may most enduringly be done. Such values must of necessity be spiritual values, causing good to replace evil, beauty to transform ugliness, kindliness to cover cruelty, freedom to unshackle fear.

Spiritual values are of greater import than the most highly developed theories, which oftentimes are no better than empty gestures. They permit outgrowth of the growth of yesterday; they are the compensation for all suffering, all inequalities. They endure. I am convinced that we can no longer attack

and conquer the problems of our individual organizations without recognizing, accepting, and incorporating into those organizations the unmeasured strength of spiritual values. Nor can we leave them out when we attempt to interpret the high purpose of social work to the communities in which we serve. To set forth any form of social endeavor clearly and simply, making truth stand out so nakedly that all doubt as to its need is dispelled, requires consecration and fearless leadership.

Therefore, as one connected with a private agency desirous of making child welfare a living thing in the community, I would suggest:

First, a determination to find the correlation that should exist in any given community between private and public agencies. The private agency being willing to be the trail blazer using its resources as a laboratory in which experiments may be tried out to failure or success, and, if the latter is the resultant, turned over to the public agency to be assumed as part of its job, the burden of experimentation, however, not having been an additional tax of public funds. Is it fair to say in general that the public agencies' job is to keep the community giving to its children the things which have been approved as good, and to restrain the community from giving to its children what has been proven bad? The private agency's job goes farther, it is it which must keep the community continually hungering and thirsting after the newer things.

Second, the importance of a staff of high caliber, well educated, well trained men and women, who realize that "in vain we build the world unless the builder also grows." Especially must the case worker accept the challenge consciously and planfully to interpret child welfare to her community through the direct medium of the foster mother and the neighborhood forces. It is the building which she builds that the community really sees. Heretofore we have been content to have her artisan only; hereafter we also should emphasize her responsibility as hostess. This is fundamental to a plan of exposition to the community. The point for us to emphasize for purposes of interpretation is that the best way to teach is to do. The most vivid media is the actual use of case work, case by case. It is a well-known fact that the most prolific source of foster home applications comes through friends of successful foster mothers who, seeing their good works, become enamored of this concrete demonstration of child welfare and go about singing its praises and seeking to do likewise. More and more the country over we are placing emphasis on the teaching responsibility of the case worker—for her own enthusiastic development, as well as for social work; and more and more we are learning that the greatest textbook for preaching and teaching child welfare, as for other subjects, is the laboratory.

Third, the importance of small joint committees of staff workers and laymen, thus stimulating a simple, frank discussion of the meaning of social work and its relation to their own local community. Here is the real bed-rock use of the case committee. It is the community normal school for child welfare.

Fourth, the distinct advantage of the loan by a private agency of one of its

highly specialized workers to some of our non-socially staffed public agencies—the court, the schools, the commission—thus holding before the community a visible demonstration of the preventive value of intelligent social work. In a certain Connecticut city the private agency loaned a skilled, magnetic worker—may her tribe increase—to a staid New England court. Day by day she showed how good case work for children solved many of the court's adoption problems. A whole county was convicted of its child welfare needs by this loan method.

Fifth, the wisdom of developing a board of officers—directors, committeemen—representative of the community at large, not for their financial or social status alone, but because of their broadminded interest in human beings, their tolerance of new ideas, their willingness to drown personalities in the working out of high ideals into practices and laws safeguarding the lives of little children.

Sixth, a continual voicing to the public of the need of education—by executives, by staff, by officers—education of a preventive nature, teaching the higher standards of morals, of health, in the training of children. Much of this can be done through the issuing of annual reports, through letters and pamphlets so designed and compiled as to command perusal, and above all through understanding, consistent use of the daily newspaper, and through those larger broadcasting organs, the churches and the public schools. I cannot say enough of the yet untouched powers within the churches and the public schools. However, our publicity must be built of such human material and told in such simple, forceful, untechnical language that it will be understood by the mass of people without whose aid all the social workers in the country are unavailing. Elihu Root, with no attempt to exaggerate, described the sometimes seeming futility of our “wordy” campaigns in comparing its results to the well-known waste in burning coal for fuel:

The power of coal saved in our locomotives is a little less than 5 per cent and the loss 95 per cent, and if there is that loss in the power of coal in the transportation, you may multiply it by one hundred in order to obtain an idea of the loss of all the vast multitude of words that are poured out upon the people of America day by day and night by night in the newspapers and magazines and books and lectures and classrooms and public meetings—words upon words in fogs, and there is not one-tenth of one one-hundredth of one per cent of them which makes a lodgment and amounts to anything in the minds of men to whom they are addressed.

Only the people read things who do not need to read them. The people who ought to be affected by the speech are bored by it. We keep saying over and over again to each other the things that we agree on, but we never get at the people who don't agree with us. The mobilization of the tools of effective publicity and education demands a publicity program definitely focused from objective to objective, just as we have a plan for our individual children. Right here I might state that one of the acid tests of good publicity, from the standpoint of the private case working agency, is—Do we, in our attempt to educate our communities, exploit our children? One of the children of the Connecticut

Children's Aid Society is a case in point. John was already a problem boy. His story and picture were featured in our publication. The booklet was awarded a prominent place in our doctor's waiting-room. John read about the John who was baffling the Children's Aid Society. John had to be sent to the New England Home for Little Wanderers, his already acute behavior problem became a conscious adventure to him—his riddle is still unsolved to us—unwittingly we exploited him; it was wonderful publicity for some remote sister agency; it was ethically unsound for us. The moral is plain. And this means that the publicity specialist is an integral, vital factor of every complete staff, a person equipped with the technique for interpreting children's work ideals to the community which connotes understanding of and sympathy for not only the general ends of child welfare, but the immediate and more intimate purposes as well. A publicity person so equipped with social work background harmonizes the various elements in the agency and dissolves the conflict between publicity needs and case work standards. It has been a great advance to sell the general idea of child welfare in terms of budgets and finances—it will be a greater forward move to direct, through this publicity specialist, like energy into the interpreting to the community of our standards, ideals, and policies—a real social educational campaign. Most of us, however, will have to enter this program with the dual purpose of money raising and education—but with a hope, ever and ever, of making the educational by-product some day the chief article of merchandise.

Seventh, for the private organization, I cannot emphasize enough the importance of interpreting child welfare and its ramifications through dramatization. The institution folks, pioneering the way for all other forms of child welfare, used the show-case method to great advantage. The suggestion of child welfare to the average American brings to mind a picture, and that picture is a tidy, well-kept orphanage with neat, well-fed, and well-groomed children playing and working within. Up until now this image is indelibly fixed upon our national retina. It is a wonderful testimony to the grippingness of the visual picture method. We are an objective-minded people. We learn by seeing.

Recently a conference made up of a mixed group of laymen and professionals met in the study home of the New England Home for Little Wanderers. The meetings were gone through, so to speak, right in the midst of the children under study at the home. Deducting for any possible exploitation, much constructive work was interpreted to several communities. Many methods of picturization will suggest themselves: (a) cinema; (b) drama; (c) a Parnassus on wheels, similar to the traveling health clinics and partaking of their message; (d) an adaptation of that inspiring program—the American Child Health's personification of health characters—Cho Cho, the Clown, and the rest—who are now as much household characters as the calico cat and the gingerbread dog; (e) the silhouettes, "Building Happy Childhood," "The Child is the Future," etc., are a beginning, but why not picturize some of the common ideals—mothers aid; the normal home; kinship ties—which have gained acceptance

among us? The right development and use of such plants as this and that of the New Haven Orphan Asylum is pregnant of much that may be helpful in this program of interpretation. These institutions with modern plans and plants are great theaters for child welfare interpretation. The play which is being put on is attracting a large audience today. The foster home is the little theater of the child placing agencies. The drama enacted here is yet another means of exposition to the neighborhood public. We have used it a little; we are planning to use it more.

Eighth, I believe that the advent of the community chest in Hartford, representing exemption from raising funds in the chest area, crystallized for the first time the opportunity to sever publicity and education from finance. The removal of the practical necessity of getting moneys, with its attendant demand of time and energy, has meant the releasing of the same amount of time and effort for constructive education. Here is, indeed, a rare opportunity for the launching of ideals, and I believe these ideals are being made so healthy and stimulating that there is no occasion for apathy on the part of the board, staff, or former contributors who through the chest movement have been relieved from but one phase of the organization's plan. There has been a current of thought running through our conferences for the last few years, telling us with authority from many angles that a better-informed public opinion has naturally followed in the wake of community giving. Almost beyond doubt this is true in Hartford, where there has been the proper set-up between the chest and that balance wheel and interpreter, the council. Where the chest is not true to this social-work Pole Star, the demand is plain: Social worker, make it so.

Ninth, as I have suggested fearless leadership as necessary to the interpretation of child welfare to a community, may I say that the acceptance of fearless criticism from the community is just as essential to the upbuilding of the common good. Nothing can serve us more effectually than the alert criticism of people whose vision we may have helped make clear. Than this there is no surer antidote for a certain smugness among us social workers. Professor Gilbert Murray has said: "Progress comes by contradiction. Eddies and tossing spray add to the beauty of every stream and keep the water from stagnancy."

Finally, looking back over the still short distance the child welfare movement has traveled, we must be aware that we have understood it and interpreted it to but a small devoted minority of the people of any community, and as a result the principles of child welfare have been operative in a limited group of dependent, neglected, and defective children only. When the modern methods of child care, undivorced from spiritual values, are interpreted to the whole community, there will come a real revolution in child life, and it will be a significant truth that from the ranks of the socially disadvantaged child there came the Savior of American childhood. Statistics will grow old, statements will cease to be applicable, laws will fail, but the power to conceive and express truth will never die.

THE INTERPRETATION TO THE COMMUNITY
OF A PUBLIC AGENCY

Virginia B. Handley, Director, State Child Welfare Department, Birmingham

About twenty or twenty-five years ago the magazine *Life* took up the motto of our state, "Alabama Here We Rest," adding, "Everything rest but her children." Happily, Alabama does not mean "here we rest," but "vegetation-gatherers," or "thicket-clearers." At this dark period of our history there arose in Montgomery, Alabama, a thicket-clearer with a vision, Dr. Edgar Gardner Murphy, an Episcopal rector, who gathered about him a small group of socially minded men and women who had the exploitation of children, that was so rampant at that time, very much on their hearts. At this time the first child labor committee in America, known as the Alabama Child Labor Committee, was formed, which throughout the years has been one of the greatest social forces of our state. A law was passed that year prohibiting the labor of children up to eighteen years, but, with no facilities for enforcing this law, it was more or less a scrap of paper. However, forging ahead through the years, and through public agitation and education of the textile men themselves, in 1915 an excellent child labor bill was passed. Following the legislature of 1923, Alabama stands as one of thirteen states where the child labor law more than meets the federal requirements embraced in the two measures that have been declared unconstitutional. The report of our child labor inspector shows that, during the year 1924, out of one hundred cotton mills in the state only thirty-seven violations of the child labor law were discovered and corrected.

Step by step the thicket-clearers have forged ahead. Realizing that legislation for children in industry was only a small beginning toward helping the thousands of children in the state for whom nothing was being done, they interested themselves in finding out more definitely what the real conditions among the children of the state were. The only provision for dependent children up to this time was in child caring institutions. Hundreds of children were in these institutions who should not be there, as there were no home finding nor child placing agencies. So, in 1916, this group, which had added to themselves the men's and women's organizations, the interest of the churches and the schools, formed the Alabama Children's Home Society, which sowed the seed that developed later into the Alabama Children's Aid Society. This genuinely fine organization, with Mr. Ralph Barrow as its first superintendent, did excellent work and for four years functioned as a private agency supported by the generosity of the people, and through sound publicity interpreted itself solidly into the minds and hearts of the public.

There still were many gaps in the field, and a coordinated program for social betterment in the state was absolutely necessary, so the National Child Labor Committee, under the auspices of our state university, was asked to come to the

state to make an intensive survey. This study embraced public health, rural school attendance, child labor enforcement, juvenile courts and probation, child caring institutions, home finding, and recreation.

This survey was followed by another, of our state taxing system and our state institutions, particularly our penal system, by Dr. Hastings H. Hart, of the Russell Sage Foundation, and also a study of Alabama's educational system, made by the General Education Board, including all schools and institutions supported in whole or in part by public funds.

These three studies were broadcasted in the state and were placed in the hands of the legislators at the adjourned session of 1919. We were not proud of the picture portrayed—a picture, however, so vivid and so convincing that the legislature enacted into law fully two-thirds of the recommendations made; in fact, in one fell swoop more good legislation was passed than in all Alabama's previous history.

The need for better enforcement of child labor regulation, of family welfare service, of concerted effort to prevent juvenile delinquency, of better standards of work in child caring institutions, were all brought prominently to the attention of the lawmaking body, and finally, with a view toward providing means for coordinating the entire program, the state child welfare department was established, with all the prescribed duties that naturally are included in a children's bureau. The administration of the child labor law was also transferred from the Department of Prison Inspection to the Department of Child Welfare. The department is under the direction of a Child Welfare Commission, a non-paid, non-political body composed of the governor, the chairman of the state board of health, the state superintendent of education, and six members with varying terms, appointed by the governor.

The actual work of home finding and child placing was in the hands of the Alabama Children's Aid Society, making their reports to, and being closely affiliated with, the state department. This cooperative plan existed between the two agencies for three years. In 1922 the directors of the Children's Aid Society proposed to the Child Welfare Commission that the department take over the work of the Society, declaring that they believed the system of child care built up by the two agencies working together had come to be recognized by the people as a sound and fundamental part of the state's conservation program. The Child Welfare Commission was confident that the legislature would make an appropriation adequate to take care of the combined organizations, but were disappointed, and we found ourselves face to face with the necessity as a public agency to raise funds of not less than twenty to twenty-five thousand dollars annually for the maintenance of the Children's Aid Division. The splendid foundation laid by Mr. Barrow and co-workers for the private agency is evidenced by the fact that the public still gives to the Children's Aid Division as liberally as they did to the Children's Aid Society. We are included in the contingent funds of all the community chests of the state, and we are now able to raise funds by letter from the central office.

Alabama strongly adheres to the system of local county government. We believe that only in so far as a public agency can show to a community where a county's or community's responsibility to its children should cease, and where the state's or commonwealth's responsibility should begin, will we be able really to interpret the proper functions of the public agency to the people. One of the best laws enacted in our state has been an enabling act for the establishment of county boards of child welfare. Unlike many states, this is not a mandatory law, but it gives each country the right to establish a board of child welfare and the employment of a county superintendent of child welfare, with their compensation and expenses, to authorize the governing body of any city or town to make appropriation to aid in the payment of the salary and expenses of this worker, who must by law be certificated as to training and experience by the child welfare department. This board is made up of the probate judge as chairman, the ex officio juvenile court judge in each county, the chairman of the county board of education, the county superintendent of education, one member of the board of commissioners of the county, and three members at large, two of whom must be women.

How may the public agency interpret itself through this channel? May I give the picture of just one of the nine counties that have been organized according to this plan? First, the extension secretary from the child welfare department went into the county, a distinctly rural one with a high ratio of illiteracy, of neglect, dependency, and delinquency among children. Naturally the community did not see the need for such an organization. No social agency except the Red Cross during the war had ever made an indentation into this backward county, but fortunately the probate judge was a man who could be made to see the light. Assisted by the state department of education, a study of school attendance problems was made by dividing the county up into small districts and by getting committees of women from the Federation of Women's Clubs and from the churches to assist in making this study. A similar study of dependency, neglect, and delinquency was made. Conditions were found that were appalling. Children were in backwoods starving, harassed by hookworm and pellagra; a vast amount of illiteracy was unearthed, and the probate judge himself told with shame that his treatment and handling of children up to this time had been to send them all to the state schools for delinquents, whether poverty or dependency was their only failing. The entire county became awakened. The people had found themselves by studying their own problems from within. Through the medium of the public agency guiding this survey, the child welfare department was asked to organize a county board of child welfare and to provide a full-time trained worker for that county. This worker, as probation and school attendance officer, is paid \$150 per month, with a car at her disposal, and a contingent fund raised by public subscription for the temporary boarding care of children or any necessary relief. The work that she has done is nothing short of miraculous.

Very specifically, then, what is a sound means of popularizing the public

agency in order to secure better laws, to strengthen the laws already on the statute books, to prescribe better standards for the private agencies still below the line, and to receive larger appropriations in order to enforce these measures more wisely? Only through an informed public opinion. In preparing this paper I wrote about two dozen letters to outstanding men and women of our state, more or less disinterested, and asked them directly what they would like to know about our agency as such. The answers were interesting and varied. In every case they wanted to know the amount of the appropriation and how it was expended. The majority of them wanted to know whether the positions in the department changed with each administration, or whether workers were employed permanently on the basis of efficiency. (I am glad to say that there is not a single political appointee in the child welfare department, and that every worker is a trained person chosen by the director and approved by the commission for an unlimited term of office.) All wanted to know more of the general functioning of the department, and a keen interest was evidenced by the fact that every letter was answered. One letter, to the leading editor of our state, was particularly encouraging. He said:

At the present time the public wants social publicity. With every organization worthy of the name in the country, having "service" as their slogan in some capacity, social publicity is read as never before. The community chest movement is demanding more efficiency in budgeting and better work for private agencies. From the standpoint of a public welfare agency, certainly the public has the right to demand the highest type of work, and this after all is the best method of interpreting any work into the various communities of the state. Continuous articles, not too long, dealing with various phases of the work, with as much of a human interest appeal as can consistently be put into them, will always be read and published. The press wants, and the public will read, sincere facts about what is being done in the state for the betterment of her children.

I do not believe that two better examples of interpretative work could be found than, first, in the excellent surveys such as the one made in Alabama by the National Child Labor Committee, showing an unmet need, and being brought to the minds of the people for immediate action before the study grew cold, and second, the public agency guiding studies in local communities with the people themselves becoming acquainted with their own problems. The public agency should set the example for the best type of social work to be inaugurated in these communities.

The public agency can only render that service and do those acts more or less designated by the legislature, so the public agency should seek constantly to interpret itself through the private agency, whose scope of work in untried fields is more elastic. A real spirit of cooperation is constantly being brought about between the public and private agencies where the scope of work is clearly defined and understanding and fairmindedness are paramount.

Too much cannot be said for small group conferences, guided by the public agency, working together for an excellent state conference. In Alabama our state conference of social work brings together the most stimulating group of

social, industrial, and professional men and women, and is more and more becoming a force for an intelligent understanding of social work.

The necessity of constant education of the schools, the churches, and all organized groups is obvious. Through annual reports and good house organs, through regular publicity in the press, through prepared programs for various groups, and always through the spoken word whenever possible, the public cannot help but recognize the aims and needs of the work.

Repeating again that the real purpose of the public agency is to strengthen the laws already on the statute books, to enforce them wisely, and so to educate the constituents of the legislators that these "folks back home" will demand better legislation, it is my honest belief that where the manufacture of citizens from babes is our prime motive, that if the public can be made to see the facts and the needs for preventive work, that the day is not far distant when it will be unnecessary for us to depend on subtle lobbying to get our bills through the legislature. We are hoping that before the legislature of 1927 convenes we shall be able to practice what I am preaching today. We have done little as yet, except work toward the establishment of county boards of child welfare in connection with the state board in order to make the county the unit for an organized program of social work, guided by the public agency, that thus through the awakened intelligence of the people themselves more and more the band of thicket clearers will gather unto themselves the thinking men and women of the state so that we shall constantly be able to make Alabama a better place for a little child to live in.

THE CHARITIES BUDGET AND CHILDREN'S AGENCIES

Elwood Street, Director, Community Council and Fund of St. Louis

Two keys there are which will unlock the hearts and minds of community fund budget committees. Of them I shall speak, and of how, when properly used, they will help a children's agency to attain and maintain its proper place in the budget of a community fund or financial federation.

The use of these keys is a matter of concern, I believe, to every representative of a children's agency in this audience, whether at the present time the organization is a member of a community fund or not.

If your agency is a member of a community fund, some of the principles which I shall discuss may, I believe, be applied with profit, no matter how effective your relationship to the community fund budget committee now is. In some twelve or more years of observing children's institutions and other social agencies in their relationship to a community fund I have never observed one which attained what I believe would be maximum effectiveness in relation to that budget committee.

On the other hand, if your agency is not now having dealings with a community fund budget committee, it is likely to before long. Over two hundred

American cities now have community funds. I believe that the time is not far distant when every city of any appreciable size will have adopted the plan of federated financing of its social agencies. This means that practically every community large enough to have a children's agency will also have a community fund which will probably include that organization as well as the other social agencies in the community. The agency which considers these principles now and plans to apply them when it is a member of a community fund has a tremendous advantage over those agencies which wait to consider their relationship to the community fund until membership in it is actually upon them.

Moreover, principles which are here discussed are capable of application not merely to the relationship of a children's agency to a community fund budget committee, but also, to the relationship of the agency to its own board and to groups of citizens in the community at large at whose hands it desires favors and assistance. Is it too much to hope, therefore, that this discussion may prove of some value to each one here?

The factors in this effective relationship of a children's agency to a community fund budget committee may be broadly divided into two main requirements: first, the children's institution must have an adequate supply of facts about its work, graphically interpreted; second, it must present these facts effectively in a variety of ways to the community fund's budget committee. These are the twin keys which will unlock the hearts and the minds of the members of the budget committee.

In discussing the use of these two keys I shall assume, for the time being, the guise of a superintendent of a children's agency in a community chest city. I realize that this is a difficult rôle. I assume it with all humility, hoping that you will pardon my presumption on the grounds that even this make-believe is only temporary.

If, then, I were the superintendent of a children's agency which desired to get the appropriation it needed from a community fund budget committee, I should make sure, first of all, that I had all the facts regarding child welfare work in the community at large and regarding the work of my own agency, and should have those facts interpreted in such graphic shape that their meaning could not possibly be mistaken.

The facts regarding the community would include the extent and nature of the child welfare problem in the city; the number of neglected and dependent children; the amount of service to them; the nature of that service; its cost as handled by other agencies at work in the community, both public and private; and the unmet needs for both general and specialized service. The facts regarding my own agency would show for several years past the quantity of service rendered; the various types of children; the cost of such service, detailed as to its various elements, and compared with similar costs for other like agencies; the tendencies in such costs; and the demand for this service, compared to the

problem as a whole and to the development of other agencies. I should also wish to have facts which would show the quality of the service rendered, as well as the quantity. Surely I should have such facts available for planning the work of my agency, whether I dealt with a budget committee or not.

I should take the utmost pains to put these facts in graphic form. Charts would show the relationship between my own work and that of other agencies, and conditions in the community as a whole. Charts would show also the relationship between the cost of the various elements of my agency's service year by year, and in comparison with the costs of other agencies. These charts would be put in such shape that they could readily be seen by a committee of some size, either by having them made into lantern slides so that they could be shown with a stereopticon, or by having them photographically enlarged and mounted on pieces of linen two or three feet square which could be fastened to an easel. With these charts I could clearly illustrate any points which the facts indicated as to the necessity of increased appropriations on account of changing factors in my work, or on account of unmet needs or growing demands for service.

In addition to these charts, I would find great value in photographs of the salient features of the work of my agency; of the needs which ought to be met in the community that are not being met, and which it was proposed that my agency should meet, and of typical children as indicative of special problems to be handled. These photographs might either be made into lantern slides or enlarged and mounted, like the charts. When I had thus put in graphic form the facts about my agency and its problems, I should begin to plan the use of the second key to the hearts and minds of the budget committee. That key is the efficient presentation of these graphic facts to the committee.

A community fund budget committee usually includes nine or more members. Sometimes the agency representatives appear before a subcommittee of a budget committee, which in turn makes recommendations to the committee as a whole. The principles of presentation would, however, be little affected by the size of the committee. The point remains that a committee made up of individuals who know more or less about social work is charged with the responsibility of determining how much of the funds which it is thought may be available shall be given to each particular agency in the community fund membership. My discussion of relationship to the budget committee naturally divides itself into four main points: first, the mailing of suitable material to the budget committee; second, getting the budget committee to visit the agency; third, the presentation of the budget to the committee when the time for decision comes; and fourth, the attitude of the representatives of the children's agency toward the budget committee.

If I were superintendent of a children's agency wishing an appropriation from a budget committee, I should mail fact material about my agency at least once a month during the year to the members of the committee. Each month I would send a brief statement regarding some particular phase of my agency's

work to which I wished special attention given; such, for example, as the problem of rising food costs, the increasing number of children requiring attention because of desertion, or some other phase of the work which might require modification of the budget. I should make the suggestion, direct or implied, that I felt that the members of the committee who are charged with making appropriations to agencies might like to know how the money might have to be spent in the future. I believe the budget committee would rather have this material from time to time, when it could be readily assimilated, than concentrated into one mass at budget-making time. These bulletins could be mimeographed or copied with a ditto machine at very low expense. Charts showing the relationship which I desired to exhibit could easily be prepared in the same way along with the statements. This same material obviously could be sent to my board, so that it would be doubly useful.

I would also send to the members of the budget committee any printed matter which my institution prepared during the course of the month, and would include typical clippings of newspaper stories and editorials about my work. This should be done not merely because of the direct educational value of this material to the members of the budget committee, but also because they would get the impression that many people were reading about my agency and presumably thinking well of it. Such a program of direct mail advertising to members of the budget committee should aid tremendously in securing understanding of my agency's problems and would help to get the largest possible appropriation for it.

In addition to mailing material to the members of the budget committee, I should attempt at least once a year to get the members of the committee to visit my agency. They might, for example, be invited to take lunch or have tea at the institution. An invitation should be formally sent by the president. Members of the board should be detailed with their automobiles to bring members of the budget committee to the meeting. Some of the other board members should be present as hosts and hostesses. After the members of the budget committee had arrived at the institution, a competent member of the board, or myself, if I felt more competent to do so, should talk about the history of the institution and describe the special needs which required attention. Afterward, the members of the budget committee should be taken on a tour of inspection of the institution and be shown in detail those matters which required consideration in the next budget; such, for example, as needed repairs, additions to equipment, and needs for special workers. Each member of the budget committee should be accompanied by a board member or competent staff member who would answer all questions. At the luncheon or tea which preceded or followed the inspection, each budget committee member should be sandwiched between well-informed board members or staff members. When the affair was over, I should see that those members of the budget committee who did not

have their own automobiles were safely trundled to their own homes or places of business by board members.

If I ran a home finding agency with only an office, I should still get the budget committee out to see it in action. In addition to inviting the budget committee members to a special visit to the agency, I would see that they were invited during the year to such affairs as Christmas parties, annual meetings, and other events of unusual interest and importance. I believe that by this process of getting members of the budget committee personally familiar with the work, they would acquire a far more vivid sense of its needs and possibilities than otherwise would be the case.

The mailing of material to budget committee members and the inspection of the agency would be a double prelude to the presentation of the budget to the committee. I should take pains to have the budget very carefully planned and would make sure that it presented only actual and reasonable needs. My good intention would be shown by cutting former expenditures where cuts were possible and by proposing increases only where necessary. I should, of course, be careful to give full and precise explanation, in figures and charts, of the reason for every proposed increase in expenditure or decrease in income.

The budget would be prepared exactly as I thought it ought to be granted, rather than with leeway for a prospective cut. A budget committee soon learns which organizations expect to get cuts, and is likely to make an even greater cut than the organization thinks may be made. On the other hand, a well-prepared budget, adequately presented, will quite often go through the budget committee as presented, without change.

Arrangements should be made for the effective display, with a stereopticon or an easel, of the charts and photographs which had been prepared. In this way I could show the significant relationships in the budget proposals, both as to finances and as to service. I would have the main proposals typed and carbon copies available for distribution to members of the budget committee. Of final importance would be a good, businesslike speaker who would present briefly and vividly the various proposals on behalf of the organization. This speaker should be one who knows thoroughly the work of the agency and the details of the budget, and should be able to answer any questions which may be asked. I believe that with a budget thus prepared and presented I could more nearly secure from the budget committee the allowance my agency needed than by any other means.

Another matter of importance is the attitude of the organization toward the budget committee. I should let the facts speak for themselves in the presentation of the proposals for the budget. I should put the decision squarely on the budget committee, explaining what would be sacrificed, if cuts were made, in terms of human service. I should say in effect: "I leave this in your hands, believing that you will give the maximum amount which you have available. We

will be glad to do our best on whatever sum you can allow in view of the facts presented." In other words, I should make the budget committee a participant in the work of my agency and in the planning of its service.

Moreover, I should preserve the same attitude of fair play during the year. I would only use what money I absolutely had to use, and if I saw that I could make savings I would do so. If, then, during the year I found that I had to use more than I had planned for some item of expense, I would probably find the budget committee in a fairly responsive mood.

I should, further, always make requests of the budget committee for extra allowances before the expense was incurred, rather than afterward. A budget committee will usually grant a reasonable request made to it, but sometimes is naturally and properly stiff-necked when told that an expenditure has been made without the approval of the committee which allocates the funds.

As a further factor in my attitude toward the budget committee, I should never attempt to use any "pull" or do any "log-rolling." I would not try to elect members of the budget committee to my board of directors for the sake of the influence. I would not try to get a friend of mine to speak to a friend of his who is on the budget committee and ask for special favors. I should not bring a large delegation of impressive citizens before the budget committee when I asked for my budget. Such delegations make the budget committee suspicious that the organization has very little of real value in its work and feels that it has to depend upon impressiveness and influence rather than merit. As a matter of fact, one or two people who know the situation thoroughly are far more effective in securing adequate consideration of a budget by a budget committee than are any number of distinguished but uninformed citizens.

I believe that the children's agency which will mail material to members of the budget committee, get the committee to visit the institution, make a businesslike and vivid presentation of its budget to the committee, and maintain an attitude of fair play and of give and take toward the budget committee will secure adequate consideration of its needs.

This process is directly analogous to the larger task of the children's agency to inform the whole public of the nature of its work. The task I have described is the easier because there are so many fewer individuals in the budget committee than there are in the general public. The results of such interpretation should be quicker because the budget committee can make a direct appropriation, while money sought from the public usually can be secured only after a long, expensive, and difficult process. In other words, the interpretation of the work of the agency to the budget committee is merely part of the larger educational program which every children's agency should have.

In conclusion, then, I should say that the children's agency which will apply the principles of fact interpretation and of varied and effective presentation to the budget committee, not merely at budget-making time but throughout the

year, will be able to attain and maintain that position in the charities budget to which it is entitled, within the limits of the funds available. Such an agency, basing its relations to the budget committee on fact finding and fact interpretation, will save the time, energy, and worry of its superintendent and board members. It will secure more adequate understanding from the budget committee. It will be better financed than otherwise would be the case. It will have greater opportunities for larger and more effective service to those children whose needs its aims to meet.

Again, and for the last time I say it: facts and their interpretation are the two keys which will unlock the hearts and minds of budget committees, as they will, indeed, the hearts and minds of the community at large.

II. DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION

THE PERSISTENCE OF CRIME IN OUR MODERN CIVILIZATION

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In spite of all the boasted progress of our modern civilization crime, in most of the countries of the world, persists in its intensity and multiplies in variety with the increasing complexity of life. Studies made before the war showed that crime was on the increase in Germany, stationary in France, and apparently decreasing in Great Britain. So far as we can judge from the figures of our United States Census, measured by the commitments per 100,000 of population to our various jails, reformatories, industrial schools, and prisons, there has been little change in the crime rate in this country since 1880. We must remember, of course, that commitments are no exact measure of criminality. However, they are valuable in determining whether crime has increased or decreased. The only thing which makes them uncertain as a measure of the increase or decrease of crime is that we cannot be certain that juries are convicting as many today as thirty years ago, and we do not know what effect on commitments the practice of probation has had.

In facing the crime situation we must also bear in mind that legislation is constantly enlarging the number of things forbidden. Every legislature passes laws which make new crimes. There is no question but that the passage of the prohibition law has greatly increased the number of commitments to institutions, because this law has created a new class of crimes, viz., the violation of this law.

After analyzing the situation as carefully as we can, however, and making allowance for the influence of probation in keeping people out of institutions and in discounting the effect on the crime rate of actions declared to be criminal by recent laws, a study of the older and more serious crimes like murder, robbery, embezzlement, and sex crimes seems to indicate that such crimes are not decreasing. New methods of committing murder, robbery, and embezzlement have been devised with the growth of applied science and the increase of new inventions. In general, therefore, we can say that society has not been able seriously to reduce the number of the more grave crimes.

Why have we failed in the fight with crime?—Never was so much attention given to the subject of crime. The newspapers are filled with reports of crime as never before. Judges, probation officers, and social students are giving atten-

tion to it as never before in history. Laboratories are being established in connection with courts to study the causes of crime. Students are bringing together statistics of crime in the effort to discover causes. New light is being thrown on the problem in ever increasing volume.

Moreover, never have we had so much wealth in this country as at the present time. The general standard of living is higher, although the difference between the standards of various economic classes is greater than ever before. The poor are better looked after today than at any time in the past hundred and fifty years of our history. The comfort of the people of this country, even the poorest, is probably greater than in any other country in the world. Surely the pressure of need cannot explain the persistence of crime, although the pressure of new wants may do so.

Moreover, the ancient institutions which are supposed to have a preventive influence on criminality are developed as never before. Our educational institutions are more highly developed than ever in our history. Churches rear their spires in larger numbers than ever before. Moreover, both education and religion are being given a social flavor which formerly they lacked. Recreation without a parallel is being organized to care for the leisure time of childhood and youth, and yet, so far as we can tell from the facts available, we are not gaining in this country decidedly in the fight against crime. Why are we failing? We have to confess that we do not know. We have various guesses, some of which probably approximate the truth. We need, however, very many more careful studies than we have had to determine the causes of criminality. One of the things that stands out today is the imperative necessity of research which will make available to us the facts concerning crime and the factors of criminality.

Why the persistence of crime?—In the absence of scientific knowledge concerning the reasons for the persistence of crime let us turn to some of the hypotheses which have been suggested to explain the fact.

One of these hypotheses is that we have been making a lot of new legal crimes. Every session of Congress and every meeting of a state legislature puts upon the statute books laws which make things a crime which once were not crimes. For example, all the fish and game laws which have been enacted in the last fifty years and which represent the attempt of society to conserve some of the natural resources of our country have made acts criminal which once were perfectly legitimate. These laws run across customs and habits of individuals which originated centuries ago. From the time of paleolithic man, ten thousand or more years ago, down to very recent times anyone was at liberty to kill game and catch fish whenever and wherever he pleased. Today these habits and customs are restricted and prohibited at certain times and in certain districts. The age-old habits and customs persist in spite of the laws and appear in the statistics of crime.

With the invention of the automobile a new set of laws has been devised

and enacted to meet the new problems of transportation on the highways. Here again old habits and customs find themselves in conflict with the new standards of conduct set by the laws. Moreover, the automobile has made easier many of the old crimes. The bank robber and the holdup man can more easily escape today, because of the automobile, than ever before. The theft of automobiles is entirely a new crime. The horse thief is passing, but in his place we have the automobile thief.

Furthermore, with the rise of new knowledge concerning the cause of disease we have enacted a whole series of laws called dairy and food laws. One may not sell food products unless they conform to certain standards set by the hygienists and the sanitarians. So intricate is our economic life today that we are dependent, not upon our own chicken yard, herd of swine, and herd of cattle for our meats. When we were we could depend upon our selfish regard for the health of ourselves and our families to see that the food was taken care of properly in accordance with the best knowledge we had. When, however, food products are produced for a market there is every temptation to sell food products which we ourselves do not consume but which may endanger the health or life of others.

The same thing is true with respect to sanitation. In the old English village community, before we knew anything about germs, the house and the stable were under the same roof, and the manure pile was beside the house door. Contaminated water was drunk from the town pump or the individual well, and the results were blamed upon the inscrutable wisdom of God. Today anyone who allows garbage to lie about and become a menace to the health of himself or others is subject to prosecution. Moreover, before we understood how disease is transmitted there were no quarantine regulations. Today even measles and chickenpox are subject to quarantine, to say nothing of diphtheria and scarlet fever. Here again is another source of law-breaking. Ignorance and indifference, the children of unsocialized habits and customs, persist in spite of our efforts to control them in the interests of health.

Another explanation of the persistence of crime, which cannot be demonstrated with present statistical methods, is the theory of "social change" or the "costs of progress." Look at the changes in our modern civilization; the changes in thought and ideals, in standards, conventions, customs, and beliefs which have occurred in the last seventy-five years. An echo of it is to be seen in the fundamentalist-modernist controversy. In most matters we take these changes as a matter of course. It takes a case like the fundamentalist controversy to wake us up to a realization of the enormous changes in thought which have occurred. Not only has there been a revolution industrially, but science and philosophy have brought about a revolution in our thinking. The scientific discoveries of the last seventy-five years have been working themselves out in all the realms of thought and action. The spirit of modern science is to question everything for a deeper understanding. It is a spirit of inquiry into all traditions, customs, sanctions, as well as theories of matter and of mind. As a result, many

of the old sanctions of conduct have either been destroyed or have been questioned, and there has been nothing to take their place. The social atmosphere of the present time, due to changing ideals and changing sanctions of conduct, explains why we have crime in the midst of our civilization. If old sanctions are destroyed, like the fear of hell, or reverence for custom and tradition, new ones of equal force must take their place, else social control is destroyed or weakened. The hands of the clock do not go backward. There is no use raving over our loss of the old sanctions. What we must do is to meet the situation by setting up new sanctions adapted to changed conditions.

We have not kept pace in our social inventiveness with our material progress. We have not devised new social machinery to meet the problems created by the industrial and social changes which have come about in the last century. Consequently the criminal is always about three jumps ahead of the law, and our methods for the prevention of crime are not up with the conditions making for criminality. Our schools have failed to meet the situation demanded by the changing ideals of youth. Our churches too often have failed to adapt their appeals and their teachings to the new conditions. We social workers are in the same situation in that we have failed to invent devices to take up the slack in our social machinery. Not only have we failed in the machinery of prevention, but we have bungled the job of caring for our criminals whom we have succeeded in catching. We insist on retaining the old penal theory of retribution. Punishment is the idea at the bottom of our legislation and our court procedure. Then we wonder why we do not do a better job in reforming the criminal.

The persistence of crime is a testimony to our ignorance of social causation. How little we know about the interplay of personality and social pleasures. How ignorant we are of the influence of social conditions on personalities incapable of adjustment to the more complex conditions of modern life. How little we know about the processes of developing socialized personalities, and how poor is our knowledge of the technique of adapting social institutions to the production of social personality. Even our educational system has not advanced very far in determining just how to direct the developing personalities of children so that they shall fit well into the social conditions of our times. Just how much pressure and what kind of pressure should society place upon the individual in order to make him conform happily and usefully to our new social standards? How far can we go by legislation in producing a change in habit and custom? Just how shall we order the life of our homes so that the boys and girls as they grow up will find satisfaction in adapting their conduct to the standards of life which are held to be socially desirable? How shall we handle the abnormal personality so that he may live a life of happy usefulness in the midst of a civilization which is geared to high-grade individuals? How shall we treat the individual who has violated the social standards which we have set up, so that he will not be confirmed in his attitude of rebellion against society? How shall we train

him while he is under detention so that he does not go back into free society with a grudge, but with a desire to conform to the standards of social life we have set for him? These are some of the questions on which we must have more knowledge before we can hope to succeed in the struggle against crime. On such knowledge must be based our programs of social reform and our penological systems. How little we are willing to spend on experiment and investigation which will throw light upon these problems. We spend money upon the investigation of plant, animal, and human diseases, but how little we spend on understanding the fundamental basis of social conduct. Until we are willing to spend more than we are spending today on experiments and research into the springs of human conduct and methods of social control which promise some greater degree of success in controlling the development of human beings who must perforce live in complicated human relations, we shall continue to have the persistence of crime which is challenging our attention at the present day.

PREVENTIVE WORK WITH MINORS

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The manifestation of crime, that is the actual condition that society is called on to deal with, deserves the closest kind of study, not only to ascertain the causes and to relieve society as well as the individual of the consequences of crime, but as well to formulate some sort of program for the prevention of crime. A study of the cause presupposes an act precedent. A successful effort to prevent may indeed rob the student of his material, but in this no doubt the student would rejoice, for as between a lack of material on criminology and a crimeless social state there is no choice.

Those of us engaged in the preventive side of this ubiquitous subject are constantly thinking in and dealing with human factors at first hand. I know we all wish we had arrived at more successful means of prevention, but Rome was not made in a day and so we continue to build, here a little and there a little, hoping that our structure will approach our ideal just a little more quickly than it would had it not been for our efforts.

I have been asked to confine my remarks to preventive work with boys, and with boys of the adolescent age. Many organizations are in existence to deal with such boys. They have programs, perfected after much study, designed to meet the tastes and proclivities of the adolescent boy and young man. From my experience in the social settlement I have come to respect these agencies and organizations with what amounts to almost a reverence, and yet I realize that many boys are never reached by them. May this not be explained by the fact that despite the number of such organizations there has been from the start a timid attitude of restriction which is summed up in the slogan of "duplication of

effort"? My observation has been that this fear of going ahead, of doing as much good as possible, has given the organized forces of evil their best opportunity. Now we must not blind ourselves—probably we here in this room do not, but others may—to the fact that forces for evil are organized. The forces that play most havoc with our boys have an invisible government and a dual motive—money profit and providing an ever growing supply of fodder, not cannon fodder, but crime fodder. Has it ever occurred to anyone that it might be possible to run a decent pool hall? "If so," the reply may be, "why isn't the pool hall decent?" Because the profit isn't large enough. The pool hall proprietor finds he can't make enough from the tables, so he takes a rake-off from the crap games. If that isn't sufficient he sells "moon," and so on. He adds as many different attractions as possible to appeal to as many different types of patron as possible in order to increase his profits. In order to "get away with" infractions of the law there must be some sort of influence with, or protection received from, the officers of the law or those who can influence those officers. Here is where the domain of organization of the forces for evil enters in. It is entirely outside of the province of this paper to deal with this subject, but a knowledge of the existence of the fact is a part of the A B C equipment of the preventive worker.

The boy presents himself as such. When to the social worker the boy is merely John Brown—a name—he ceases to be a human being; when John, on the other hand, fires the imagination of the social worker to the extent of causing him to think of him as a prospective adult member of society, then John has a present and a future. The social worker then thinks of John's present almost wholly in terms of his future, and plans his course of action accordingly. In other words, one's conception of the boy largely determines one's attitude toward him. This applies both to the boy individually and to boys collectively. In any sane plan of preventive work a foundation stone is faith in the average boy. It is a psychological fact that your mental attitude toward the boy determines your method of handling him and his problems, and he knows it. I recall the case of Harry. He was fourteen years old at the time. The red-letter day in his life was when he broke the eyeglasses of one of the settlement workers who was forcibly ejecting him from the settlement. Harry was boisterous, exceedingly so; one of his chief delights was to open the doors of the various clubrooms when the clubs were in session, emit a terrific yell, and slam the door and run for the stairs. Janitors, club leaders, staff members, and residents were all up in arms against him. The public librarian next door to the settlement had her grievances against him also. As a sort of last resort I was appealed to. The boy fascinated me. I began to befriend him, at least to the extent of showing an interest in him. At first he was skeptical; by degrees he responded to my purely friendly advances. I gave strict instructions to each of the workers to leave all disciplinary measures in my hands, and to report to me instantly all of his infractions—gross or minor—of our regulations. One day the librarian asked me if I could

recommend a boy to collect overdue books in the district. I said, "Harry." She gasped at the thought. At my earnest solicitation she agreed to try him. I asked the privilege of making the preliminary arrangements with him. This was agreed to. I told his father, who knew all I was doing for his son, that I wanted to see Harry in my office. When he entered I asked him if he would like a job after school. His large, bright black eyes snapped as he answered "yes," and when I told him it was at the library, he shook his head and said, "She [meaning the librarian] won't employ me." I answered that she would if I recommended him. I then asked him if I could recommend him, explaining that that meant that he'd make good. He looked at me a second and made this significant reply, "Sure you can recommend me, I'll make good. You're the only one who ever trusted me." Harry made good in that job and in many others. The last time I saw his father, who keeps a pushcart on the Rivington Street side of the University Settlement in New York, he told me the boy was married, had two children, and held a responsible position with the Ansonia Clock Company. How many boys go wrong because no one understands them? Or better yet, how many potentially bad boys go right because someone does understand them? This is an instance of that type of case, where the boy had the facilities of a well-equipped settlement house right at hand, but those facilities were not what would save him or prevent him from going wrong. He needed the personal contact of some one who understood him. I remember how I was all but ridiculed when I announced, at a sort of case conference we were holding on him, that I did not think he was a bad boy. Some one said, "He's the worst boy in the district and is the kind gangsters are made of—a regular 'Lefty Lewie.'" I saw nothing bad in him, except an exuberance of Indian yell and cowboy unruliness. The second requisite in dealing with Harry was to place some responsibility on his shoulders. After one understood him it was easy to see that responsibility was indicated as an antidote to his wild proclivities. Harry represents a type of which there are millions in this country. The real question is who is going to care for these millions. But I am only expected here to point a method of prevention.

Harry might just as well have been another type, that which, for instance, needs some activity under direction to absorb in a wholesome way his leisure time—the type that goes wrong because he has no useful occupation in his leisure hours. He might have been a member of a gang that hung out at a poolroom. Let me tell you the story of a poolroom gang. One day one of the settlement members asked me if I knew that a new poolroom had just opened, two blocks from the settlement. I had not heard of it but I knew it would require close watching, so I asked the men workers to join me in a periodic observation of this place. Little by little the old story repeated itself. Some of our good promising settlement boys began to patronize the place until they almost wholly dropped out of the settlement. They were boys over sixteen years of age and had never given us more than the usual amount of concern—pranks outside the

building, and once and again a little boisterousness inside. They were in no sense embryo gangsters. But their whole moral tone began to change after they had come under the influence of this pool hall. Some of their mothers and, in one or two cases, a father called the settlement or spoke to the workers in reference to the place. Finally a neighbor who had no son called and said the place was a disgrace—her daughter had passed by that evening and “a bunch of hoodlums” standing in the doorway had insulted her. “Wasn’t there something the settlement could do?” Before this we had reported the place to the police as a suspicious one, where gambling was going on, but no evidence was forthcoming and things were going from bad to worse, so we decided on an entirely different course than law enforcement: we decided to set up a counter-attraction. I should state here that a few years prior to this incident I had learned a very valuable lesson in connection with a meeting of dance hall proprietors which I had called at the settlement to discuss the then seething question of indecent dancing, which had grown to scandalous proportions on the lower East Side of New York. This meeting was called on the theory that it was fairer to discuss matters first with the dance hall proprietors than to complain to the police about them without discussing them. This policy was appreciated, for by it we tacitly inferred that the proprietors preferred obeying the law rather than breaking it. In the course of the discussions this fact plainly came out: that the average dance hall customer would prefer a decently run place in which to dance rather than the other kind, but at that time in New York (the Rosenthal murder had just been committed and gunmen were in power) dance hall proprietors were powerless to run clean or decent places. But the principle that the average person would prefer a clean place to dance in to the other kind had made a deep impression on me and became a part of my social philosophy. Stated in a different way, it meant that the average person, if he were given the choice between bad and good, recognizing both choices as such, would accept the good. In my plan to solve the poolroom problem two blocks away from the settlement I decided to test out this bit of social philosophy. I explained the situation to the board of directors and appealed to them to instal a pool and billiard table at the settlement and see whether the settlement could compete with the commercialized pool hall by running a decent place of its own, charging the same fee per cue per game, but cutting out all gambling, coarse talk, and even smoking! About three months after our pool equipment had been installed—and I should add here that one of our best men workers was in charge—the director of our boys’ and men’s work jubilantly announced to me one morning that the pool hall proprietor had left town and his creditors had taken over his equipment and the place was closed. Several subsequent attempts to run a pool hall there met with the same fate. The settlement pool tables still flourish, *sans* gambling, *sans* smutty stories, and *sans* smoking. The end of this story is this: those young men who formerly frequented the settlement and temporarily became patrons of the commercialized pool hall were the very ones who, when we opened, came

back to us and quite unconsciously were the cause of the failures of the other fellows. The social philosophy, at least in this instance, was a practical philosophy. This incident is typical of a situation that must be duplicated in thousands of cities and towns in this country today. The young men gravitate to the pool halls because they find excitement in a competitive game—all innocent enough—but they are soon engulfed in a veritable morass of iniquity from which many criminal careers emerge. As the dance hall seems to be the most prolific source of the downfall and ruination of girls, so I think statistics might prove that the pool hall, if not a school for criminals, at least is the hang-out which the police first watch for those they wish to apprehend. Thus ends the story of one group of young men, and nobody knows how many boys, who were saved from potential criminals by a settlement pool hall.

Allow me to cite another example of crime prevention. It is, I suppose, very common, but not so common as not to bear repeating. Gang fights are well known to all neighborhood workers. It is easy to recall the exploits of the Third Street gang, or the Malt House gang, or the Car Barn gang. In a roundup—or shall I call it, to make it sound technical, a survey—of gangs in a certain neighborhood, five out of eight are found to contain boys over sixteen; the other three are kid gangs and are being trained, it is true, for adult gangship, but I am not dealing with preadolescents. Each of these five adolescent gangs has in it some boys known to the settlement. One—the smallest—has a prowess in robbing delicatessen stores—sometimes even the tills. Another is an automobile gang, stealing cars and selling them. Another is a brickbat gang which terrorizes the neighborhood by assuming a sort of overlordship of it. The other two are less obnoxious because their sphere of activity is confined to the block in which the members live. The two block gangs are the largest of the five and the least well-organized—that is, the most loosely organized. Gang psychology always recognizes a leader. The leader is not always the physically strongest member of the gang, he is quite frequently the quietest, the one who is the brainiest and does the thinking. The block gang generally chooses the noisiest and physically most impressive and at the same time daringest member to lead it, or he assumes leadership by self-selection.

Confronted with these five gangs, the problem was how to change their course of action from antisocial to social. The settlement house as such indicated—merely indicated—a solution. There must in addition, however, be a personality, working through the settlement house as a medium, by which the gangs must be approached. A certain type of personality must be selected, for gangs are not easily attracted, and least of all their leaders. After the Olympic games, a number of years ago, a few names stood out pre-eminently on the athletic horizon. It was felt that at least one, or possibly both, of the block gangs could be reached, if they knew that on a certain night each week for six or seven weeks two Olympic champions were to be in the “gym” with “gym togs” on, to confer with the boys and give them some pointers on games or

events in which they would be interested. Word was passed around, and the first night they came they had not been advertised, but just came in as friends of the "gym" instructor. They soon became the centers of groups of boys—*young men*—to whom they related stories of their victories, and finally, when they went into the locker rooms and came out on the floor ready for some real work, there was no doubt left in anyone's mind as to whether the two block gangs would be interested. The most abject hero-worshipping class of young men that could be imagined then and there went into session. Those two Olympic champions could have reformed all the block gangs in the world! The auto gang was hardest to reach, but this was finally accomplished through allowing "Young O'Leary" to become a paid-up member of the gymnasium which permitted him merely to use the punching bag, skip rope, run around under the galleries, and once in a while do some practice sparring with his partner. No boxing bouts were ever allowed, but the boxer was permitted to do just what any other "gym" member could do if he wanted, and while "Young O'Leary"—who, by the way, was a Jew—never rose to any great heights in the boxing profession, his presence as a member of the "gym" brought in the auto gang, and before the winter was over that same gang was an organized basketball team—of amateur standing—and two members of the group joined a club in the settlement, and while the others never went back to auto stealing after their first winter at the settlement, they never became identified with any other of its activities. But the preventive efforts of the settlement, through its gymnasium, reinforced by "Young O'Leary," who was quite an innocent actor in this drama of reclamation, were on the whole quite successful. The delicatessen gang was never reached by any of our attractions, and while two were sent to the reformatory, we have no record of any of the others getting any farther than a year's probation. Hero worship makes as well as breaks gangs. If the settlement can supply the heroes, certain gangs destined to criminal careers can be broken before the careers are entered upon.

Many boys of the adolescent age can be reached by appealing to their idea of man's estate. When a boy ceases in his own mind to be a kid, he should not be treated as one. It is poor generalship so to treat him. An experiment in self-government that I know of has been put in practice under the name of "Juvenile City." The Juvenile City is composed of boys elected into membership, as though citizenship were conferred upon them. They must pass certain character tests in the form of recommendations by already admitted citizens, and then they must pass certain oral tests before the magistrate's court. There is no ceremony of admittance other than a welcome from the citizens who are in court at the time of their final hearing. Rejection by the magistrate is not final: a rejected boy may try again for admittance, and few are rejected a second time. They have a mayor and a few commissioners who, with the mayor, constitute the council. Ordinances are made by the council, subject to the approval of the citizenship body. Stated meetings of the council are held, and matters pertain-

ing to the organization are discussed. One large room in the settlement is set aside for the use of these boys, and they are entirely responsible for its condition, other than janitor service. This organization has certain perquisites which make membership in it desirable. Speakers are occasionally secured, movie programs arranged, and trips made to industries and interesting places in and around the city. I remember that a detective on the police force once gave a talk that, I am sure, prevented many boys from contemplated escapades. The underlying idea is to appeal to the boy as a future voter and citizen, and to prepare him in a small way for those duties. One of the main results is in maintaining a certain standard of behavior of which the boys are proud. A citizen may be dismissed upon cause after a hearing. The type of boy attracted is in no sense the high-brow—there are no other dues than those the other boys in the settlement have to pay, and no insignia, uniforms, or other equipment to be purchased. One of the settlement staff is assigned to the Juvenile City and he is taken into all deliberations. The democracy of it is impressive, and the power of public opinion, as exerted by the members, no doubt has its beneficial effect on the standards of the boys. All the activities of the settlement are open to the boys, and their contacts with the boys not members of the city is normal and free. The school authorities in the district have frequently commented upon the general behavior of those boys who are Juvenile City members.

The sex relationship—from the standpoint of its irregularity—presents one of the hardest problems. We find not only false gods worshiped, especially by the boy, but there is always also the girl involved. Two general courses of procedure are generally recognized; they cannot always be correlated, but where they can't the attempt is not made. The first is general talks with the boys, in clubroom or on the "gym" floor, explaining the relation between clean living and physical fitness. These talks almost invariably lead to individuals coming to the leader for more intimate personal advice and help. The lack of knowledge on the question of personal hygiene, especially among adolescents, is appalling. I honestly believe that much of our sex problem among boys is more due to wrong thinking and ignorance than to viciousness. How many boys are helped toward clean lives as a result of heart-to-heart talks on matters of sex can never be estimated. The athletic instructor, who so often is a hero to the boy, can make a most effective appeal. The other course is to bring the young men and young women together in wholesome social intercourse. This, probably, the settlement has been pre-eminently successful in doing. The success has been due largely to two things: first, the constant supervision exercised over these so-called "mixed affairs," and second to the fact that the settlement, though having men and women residents, demonstrates the wholesome relationship that can exist.

In closing, I wish to refer to the Boy Scouts, Young Women's Christian Association, and Sunday schools which, as we all know, are effectively reaching hundreds of thousands of young men and boys. In all that I have been saying

about the work of the settlement among boys, I have had in mind a type of boy that these last enumerated means of prevention do not ordinarily reach or handle. The Scout program appeals to the kind of boy that does not present a present, or even a future, problem. The Scouts are the cream of the boyhood, and our settlements are invariably proud of our troops. The same is largely true of the Young Men's Christian Association. Those who were present at Toronto last year will remember Jack Robbins, of Chicago, who told us of his work with younger and older men, none of whom were Scouts, or members of the Young Men's Christian Association, or attended Sunday school. The average settlement boy is not a Scout, and would never go to the Young Men's Christian Association. However, in a very real sense these two organizations offer effective preventive programs, although they attract the boy and young man who is not near the danger line, as far as criminality is concerned.

Dr. Kirchwey tells me that 80 per cent of those at Sing Sing are under twenty-five years of age, and that 75 per cent have been delinquent in one form or another before they reached Sing Sing. We should never become *blasé* to such a situation. We should energetically support any and all efforts and, if possible, see that they are redoubled that aim to prevent this terrible harvest of prison inmates. For the boys' sake as well as society's, may God hasten the day when prevention shall be so effective as to preclude the necessity for cure.

THE JUVENILE COURT OF THE FUTURE

Ben B. Lindsey, Judge, Juvenile and Family Court, Denver

The institution of the future which will carry on the work of our present juvenile and family courts will retain, I think, many of the characteristics of such courts as they now exist. But they will be far superior to them, by reason of better equipment and the greater knowledge and understanding that shall have come to us as to manners, conduct, behavior, and the things that we call crime, vice, and immorality. We shall only recognize the kinship of the two as the modern locomotive, aeroplane, or automobile recognizes its beginning in the fussy, confused little machines that were, after all, their babyhood. In a word, the juvenile court of the future will be what grown-up men and women of today are to the children of yesterday.

This new institution I would prefer to call a court of human relations. It will have a twofold aspect: that which relates to its judicial powers, and that which relates to its administrative powers. These powers will be exercised primarily with reference to the rights of children, and incidentally to the rights of parents, and, above all things, to the rights of the state itself, because the state is the child and the child is the state. Thus, the state, through this new institution, will be able to adjudicate and must adjudicate what children shall be born and what children shall not be born. I do not pretend, at this time, to

describe the method by which this will be done, yet I have not the slightest doubt but that the law in the future will regulate the production of the state's children. There will be two forms of marriage—one in which children are permitted to be born, and one in which they are not permitted to be born. This may seem like a novel prediction, but in forecasting the future of this institution of human relations I am, of course, drawing upon my own experiences, not only in the family court of Denver, but in similar courts now becoming quite common over this country. Here we find not so much a state of interference, but a state of responsibility in and for human affairs. These things will not be done by force, but by the consent that comes from education, consideration, charity, and sympathy. Only this week a prominent member of a great profession came to me to say that his daughter's health permitted marriage but not the bearing of children. He wanted advice as to how that could be done. If any one doubts the drift of the state in this regard, they need only to study our changing society as it is, and not as they believe it is, or think it should be.

Already in the most typical of all American cities—examples in themselves, as foreshadowing the future—we have a ratio of substantially one divorce case filed to every two marriage licenses granted. Since such statistics and data do not include the numerous divorces by consent of both parties—which by the church are called separations—and the innumerable non-support and desertion cases where no technical divorce is asked for or granted, we shall soon behold a situation quite as general as it is now already real in a number of American cities, i.e., that there are as many or actually more separations annually in the family life of many cities of this country than there are legal marriages entered into. Just as we have many divorces by mutual consent that are sanctioned by the churches which deny the right to a legal divorce, so we have a great many marriages without the legal or conventional ceremony. But minus this detail they are, nevertheless, unions, having all the aspects of marriage except the social and conventional recognition as such.

Through all the confusions, complications, and tragedies attendant upon these social phenomena there is ever present the eternal problem of the child. Thus it is that the child's case is the case of all society. Let us glance for a moment at just one of the results of these changes as they call for interference by the state. I have heard social workers at this conference, not boastfully—for social workers really do not boast; they are just enthusiastic about their work, and the two things need not be confused to the detriment of modesty—speak of the amount of money they collected from fathers and husbands in the domestic relations divisions of their courts. I heard one such officer say it was \$10,000 a month in one jurisdiction of less than one-half million population, and with the fine work being done by the officers, we were assured that it would soon be doubled. Where is this sort of thing going to end? What is it leading us into?

I happen to know that under the constructive work of the Colorado maternity law, for example, which helps solve the economic problem of the

married or unmarried mother, and because its consideration, sympathy, and real financial help dispels those fears that made for abortions, we are increasing the birth-rate. But since these fears continue after this temporary aid is withdrawn, the disposition to give up children will thus perhaps be on the increase instead of decrease. At least we may expect this until the attitude of society begins to change, and the state, in the interest of the child, more and more relieves motherhood of its fears and hazards by guaranteeing, in proper cases, that the child shall not be born, and in proper cases that when it is born both mother and child shall have the chance the state must, and in the future will, thus guarantee to them. The state must guarantee, and will, that no child shall suffer because of the sin, poverty, or ignorance of the parent.

As matters now stand, we behold the ever increasing phenomenon of one set of women producing children for another set of women. This latter set, though childless, are not subjected in their custody to the handicaps of either the so-called sin or real poverty and the hardships that are part of the custody and care of the child in its birth to women who cannot keep them.

There is nothing that so arouses attention and finally captures the interest of the public as the strain upon the pocketbook. When the taxpayer wakes up to the fact of the vastly mounting millions of the state's expense in the budgeting, carrying, and paying for bureaus, national and state, thousands of officials, public and private, for the care of defectives and delinquents in institutions, or in the homes of many of those who should not have had children and are unfit and unable properly to rear them, we may then expect a sudden change in sentiment before which conventions, standards, and precedents of the past will gradually but surely give way. Just in what particulars or details this may be, we haven't the time now to discuss, but I am sure it would all call more and more for the services of the state through this human institution of the future, growing out of what we now rather loosely call a court.

It will not concern itself so much with the correction of the criminal as with the prevention of the criminal. It will know that the boy bandit who murdered the policeman was a bandit because of the stupidity of his mother who when the bandit was aged four and exercised his first prerogative of childhood to rush from the fenced yard into the street grabbed him in violence and in anger and assured him that the policeman would "get him" if he did not keep behind the family bars. She will know how to avoid hate thoughts and will come to cure delinquency through intelligence rather than threats and violence. Thus it will deal with children early and so with their parents. The state as superparent will see that we have schools for those who are going to be real parents, schools for those who are already parents, and penalties for their failure to qualify as parents, instead of penalties for the failure of the child to go to school and qualify for his future grades.

This will all be a part of the new plan to prevent some of the present absurdities of civilization. Through the very example of this institution of the future as

an educator, it will become more and more the foe of our tribal taboos and superstitions. If this is not the drift of the future of this institution we now call the juvenile and family court, then it would be better that it had never been born, as it would be better that the imbecile child had never been born.

In the twenty-six years I have been in this institution as it now exists I have been trying to point this out. And thanks to many opportunities afforded me before legislatures, and now some two million people in this country whom I have met face to face, I have not hesitated to say that we should be very much in the position of the doctor in the hospital, who, called upon to treat a patient stricken with fever, would refuse to limit himself to that one patient. Surely the wise doctor goes beyond the hospital; if need be, into some swamp lands beyond the city to find there the cause of the typhoid in the infected water supply that carried the germs of the fever and thus endangered the health and happiness of all the people. His big job was not merely sitting in the hospital and treating the patient, but in going outside to find the cause of this effect. So we must find the causes of the bad things people do. We must fight these causes—not the people.

It was because in the very early days of my own experience this seemed so clear to me that I vowed ten thousand times I would not content myself to sit on a bench and merely deal with the children and the people that conditions and a thousand causes outside the courts are thrusting up there every year. This new institution of the future must be developed largely from the work of those who have, at whatever hazard or sacrifice to themselves, gone beyond the courts into the swamp lands of bad politics, bad economic and social conditions and there given battle to the causes of evil. Only in this way shall we see with clearer vision what this institution of the future ought to be, and know better how we are going to bring it about.

Our Denver juvenile court, as formed first, under our Colorado law of April 12, 1899, was called the School Court. The one in Chicago, under a slightly later law, it is true, was called the Juvenile Court. I think our term was much more appropriate, and I rather regret that it should not have been retained. It is another example of some of the stupidities involved in uniformity, however much in some cases uniformity is to be desired. In any event, the last term that should be employed in this court of the future would be juvenile court; it really is not fair to the children. As "the least of these" they are the least to blame. And why name a court that has to do with the stupidities of their elders more than with their children a juvenile court?

The first big function of this institution of the future will be that of educator. Thus it must be manned by educators—people who understand people and the causes of the things people do, or, perhaps better stated, their manners, their behavior, their conduct, which we call immorality and crime. How can we have this institution of the future, that will more nearly approximate that of a school or university from one angle and the doctor's office from another, unless

we place in charge of it those who are specially equipped and educated for the task?

I am not criticizing society so much in this regard as I am pointing out its mistake. Indeed, may we hope for any change until the public itself becomes better educated? It has been my conviction of this difficulty that has made me feel that an opportunity to use the advantages and opportunities one has in this court would be as much, if not more, to help to educate the public than to just sit on the bench and try cases. And, if you will pardon these personal observations in this intimate gathering, this has been one of the reasons that I have used my vacation periods to present these phases of our problems, as well as take advantage of the opportunity it gave me to get the wherewithal to fight the battles that ensued. And please do not forget that you cannot have a part in this bigger aspect of child welfare work unless you are willing to fight, and unless you are willing to give and take the blows that you must expect, and endure. The pains of the gauntlet you must run toward that goal will help in the shaping of this institution of the future. Anything else is to content yourself with being only stretcher-bearers to the superstitions, taboos, customs, injustices, and ignorance of the present—with becoming a party to their perpetuation.

We know well enough that, outside of perhaps a few exceptional cases, neither juries nor judges as now provided are sufficiently educated or equipped to deal with the problems of delinquency among children or crime among adults. Doubtless the persons who administer the affairs of institutions of human welfare in which the work of social welfare agents or agencies will in the future be carried on by the state will be especially educated and trained for their work. The absurdity of limiting that education to that of a lawyer has already become too apparent. If there is any one thing that is becoming less and less important in cases concerning the delinquency of children and even the crime of many adults it is this feature of it, as at present demanded by the law. As a lawyer, and having great pride in my own profession, I wish to explain, however, that what has been added by the law is as nothing compared to what may yet, and indeed must yet, be added by the law. And I believe this will be so, for our profession is as capable of being scientific and progressive as any other profession. The fact that it has not been, or has at least been a laggard, is no reason why it is not yet capable of great advance and great change.

Holy Writ promised us that a little child should lead us. Curiously enough, it has been that consideration of the law for a little child that has so far, from the legal aspects of the case, led the way. Even long before the historic year of 1899 in Colorado and in Illinois, the principle that in these states we then seized upon and applied for the correction of child offenders had been used in more ways than one for the protection of children. It was the doctrine of *parens patriae*, which some of us have translated into the state as "superparent." It was not, I believe, a power of the chancery courts, as has so often been, I am afraid, mistakenly referred to. It is rather a power in the legislatures that by

them has been conferred upon courts, and being a power to help people and not to hurt them was certainly not an invitation to confer it upon criminal courts, whose power has been to hurt people and not to help them. It is true that Massachusetts gave us the probation that we have used so generously in juvenile courts. But it is more appropriate that this power should be conferred upon a court having chancery jurisdiction, through which it has been generally exercised in children's or juvenile courts under rules and regulations that are there only available, and, of course, much more appropriate and effective, for its successful application. This power will gradually be extended to adult offenders in chancery courts everywhere. The first step in this direction began in Colorado nearly twenty years ago and has proven a great success.

The law, of course, had for hundreds of years, presumably under this power, recognized the added protection to which the minor was entitled in the probate court in his dealings with others concerning property. His contracts were not legal unless to his assent was added the maturity of years that he did not possess, but which were represented by his adult guardian. And so it has been asked if, after all, this question of obedience to law is anything more than an implied contract between the citizen and the state which, in return for the state's protection, through its police powers and its courts, the citizen, whether adult or minor, will in turn contract and agree to obey the state's laws, rules, and regulations concerning behavior, manners, and conduct. Why may not the state waive its part of the contract, or treat every person under twenty-one years old by the same system as to his morals? That is to say, if a minor was not to be held to the same accountability as the adult in his contracts regarding property, why should there be a distinction when it comes to his contract regarding behavior and conduct? It was nothing but this principle that our first laws in Colorado and in Illinois saw fit to recognize more definitely in their definitions regarding the child being "a disorderly juvenile," as provided in Colorado, and "a delinquent" (which is the same thing), as provided in Illinois, instead of a "criminal," and so dealt with by a different procedure. It did not mean that he could not commit a crime, but for the correction of such conduct a different procedure was provided.

But it must be remembered that this same attitude of the state held good as to adults *non compos mentis*, that is, those adults who were so handicapped through mental weakness that they deserved to be classed with the minors.

And now, since the mental testers, or specialists, and the scientists have convinced us of the absurdity of the rigid test of the chronological age of twenty-one, in their disclosure that the habits and conduct of people are determined by their ages psychologically and biologically, and that the average mental age of most people is that of a twelve-year-old child, should there continue to be a limitation of the application of this power of the state as exercised through its legislatures and its courts, and as expounded, directed, and applied by the judges?

I have not the slightest doubt that there shall be an extension of the old limitations, and that new boundary lines will be set. This will come when the judges are better educated and their contact with the social worker and the new social order becomes more sympathetic. They will fix these boundaries just as far as it is necessary to go in bringing about a more real justice in the changing society in which we live.

This being so, the character of the judges themselves must undergo an equal change. They must be educated not only in law, but, what is far more important, in physiology, psychology, biology, and sociology. In a word, they will be men of the most eminent scientific attainments. As individuals they will be selected not only from the standpoint of their education, but of their adaptability and temperament, and no man or woman may aspire to the great artistry of the human artist unless he be of an understanding nature, and as much called to the work as the violinist to his bow or the painter to his brush. How this selection will be brought about is, of course, one of the problems of the future. This, of course, will mean the utter abolition of all of these constitutional and statutory hobbles which carry such absurdities as limiting the qualifications of judges to a certain period of residence in a community where his work is to be done. They will be removed as completely as they have already been removed with reference to the school and the church. Why should there be any more reason for such qualifications of residence, etc., for the judge, probation officer, or social worker so employed? Why should they not be as freely called from one city to the other as we now call our superintendent of schools, or the pastors of our churches? They, perhaps, never before have seen the city in which they are to serve, but they have seen and dealt with the people, since people are people, very much alike the world over, especially in this country of ours.

I venture to suggest, if not predict, that those people called "delinquents," dealt with in this institution of the future, will, after some fashion, be divided into several classes. Speaking from my own experience, I should say the most dangerous class to society as a whole could be designated as those superintellectuals whose cunning, because of intelligence, enables them to cheat and rob and take unjust advantage of their fellows by keeping within the law, or, controlling great wealth, find it necessary to employ the best minds to protect them from the law, and by their superintelligence excelling in the art of "not getting caught."

The remedy as to this class will perhaps be found more in improved methods in home, school, and church which this new institution will constantly point out. Here they must be trained in the virtues of unselfishness. Skill must be used in directing their enlightened selfishness to find its chief joy and happiness in consideration for others, that they should have justice and a courage and willingness to sacrifice themselves that justice shall no longer be assailed, denied, or destroyed. They are just as capable of development as other less favored

classes into real altruistic citizens of the communities of the state that make up its whole—its active cells, as it were. We had best spend most of our time with them, and in the end do our best work through them.

Another classification will perhaps be made of dullards and mediocrities, of yokels and dim-wits, so many of whom are too ignorant to do right, and, in doing wrong, are not bright enough not to get caught. They are also a very hopeful class who, notwithstanding the fact that they become the easy prey of the demagogue and the charlatan and furnish most promising material for mobs and the Ku Klux Klan, yet under wise direction, may become as docile and useful as the average twelve-year-old into whose class mentally they mostly belong.

Another classification, no doubt—though not so important potentially either for good or evil, and therefore neither so hopeful nor so dangerous—are those types called feeble-minded or insane, badly diseased mentally or physically. They will be then, as now—if we continue to allow them to multiply—easily caught, easily recognized, even by the casual layman, without the assistance, in most cases, of psychiatrists or psychologists. They will, of course, have to be isolated from society in institutions more like hospitals than like prisons. But the great duty of the state in that future time to these unfortunate children will be to exercise the supremest of all humanities in seeing that they are spared the pains and penalties, the tragedies, the sin, and crime of being born. And it may be also a duty of the state, through this institution of the future, not only to find new methods for the care and disposition of this class, but, in a measure, for their first cousins, the classes so near akin to them. Thus more and more the race stream may gradually be clarified by the absence of their presence.

The time and theme unite to tempt one to prolong these pleasantries of prophecy, but I must yield no further. I shall merely add one final bit from my own dreams in that vision I see of a great building, fashioned by artists from stone and marble, that shall some day grace our civic center here in Denver. I think it might be called the Children's Building—not as carrying any reflection on the child, but as indicating the adoration of all the state's wise men for this child, that is the state, in the most important time of life of any state: the beginnings and development of its childhood and its youth. Here we shall have gathered together all the director-generals of these agencies of the state which now contribute to this child's welfare. It shall at once be the symbol and the directing place of the state's superparenthood, and so, above its portals, I would inscribe that sentiment given us by Sir Rabindranath Tagore: "I love my child—not because he is good, but because he is my child."

III. HEALTH

THE RELATION OF SOCIAL WORKER TO HEALTH AGENCY

IS THERE A CONFLICT BETWEEN SOCIAL WELFARE AND PUBLIC HEALTH?

(ABSTRACT)

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The outstanding feature of the results of modern public health work is the increase in the expectation of life. A closer examination reveals the fact that this saving of life takes place largely during the first five years and that there is little evidence of any improvement in the later periods. Indeed, the earliest life tables show that if an individual reached the age of sixty, his expectation was better than it is at the present time. In almost every country the death-rate for 1,000 inhabitants for the age period 1 to 5 has been cut in half, while in some it is only one-third of what it was about the end of the last century. The infant mortality rate, which twenty-five years ago, even in certain cities in the United States, ran to more than 400 for every 1000 live births, has shown a tremendous reduction in every country from which reports are received. The saving of life is then a matter of saving those infants who a short time ago would have died.

Few will question the statement that man, as a race, has obtained his personal position by selection, or what has been spoken of as survival of the fittest. Some of the outstanding nations of past ages have practiced the exposure of infants, which led to the survival of only the hardiest. Studies in various classes of life, from royalty down, have shown that there is a relation between the longevity of the parent and the mortality of children under five years; in other words, parents who possess the vigor to live long beget children who have vigor enough to survive the dangers of infancy and childhood. Natural selection tends to eliminate stocks of defective vitality.

Longevity is also inherited, as shown in the studies of the Hyde family by Bell. Comparing the two groups into which this family could be divided on the basis of longevity, Group I, in which both parents lived to eighty or over, had twenty years added to their lives through their inheritance as compared with the second group. In saving the lives of those who are weak and short-lived through heredity, it is possible that we are reducing the longevity of the race as a whole.

Infant mortality is selective. Civilization and preventive medicine have to a great extent nullified natural selection in this respect. An enormous number of infants who would certainly have died formerly now survive the dangers of early life. The great majority of these come from the classes too poor or too ignorant to care for themselves properly. Some of these may spring from good stock mentally and physically, but many do not. Are we not endangering the future of the race by prolonging the lives of such infants? On the other hand, the death of infants is an economic waste affecting both the weak and the strong, good as well as bad stocks, though not with equal force. The outcome is an economic waste.

Natural selection shows a marked tendency to eliminate stocks which show a predisposition to certain diseases, in some of which the heredity factor is evident, like Huntington's chorea and hemophilia. The same is true of mental defectives. Even under good conditions the death-rate of infants born in asylums is much greater than the average for the ordinary population. In New York City the mortality among feeble-minded is double that of other children, and in the lowest grades is four times as great as among the feeble-minded. The attempts which are made to overcome natural selection are dysgenic. Galton says that "man is far more weakly through congenital imperfection than any other species of animal, wild or domestic." Nature had little regard for the individual, but was careful of the species. Cresson said: "Everything for the species; everything by the individual; nothing for the individual." We have reversed this for man, and are careful of the individual at the expense of the species.

There is good evidence to show that there are between one and a half and two million people who need institutional care in the United States, at least 50 per cent of whom owe their defects to heredity. Approximately 45,000 of these defectives are being cared for in institutions. Approximately 900,000 dependents, criminals, juvenile delinquents, etc., were in public and private institutions in January, 1925, and 78,000 paupers were in almshouses. In view of the close relationship between criminality and dependency and mental ability it seems evident that the preservation of the lives of the forbears of these people was dysgenic. It is said by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene that there are at present 600,000 mentally defective children in the country in need of special classes. The training of such children unquestionably makes good citizens of a low grade of many of them, but also tends to place them in a position in which they can marry and beget their kind.

The history of the Kallikak and the Jukes families is too well known to require repetition. The infant mortality rate, which is high among such people, is very much lessened by public health work. In the absence of laws preventing the marriage and intermarriage of such persons, and the inability to enforce such laws as exist, our efforts are again dysgenic.

In every country there is a marked decrease in the birth-rate of children

among the higher classes, considering both mental and financial ability, while the poorer classes show practically no tendency in this direction, and those of low-grade mentality are producing the largest families of all. The children of these lower and poorer classes are being preserved by our public health efforts to grow up and reproduce their kind. Both heredity and environment tend to keep the offspring of such people in the class in which they were born.

Every day brings the news of some new philanthropy which tends in one way or another to preserve the lives of those who otherwise would die young. The League of Nations has extended the teaching of modern medicine to all of the world. A modern medical school has been opened in China, already greatly overpopulated. The two lines of endeavor which show the most immediate results are the lessening of maternal mortality and infant mortality, both of which have a sentimental appeal, but tend to add to the dysgenic effects which have already been spoken of.

The inevitable effect of all of our public health work is to increase longevity, increase population, and to hasten the day when the pressure of population on subsistence will reach the breaking point. Overpopulation means low standards of living, discontent, lack of progress, and eventually war, since food is the primal necessity of all living things. Man presents himself to us as an animal, from the biological standpoint, and for this man there must be one form of consideration and treatment. Man also presents himself to us as a social animal, and for this man there must be another form of consideration and another treatment. Biological facts are not governed by sentiment and are for the most part brutal. Sociological facts are greatly influenced by sentiment, and are largely humanitarian. The two points of view are not entirely at variance one with the other. Since the time of Christ the humanitarian side has been ascendant, at least potentially. It was realized with the work of Chadwick, and made splendidly efficient by Pasteur. The task before us now is to coordinate the two points of view. At present, inferiority is at a premium. The world is filled with schools and homes for the feeble-minded and subnormal, with hospitals and clinics, almshouses, colonies, and correctional institutions. Far be it from me to advise the abandonment of these unfortunates, but it is wisdom as well as charity to see that the production of such people is checked. The fact remains that public moneys are now spent largely on incompetents and derelicts rather than for the encouragement of the ambitious and industrious.

The conclusion seems inevitable that our public health work, as carried out at the present time, stresses many factors which are directly opposed to social welfare. The debt we owe to infant weaklings whose lives have been saved and who have become world-movers is freely acknowledged. We do not know enough to select or to nip unpromising buds. Those unpromising buds who have become world figures are so few in number, as far as the records show, that they are easy to pick out. Does their influence overbalance the evil done by the thousands of unpromising buds who do not develop?

THE HEALTH AGENT IN SOCIAL WORK

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During my student days at Harvard I had an experience which made a profound impression upon my mind and which has influenced my thinking and action ever since. In company with a classmate I called on Oliver Wendell Holmes. It was late in the afternoon of one of the clearest, coldest February days that a real New England winter can afford. Unbidden and without appointment, and with feeling that must have been kindred to those of book agents, doorbell-ringing street urchins, or the distributors of tracts, we called at the doctor's Beacon Street home.

We had previously availed ourselves of conference privileges with college preachers and lecturers such as Washington Gladden, Lyman Abbott, Dr. Rainsford, Bishop Potter, Henry Drummond, Edward Everett Hale, and others. I was trying to get direct and tangible information as well as background concerning what seemed to be a dawning field of social work—Did it hold a place actually or potentially in the galaxy of professions? Davis was contemplating entering the ministry. We both wanted the doctor's diagnosis, his philosophy, and his advice. Our problem was real to us—almost poignant—for we had to make decisions as to life work, and without influence, acquaintance, or money to find occupation.

The doctor welcomed us to his hospitable study with a cordiality that seemed to ascribe the highest possible rating to human motives. His invitation to remove our wraps was accompanied by instant and active participation in the process, and was followed by his beckoning us to friendly chairs which he had placed before his open fire. With a pair of tongs that looked as though they knew how to assist, he poked and replenished the flickering embers, evidently anxious to help a quick reaction from numb fingers and frosty cheeks and ears acquired in our walk through the biting wind which was even then surging against the doctor's windows.

His keen, penetrating eyes and the expression of his face assured us, as he settled in a chair in chummy relation to ours, that he had not been overlooking our minds while he was making us creaturely comfortable. He seemed to understand better than we did ourselves, and was ahead of us from the start. The problems of people, especially young men, and still more especially strangers who had sought him out, seemed to appeal to the doctor, both from the point of view of the physician, the philosopher, and the social diagnostician. We had nearly two hours of the most brilliant flashes of wit and wisdom, of epigram, of the mastery of words as carriers of ideas, that I have ever heard.

Before I quote what was to me the meat and climax of this memorable interview, I want to recall a few things which Dr. Holmes said on the matter of religion and the ministry as a profession. I repeat them because I feel that they

are deserving of a place in every medical and social worker's philosophy and practice. He commented that he had in a corner of his nature a little plant called Reverence, which he found needed watering about once a week. We gathered that he did not consider his need at all exceptional. We recalled having seen him in a particular pew in the balcony of King's Chapel, and remembered having been told of his regularity in attendance in that particular pew. He spoke of some of the points of view that divided people religiously. Cant and formula that did not square with knowledge and reason had hard shift with Dr. Holmes. He had keen tools for intolerance and bigotry, and for frozen minds. Looking out over the Charles that reached away to the north and west, its icy expanse just then glistening in the splendor of a rare sunset, he said, "Just as this beautiful estuary which we are looking out upon is ever widening as it approaches the sea, so civilization is gradually taking the barbarism out of our interpretation of religion and out of our narrownesses and intolerance and our religious bigotry." He was on his feet as he said it, as if subconsciously wishing that added emphasis might hasten the process. This seemed to me then, and seems even more now, vital and interesting, and perhaps the only true background for social or any other kind of work. However, my concern was with social processes and organization, and about what was beginning to be called social work.

The doctor made frequent reference to medical terms and physiological facts. He grounded his deductions and generalizations on a scientific knowledge of the human body, its functions and attributes, the marvel of its intricate and subtle processes as they harmoniously articulate to accomplish and maintain soundness and fullness of life—an end befitting this master-product of creation, this temple, the human body. His respect for the profession of medicine and his belief in its future was profound.

It was in this connection that the doctor used the particular formula or statement which with his elucidations burned the phrase and the idea into my mind, interstitial renovation. It was my first acquaintance with these words, at least in that combination. He developed with clearness and fascination this idea of constant renovation and renewal of tissue, the subtle and persistent activity which works to such a definite purpose that it gives to each and every individual, at the end of every seven years, a new body.

He discoursed with rare skill and charm on the microscopic mobilization of these subtle agents, busy not only with upkeep and renewal, but with a complement of forces, ready for any emergency within this body republic, and for constant warfare against all insidious foes. If injury came, these atomic bodyguards rushed to the place of trouble, staunching the flow of blood, starting the work of cleansing, of removal, of fortifying and healing the bruise or wound. Another set of diminutive allies fought contagion and disease. Still others stood ready to digest, assimilate, and appropriate, or to eliminate, if not too sorely

taxed, whatever the possessor of the body imposed, no matter how chemically irreconcilable the bill of fare may be.

Here then was a completeness of physiological personnel: sanitarians, doctors, lilliputian cooperators ready for every need, invisible, but nevertheless meeting the law of interdependence and oneness within the human body even more wonderfully, if possible, than that which the apostle Paul in his matchless Corinthian letter has said, so well as to serve for all time, concerning the outward and visible members of the human body.

This wonderfully complex human organism is then a tiny epitome of mankind. The body politic is merely a multiplication of this individual, having also its body politic, individuality, and need. Here is a vision to which one can apply his thinking and energy, especially in the field of welfare service and social endeavor. Taking a beginning from an understanding of one human being, his equipment, purpose, the destiny evidently ordained for him by his Creator, and by keeping one's course corrected to this fundamental guide, as the mariner trusts the star, a key is found for approach to the effective functioning of agencies for amelioration, for health, education, character, for the government of cities, states, and nations.

The growing number and complexity of organizations, in our American communities especially, has made it increasingly imperative that these organic entities of the body politic, or by whatever name we call our collective agency selves, should orchestrate in better accord and effectiveness for the achievement of their several purposes.

I believe that it is becoming more and more true that there is a conscious effort toward collective effort, collective understandings, and group action. The development of our social service agencies has been very generally on an individualistic basis. Quite likely the fundamental principles on which our government was founded have had something to do with this, at least in the United States. The fight for individual rights has been an age-long fight. Freedom of worship, of expression for the individual and for groups of individuals, having been thus won and embodied in the basic structure of our government, we have been very busy ever since in the fruitage of these ideas. One result, according to the interchurch movement, is some 315 denominations and sects in one religious group. In the social field every city, according to its size, has tens or hundreds or thousands of social service agencies. Until comparatively recently their activities have been characterized by a rather intense individualism. There has been more or less of aloofness, of isolation, rivalry, and to an uncomplimentary degree suspicion, unfriendliness, and even hostility.

Not so long ago hospitals received their patients and discharged them well or dead with what would now seem a surprising disregard of the implications of this service to other members of the family, and to other agencies that were interested in the family. It is possible that even yet a case working agency may have difficulty in getting a diagnosis or prognosis on the bread-winner patient

or other member of the family that would help them to plan wisely for the rest of the members concerned.

Dispensaries gave their quick once-overs and issued prescriptions without any regard for home relationships, occupational influences, and other considerations that had a direct bearing on the patient's chance of recovery. Health agencies had slogans—"A Sanatorium for Every County," or some other specialized millenium—good in itself but quite regardless of other elements in a well-ordered program for the health of the community. Children's agencies built institutions, had well-defined rules of admission, meticulous specifications as to the kind of youngsters they would serve, and then they would take a child out of the family with about the same tribute to good social sense and practice as the stork theory of providing babies affords to the science of biology. Relief agencies would give tons of coal, pairs of shoes, or yards of red flannel again and again with no more appreciation of its significance or thought of rehabilitation than goes with pennies into a beggar's basket.

This procedure seemed to leave out the idea and the philosophy which Dr. Holmes stressed in his dissertation on this association of cooperators within the human body. Perhaps it required this individualistic performance to get a start, as it were, chancing to invent all the necessary parts of an automobile without having the idea of a completed machine in mind.

Anyway, we went step by step, chased by the results of belated logic. More and more, however, a sense of need for the completed mosaic or picture has asserted itself in the minds of progressive health agents and social workers. Here is a fine definition of the objects of public health with an indicated program by C. E. A. Winslow:

Public health is the science and the art of preventing disease, prolonging life, and promoting physical health and efficiency, through organized community efforts, for the sanitation of the environment, the control of community infections, the education of the individual in principles of personal hygiene, the organization of medical and nursing service for the early diagnosis and preventive treatment of disease, and the development of the social machinery which will insure to every individual in the community a standard of living adequate for the maintenance of health.

In the above statement we have a fine conception of something definite to do. Great things have been achieved already, resulting in handing to every baby born in the United States a life gift of some ten years more than he had twenty or thirty years ago. It also holds the possibility of handing some eight or ten years additional within the next twenty or forty years, if we can get fine team work into all our health and social forces. This can be done, it is said, without any more new discoveries or new inventions, which, however, we know are sure to come. Dr. Winslow says again: "Ignoring all minor specialties, there must be at least the following seven types of highly qualified persons in this field: the physician, the nurse, the bacteriologist, the epidemiologist, the engineer, the statistician, the social worker."

It is probably fair to say that the health agent has had a leading part in

initiating and developing this coordinating activity. He has proceeded from the vantage point of the medical profession, and the medical profession for a long time has been better understood and more appreciated than perhaps any other field of what might be called social endeavor. And be it remembered that a very large percentage of our social work is called for on account of a sickness or infirmity basis. This definiteness has had something of the same idea that an erecting crew has to the plant which fabricates steel and puts raw material in form for bridges, tunnels, and buildings. The health agent has been building something or planning something that had to do with getting people well, giving them convalescent opportunities, or, next of kin to this, something of a preventive or constructive nature.

However, there have been correspondingly great advances in the programs and services rendered by social case workers and those who are dealing more definitely with adjusting people to their environment and helping them out of their multitudinous bewilderments and difficulties.

Now that we are understanding that the mind and the spirit are very definite things in themselves, we are on the way to the creation of even more subtle, discriminating, and fundamental services.

After all, we have to keep in mind the purpose of this body politic in social work. If we conceive of it as an entity and undertake to discharge our relationships to it with the same faithfulness and vitality that these bodily agents perform, as described by Doctor Holmes, we shall function so as to realize in a large way on the possibilities in our field.

A remark once made at a commencement exercise comes to my mind in this connection. It was at a function of this kind, held in one of the largest corn-growing states in the Union, that a good farmer and his wife journeyed to the college to celebrate their son's graduation. There was the usual, if not unusual, galaxy of magnificence in oration subjects; indeed, they were of a nature that once led an essayist to say as he left that he came away with the sense that whereas the country had been in grave danger, the worst was over.

The farmer and his wife, together with a large assemblage, listened to these discourses on weighty subjects ranging all the way from manifest destiny to individual character, each in turn receiving the plaudits of the audience.

When the young man whom they had particularly traveled to hear had finished and retired with an unusually fervent demonstration, the farmer turned to his wife and said—and remember, this was in a corn-growing state, a region whose soil is so rich and whose loam is so black that it furnishes an eternal promise of bread to the world; where on warm days you can hear the corn grow, and this farmer had one of the best farms—nevertheless, turning to his wife, with a husky voice and with mist in his eyes, said, “Amanda, that’s the best crop we ever raised!”

Social workers and health agents have for their job a share in just that task, namely, helping to produce to its fullest realization America’s best crop, folks.

IS AN INDEPENDENT ADMINISTRATION OF HEALTH AND
SOCIAL WORK DESIRABLE?

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In an age of combination and consolidation one hardly dares to predict either the possibilities or the limitations of social trusts. The question in the title of this conference paper implies doubt in things as they are and suggests a gigantic merger. There cannot be attempted within the limits of this paper more than a few of the considerations which should help to answer this inquiry.

In the field of big business, when mergers are contemplated, appraisal companies make elaborate studies of the bookkeeping of all the corporations involved. The bookkeeping of health and social work is not in such satisfactory columns as those of big business. No satisfactory unit for measuring efficiency of administration in either health or social agencies has yet been devised. In public health work vital statistics furnish partial measurements through mortality and morbidity figures. Extension of the life-span, for instance, measures real accomplishment. Reductions in death-rates from a number of diseases can well be looked upon as interest on the investment in public health. The fact of death rarely escapes notice, and therefore furnishes our best, but still a rather unsatisfactory, measure of efficiency in health work. Unfortunately social work lacks even the crude measurements possessed by public health. Nothing so final as death occurs in the field of social work. Even a life sentence to a penal institution does not carry so great finality in disposing of a delinquency case while the pardoning power exists and is used so generously. Figures on illegitimacy, desertion, delinquency, dependency, unemployment, neglect of children, and other social problems are far from complete. Studies of these problems in selected communities at various times seem to point to a rather constant rate in which these conditions occur. The accomplishment of social agencies in dealing with such problems can be measured with but a little more than pretense of accuracy.

Social work as now conducted by case working agencies concerns itself principally with these problems, all of which have health aspects, unemployment not excepted. The Milwaukee Family Welfare Association reports that in 2,728 families treated last year there were 1,590 cases of illness. This figure carries conviction that agencies dealing with dependency need to be interested in public health. The teaching of modern case work methods lays good emphasis upon the responsibility as well as the wisdom of referring health problems to medical agencies. The point at which problems are recognized by the social worker is, however, more important than the acceptance of the principle. There are almost unlimited possibilities of developing understanding of the nature of more or less prevalent chronic diseases, the ability to recognize the earliest symptoms, and the conviction that the best, and perhaps we shall come to

realize the only good, method of prevention is the periodic health examination. Social workers and, I fear, health workers, have not yet embraced this faith personally, as is evidenced in the far too many staff casualties.

It is obvious that health agencies have increasingly adopted various kinds of social service as adjuncts to their work. The hospital social worker has certainly come to stay. The psychiatric worker has already justified her training and the making of a place for her in the mental hygiene program. It is equally evident that social agencies have found it effective to incorporate certain health activities into their programs. The results obtained from what might be called partial mergers in health and social work have fully justified the combinations. This limited plan of combining health and social work is, however, more likely to succeed conspicuously than is the combination of various kinds of health agencies or the collection of several kinds of social agencies under one administration, theoretically desirable as these arrangements may be. The stimulation which comes through accomplishment and produces initiative is manifested in better individual case work through these combinations. The same stimulation is harder to find in a merger of agencies carrying on educational work through lecture and field service, publications, and general newspaper publicity, although there can doubtless be demonstrated considerable economy in handling the problems of distributing educational material furnished through the written and the spoken word.

The health agency which has conducted traveling clinics has learned that the public has a confirmed interest in health which makes for the rather ready acceptance of the health worker. While this is true, the health agencies will stand to lose more of the favorable opinion of the public in a merger of public health and social work than will the social agencies.

The limits of this paper make it necessary at this point to answer the question in the title with an affirmative. I am indebted to wise consultants and friendly critics of this paper for the expressed conviction that a merger of health and social agencies would reduce to a lowest common denominator the functions of all these agencies, with a resulting mediocrity of standards. One consultant believes that "no specialist would be attracted to the position of executive in such a merger without placing too much emphasis upon his specialty and reducing all other activities to a dull routine. There would also be the probability that the 'ideal' executive for such a heterogeneous organization would be that colorless personality of no enthusiasms who is too often found in political fodder." So long as there are limitations to the field which one person can master, so long will there be limitations to the combinations which can successfully be effected in health and social work, for here as everywhere, leadership is paramount.

Since the inquiring title of this paper suggests some inefficiency in the present administration of health and social agencies, I should like to be evasive in answering the question and try to suggest a substitute or a group of substi-

tutes. The best substitute I have to offer is education and more education; training in its best aspects, and still more training. It is significant that this year for the first time the National Conference has a section on training activities. This presents a new and exceedingly promising opportunity to health agencies. Recent observations in case committee meetings and personal interviews in social agency offices have deepened a conviction in the writer that health agencies have often assumed that the social worker knows enough about preventive medicine to give his client the best possible chance for health. One finds morbid fears amounting almost to confirmed phobias with respect to some health problems, and an utter lack of concern about other conditions which may be considerably more serious. Schools of social work have not devoted anything like a just proportion of time to the subjects dealing with health. One needs only to scan the bulletins of all of the larger professional schools to get the impression that the early emphasis upon other conditions met in social work was much too great. This is probably due to the fact that health agencies, having developed earlier and functioning more or less efficiently, tended to remove health problems from the group of chief concerns in social training. There may have been a more or less unconscious recognition of medicine, as an exact science based on biology, in contrast to sociology, which is still feeling its way to a scientific method and a recognized technique. The teaching that all health problems must be referred to medical agencies was considered sufficient. But this is not sufficient. Every health agency executive should be jealous of the time devoted to less important subjects than health in the programs of social work training schools. The emphasis is growing, but the objectives of health agencies are not yet ingrained in social workers. Now that almost all courses for public health nurses are connected with universities, perhaps we may hope social service will receive deserved attention.

Harboring the belief that far too many Conference papers are written in generalities which sound well but are hard to translate into action, I venture to break through my natural modesty, and in behalf of my organization describe an activity which has been in operation for nine years. The Wisconsin Anti-Tuberculosis Association, in 1916, began the training of public health nurses for Wisconsin communities. It was recognized that what was needed was not a post-graduate brand of hospital training, but some knowledge of how people live, what they must know to live more healthfully, and some of the best ways of circulating that knowledge. Obviously, training for a task like this required not only the cardinal principles of preventive medicine, not only the history and practice of public health nursing, not only a working knowledge of health and social legislation and institutions, but also at least a few elementary principles of social psychology. Popular education through the medium of the newspaper and the spoken word has been taught through a course which might well be entitled "reaching the people." Not the least important feature in this training of public health nurses was the recognition that it could be combined with the

training of lay health workers and later with social case workers. When the same teaching material is presented to nurses and social workers in the same classroom at the same time there is produced at least an embryo impression that after all there is but one big "art of helping people out of trouble," that there are many subdivisions of this art varying with the many disabilities which come to human kind. Since February, 1922, training for social work has been carried on under a cooperative arrangement by and with the Wisconsin Conference of Social Work, the University of Wisconsin Extension Division, and the Milwaukee Central Council of Social Agencies. The courses given in the training of both groups, public health nurses and social workers, include the usual list of subjects associated with such courses, but with the lectures given in the home office of the Wisconsin Anti-Tuberculosis Association, where there is an atmosphere of public health. Observation of the work of the graduates of the social work course a year or two after the training has confirmed our feeling that "it pays to advertise" in this particular way. To illustrate: During the writing of this paper a 1924 graduate now employed by the Family Welfare Association came to our office to report trouble with three tuberculosis cases where much effort had been spent to achieve sanatorium care, and then the plans exploded for various reasons in which the worker thought we might concern ourselves. Personally, I was conscious in this interview that we had done very effective tuberculosis work in the training of this student who, we knew, was to be employed in a family agency.

Carrying education into another avenue, for months we have had occasion at weekly case committee meetings of social case working agencies to direct attention to health problems, usually tuberculosis, following the case presentation. Health workers should seek invitations to membership on case committees of social agencies. One hour per week of this activity is an excellent investment of time, likely to yield far more than much broadcasting at random. Out of this case committee experience has come a request, admittedly more or less primed, for a series of terse bulletins on tuberculosis and other health subjects. These will take the form, not of essays, but of actual desk advertising, attractively set forth with striking bits of truth brought down to date and written expressly for the group of social workers who go into family homes and see people who need truth.

One more example of a partial substitute for a merger of health and social agencies was the Milwaukee Vocational School health examination project undertaken by the Wisconsin Anti-Tuberculosis Association. The plan, for following the 5,348 examinations for the purpose of securing corrective work where indicated drew in all the large and many of the smaller private social agencies, in addition to the city health department, the county dispensary, and the juvenile and municipal court probation departments. The cases were assigned after clearing in the social service exchange. If our sole objective had been economy in administering this particular activity, the plan would have

had worth, but its greatest value lay in the more or less unconsciously received education of the workers in the agencies participating. Health agencies should engineer projects of this kind as vehicles of education.

These illustrations of cooperative effort by health and social agencies have been presented with the frank purpose of proving an alibi. Then, to conclude, a separate administration of health and social agencies is desirable in this year of complexity, 1925, but not independent in the sense in which the oil companies use the word to denote having nothing to do with each other. On the contrary, there must be the greatest recognition of dependence, the one group on the other, if we are to fulfil our large contract.

HEALTH BUDGETS IN MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION AND HOW SOCIAL WORKERS CAN HELP

WHAT ADEQUATE HEALTH SERVICE COSTS

Haven Emerson, M.D., New York

Adequate health service for an individual will cost between ten and seventy-five dollars a year, according to location, work, and intelligence of the person and of the physician responsible. There is, over and above this, the burden which properly falls on the individual for his own health, an obligation, moral or legal, voluntary or compulsory, to provide preventive and treatment facilities which can only be operated with advantage as public services. Some of these public services are essential to the life and happiness of everyone, and should be supplied out of the tax levy, free; others, while commonly bought and paid for by the well-to-do individually, must for the indigent, and often for the wage-earner, be provided out of a common purse or for a nominal or minimum wholesale cost charge. It is the public or communal health services we are to consider here, and of first importance is a definition of the inclusions under our term. But, before attempting that, let us agree upon certain indispensable preliminaries.

We must assume that there are, in effect, statutes dealing with what is known as sanitary law or codes, and housing or building law, with, it is to be hoped, zoning law, and industrial conditions or compensation law, i.e., legal authority for control of the individual and his environment so far as these may be required to protect himself and his fellow against preventable diseases.

We must assume that there is authority for the appointment of technically trained professional officers to carry out the provisions expressed under the law and included in the police powers vested in the states.

Let us also assume that such details of communal housekeeping as the provision of an unpolluted and palatable water supply and the disposal of sewage and garbage and cleaning of streets are not to be charged to the cost of health service.

Let us further assume that if there is a health board it will serve without pay, and that the cost of offices be not included in the annual charge for public health services.

Inasmuch as perhaps the greatest contribution to health is to be accomplished by adequate service for the early diagnosis, and preventive, or early, treatment of disease in hospitals and dispensaries, and through the companion agencies of the visiting nurse, social work, the convalescent home, the home for chronic or incurables, the preventorium and sanatorium, we must properly include in our program of communal health those facilities and the costs of them which are needed to provide complete medical care free or at part cost to the sick, whether this be for the acute communicable diseases—tuberculosis, venereal diseases, mental diseases—or for the general medical, surgical, obstetrical, and pediatric patients provided for in general hospitals and dispensaries.

It must be understood that health is not to be defined as the absence of appreciable disease, but a state of well-being, permitting self-support and a full measure of enjoyment in life according to age and condition. Thus we consider industrial rehabilitation of graduates of the sanatorium or hospital as part of the health job.

Costs will be high, either because a community has been negligent in the past or because its standard of service is high for living-standards and education. Costs of communal health services should fall in the future if expenditures are wisely proportioned now, and as education and the sense of personal responsibility for individual health is effective and of long duration.

As the result of studies since 1920 among 186 American cities, there have been assembled the facts of functions and costs so that we can, in a way, see at a glance what is considered the best possible in each of the fields of administrative health work and what this has cost. We have, as it were, a multitude of experiment stations where personality and opportunity, rather than science or certainty, have determined the way in which public funds have been spent.

It is apparent today that few, if any, American cities, whether of 40,000 or 6,000,000 population, approach nearer than 80 per cent in performing the elementary public health jobs, that the medium cities in only a few instances reach 60 per cent of the desirable accomplishments, and that the lower third of our cities hardly attain a level of 40 per cent in service.

Without attempting to offer anything comparable in the field of sickness care, it is my impression that, in spite of its priority, no more can be claimed for it than for public health performance. We must still humbly admit that we know much more than we use, both in prevention and in treatment of disease.

We can say, on the basis of present-day American standards of salaries and materials, that even an 80 per cent performance in preventive health work will cost a community \$2.50 per capita. This includes an item of \$1.12 per pupil of school age, while in the city of Schenectady what may be called an adequate school health service costs \$2.50 per pupil.

The figure of \$2.50 per capita for health work includes bedside care of the sick on the basis of one district nurse doing all varieties of administrative, educational, as well as bedside care for each 2,000 of the population, with a deduction of 15 per cent in the cost by receipt of fees from patients able to pay for nursing care or educational visits. However, there are communities where 40 per cent of the cost of visiting nursing is met by the fees paid, and there is one community of 200,000 where I understand that 81 per cent of the cost of sick nursing is met by fees (Borough of Richmond, New York City). The \$2.50 per capita does not include the cost of hospital or sanatorium care of tuberculosis, or for hospital care of venereal diseases among the indigent. As much as 85 cents per capita should be added for these services (\$3.35). This figure does not include the cost of incorporating in the school curriculum the teaching of health and its attainment. This is a proper charge on the educational, not on the health, budget. Nothing the schools can do is so valuable an educational investment in method and in results as teaching the biological relationships and the facts of the natural sciences upon which human survival and evolutionary development of mankind depend. As Bernard Shaw has well said, "Human survival, human hope, are incompatible with the infantilism of organized ignorance in matters of natural science."

The per capita cost includes an item of $5\frac{1}{2}$ cents per capita for milk control, probably, next to clean water and laboratory facilities for detection of communicable diseases, the most profitable of all health investment costs.

There is included a small item of a cent or two for the examining of food handlers, and it is doubtful if this is an excusable or profitable investment, properly chargeable to the community.

This does include a very modest item of 10 cents per capita for dental care of school children, but nothing for their psychometric and psychiatric supervision. It does include a charge of 40 cents per capita for the hospital care of acute communicable diseases.

There remains to be considered the cost of hospital, dispensary, and accessory services for the sick not provided for under the health budget as above outlined. If we consider that five hospital beds per 1,000 of the population are needed for general medical, surgical, and obstetrical care, including children, we shall need six beds per 10,000 for convalescents and five for chronics, which, at prevailing costs of good care, will require a maintenance charge of \$1.93 per capita, but since only 20 per cent to 50 per cent of the cost of hospital care is for persons unable to pay, we need to add only from 40 to 95 cents per capita as a community charge for the care of the sick in bed.

The cost of dispensary care and medical health examinations for indigent persons is even less easily determined, but probably would amount to from 25 to 50 cents per capita.

We have, as you see, assembled items, all desirable and, as a fact, usually provided with more or less skill in all of our well-organized municipal communi-

ties, which, under the general heading of health protection and development and care of the sick, would cost: Health services, \$2.50; Sickness care—bed, \$0.40 to \$0.95;¹ Sickness care—dispensary, \$0.25 to \$0.50;¹ Sickness care—tuberculosis, venereal disease, \$0.85; total, \$4.00 to \$4.80¹. Since adequate health services have nowhere yet been provided, no one can tell what they really cost.

We have, however, fairly reliable means of recording and estimating the cost of the neglect to invest in health. It may be fairly stated that it costs any individual or group of them not less than four times as much to go without health protection and adequate sickness service as to pay for it.

For those who wish to test the adequacy of their health services, I recommend the earnest study of the method and results of appraising city health work which are now appearing from the American Public Health Association and the American Child Health Association. For those who are uncertain as to the character of sickness care, let them study the course of recovery of recently discharged hospital patients in their community. The incompleteness of much of present-day service for the sick will soon be revealed.

We shall never know what adequate health service costs until we try to give it. At present we are giving hardly more than half of what science and the labors of past generations have put into our hands, as trustees, to be used.

HOW THE SOCIAL WORKER MAY HELP TO SECURE ADEQUATE SUPPORT FOR PUBLIC HEALTH WORK

William J. Norton, Secretary, Community Fund, Detroit

If there is a difference between a health worker and a social worker I am not aware of it. I am aware that there is a mental barrier in this age of specialization that makes workers at different jobs in the social field think there is a difference. Nevertheless the two tasks are so completely dovetailed into a single whole that a worker in one of them can step over into the other with practically no loss of momentum or efficiency. Common sense says they are integral parts of a general field of social work.

In thinking about the support of any part of social work, health work as well as any other, there are two things which we need to consider and to master. One is the elements of social finance, and the other the elements of interpretative public education. Money comes from the public, the great mass of citizens, and we need to know how it is supplied and what we can do to stimulate its flow into a larger volume.

The sources of support for social work are four in number: endowment earnings, voluntary contributions, tax funds, fees paid by clients. Each of these

¹ Minimum and maximum costs.

can be stimulated into larger productivity by the application of intelligent methods. Earnings from endowments, or permanent funds, while the smallest source of revenue, are extremely important because of greater flexibility of use. An examination of endowments throughout the country discloses that an overwhelming proportion of them are devoted to higher education and to health work. Education is America's favorite method of equalizing opportunity. Bad health is the most obvious and the most feared of the accidents that defeat a person in his life's ambitions, or hinder him. It is quite natural that those who are thoughtfully leaving to the public the accumulations of a lifetime should choose health work as one of the major lines of service for their benevolence. The health worker therefore has a distinct advantage over other kinds of social work in securing endowments because he can go with his prospects along lines of least resistance. Endowments hitherto have been left to chance. We have asked for them occasionally but with no organized effective plans. They have been given as a result of good impulse, without guidance. Today, with the use of the community trust and the evolving plans of the community funds, more and more endowments are being left.

Yet endowment earnings at their maximum represent only a small portion of the income necessary to carry on public work. My own belief is that they should be used for two purposes. One is for experimental work not yet popularized. The other is for work too costly for individuals to bear the full charge, in which they supplement fees for service rendered.

The average work that has been developed from the experimental state should be transferred into the second column of support, voluntary contributions. Here we have developed the highest skill in our production so far. Health work gets its full share from this source of support, and no doubt will continue to do so. That we have reached the limit of production in voluntary contributions I do not believe. But we have increased enormously in recent years, and have arrived at a point where increase will be slow. We have demonstrated that the ambitions of social work outrun the total volume of support from these two sources of revenue combined. Therefore, after a piece of health work has passed through the experimental stage with endowment earnings and through the popularization stage with voluntary contributions, it should be passed on either to tax funds or to client earnings.

There is much for us all to learn about this question of taxation. We need to know some very simple things, such as budget-making processes, kinds of taxations, bonded debt limitations, and ways and means of increasing government receipts without tax levies. Yet when all is said, there are limits to government revenues that also outrun our desires for public work. I am inclined to believe we should throw into government therefore those things which take care of people too poor to pay for what they get, and those pieces of group work which cannot readily be assessed against separate citizens.

The last source of revenue is fees for service rendered. Here we come into

a pool of funds limited only by supply and demand. If a piece of health work is good enough to get people to pay for it individually, the only limitation upon its extension is the number of people who will use it. Everything that we can put upon this basis is to the advantage of the entire movement for public health.

All of these sources of revenue, and particularly the last-named one, depend upon the skill we develop as educators of the great public. There are many meetings going on in this conference dealing with various aspects of this problem of interpretative publicity. Its various aspects are being discussed so fully that it is futile to go into the matter here. I have just one suggestion: that every social worker and every health worker needs to recover the simple tongue of the average citizen, to interpret the technical jargon of his problem in simple English, and to drill himself into becoming an educational interpreter. This is one phase of our great field of effort that we dare not leave to specialists. We must all participate in it if we are to gain the popular understanding needed for adequate support.

A MEANS OF INCREASING POPULAR SUPPORT FOR HEALTH WORK

W. F. Walker, Research Associate, American Child Health Association, New York

The city fire department, in responding to a call with clanging bells, brightly painted apparatus, and shrieking siren, is a sufficiently potent advertisement of the service to fill every window on the street with craning necks, and to attract people on the run to see this service in action. Yet the public health nurse, in her more somber garb, responds to calls whose potential economic importance to the community compares favorably with many fire alarms. The matter of securing popular support for any of our municipal or community activities is, in the last analysis, a problem in advertising.

Certain services possess such a well-known token that there are but few people unacquainted and unappreciative of the work. No one has to be told what a spark is, or for what it is used. Everyone appreciates the need of an adequate water supply, but the service that has little on the surface to indicate its existence, no matter how far-reaching or how important it may be, must engage in campaigns of public education or advertising in order to grow. Few cities have difficulty in raising funds to relieve a water shortage, though a continuous fight is required to obtain adequate sewerage, for only a limited part of the population can have a clear idea of the nature and extent of the problem.

The director of any public service finds important and steady employment in advertising or turning a sufficient amount of community interest toward his particular field.

Community interest or popular support may be considered to be composed in the main of two elements: first, that usually rather small group of individuals who give definite and unfailing support to all movements for civic improvement, and second, that very much larger group whose interest and support is a variable quantity, blowing first hot and then cold, and always ready to chase the spectacular will-o'-the-wisp.

It is to this latter group that those engaged in welfare work must make a constant and definite appeal. Let us then consider some of the fundamentals of advertising which may apply to this problem. A first principle I would lay down is the necessity of a definite idea of what is desired to be accomplished before beginning operations. The advertising of "all kinds of clothes for all kinds of people" gets nowhere. Similarly, the advertising of a complete health or welfare service for a community lacks the explicitness which attracts the individual.

It is of almost equal importance to have in mind a definite audience when preparing your advertising material. You may seek to attract and hold the interest of the mayor or city manager, the tired business man, perhaps the mythical old lady interested in social welfare, or the common or garden variety of voter. These groups have separate and distinct approaches, usually aligned with their self-interest, and it is rare indeed that the approaches to two groups are coincident. A common element in all these approaches, however, is simplicity. The statement of needs or the comparison of conditions which is simply expressed is easily remembered, frequently quoted, and so becomes the vehicle by which information is carried beyond the small group of original contacts.

You are no doubt thinking that these theories of advertising are all very well, but how can this specific detail and simplicity be applied to such complicated fields as public health or social work. How can a city's accomplishment in public health be reduced to a single statement or a number? Can the work of the various agencies in the field of health be expressed in terms which show their worth and their relation to the entire program?

Within the past year a group of health officers, working with the national health agencies, have developed an appraisal form or measuring rod for community health work. The idea of scoring health department activities is not new, and several persons have proposed rating schedules based largely upon their individual judgment and experience. This, however, is the first time that a practical, professional health group, with wide and varied experience and having access to recent surveys of the public health activities in all cities of 40,000 population and over in this country, have set themselves the task of scientifically preparing a method for appraising community health work by objective standards.

Last August there was adopted a schedule to be used as a basis for further field study and investigation, to be revised from time to time to keep pace with

our widening circle of experience in its use as well as with the latest developments of the science. It is with the application and use of this tentative schedule that I shall deal. In this schedule, public health activities have been divided into two broad classifications: first, common activities, that is, those activities common to all cities regardless of geographic location, size, type, etc.; second, special activities, including those items which certain cities must be concerned with because of their local conditions.

The common activities of cities have been considered to be, for example, the registration and analysis of vital statistics, the control of communicable diseases, the health of the child up to and including school age, the sanitary services, milk, water, food, sewerages and nuisances, the laboratory service and popular health instruction.

To these subdivisions have been assigned relative values on a basis of a thousand points, and objective criteria of service or accomplishment, with appropriate standards and values attached, have been grouped under each subdivision. As an example of the type of criteria employed, sixty points are allowed for vital statistics, twenty-five of which are given for the classification of deaths by cause, age, sex, nativity, and color. In the control of communicable diseases, credit is given for the specific preventive measures of immunization against smallpox and diphtheria, the points allowed being proportional to the population annually

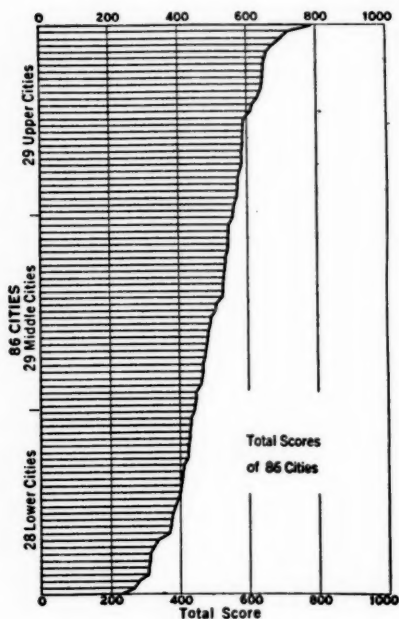


FIG. 1

protected. Clinical services are judged by the proportion of population receiving or availing themselves of the service.

It should be here pointed out and kept continually in mind that the criteria and standards set up are intended to apply to all health work being carried on in a community, whether supported by local, public, state, or private funds, and the rating received is not an appraisal of the health department or the health officer, but is an indication of the extent to which the community has expressed its interest in the public health through official or unofficial channels.

Numerous items are included over which the health officer rarely, if ever, exercises direct control, but which if well done contribute measurably to the protection and improvement of the public health. As examples of such items may be mentioned the distribution of water and sewers throughout the area,

the parks and recreational facilities, the program of health education in the schools, and to some extent the reporting of communicable diseases or the local custom regarding obstetrical service. This appraisal form, containing eighty-five objective criteria, has been applied to the eighty-six cities of between 40,000 and 70,000 population surveyed by the American Child Health Association, and is being used in the study and analysis of the health activities in the cities from 70,000 and up by the American Public Health Association.

The accompanying charts indicate the simple and striking manner in which the health activities of a city may be expressed. Figure 1 shows the distribution of the eighty-six cities when arranged in order of total score. It will be seen that they are scattered over a range of 557 points. It is a stimulus of no mean importance for a city to rate itself through a representative group and find that its health activities are 50 per cent or less of what group judgment has set up as a reasonable standard, or that twenty or thirty cities of equal size are doing more and better health work. The study and self-analysis of a city's work by a group representing the various health agencies frequently shows duplication of effort or lack of coordination which may be standing in the way of efficient service, and since the standards set up are those of a large and growing group of public health administrators, they are not subject to the criticism of favoritism frequently made of locally formulated programs.

Community health programs may be tested for balance by considering

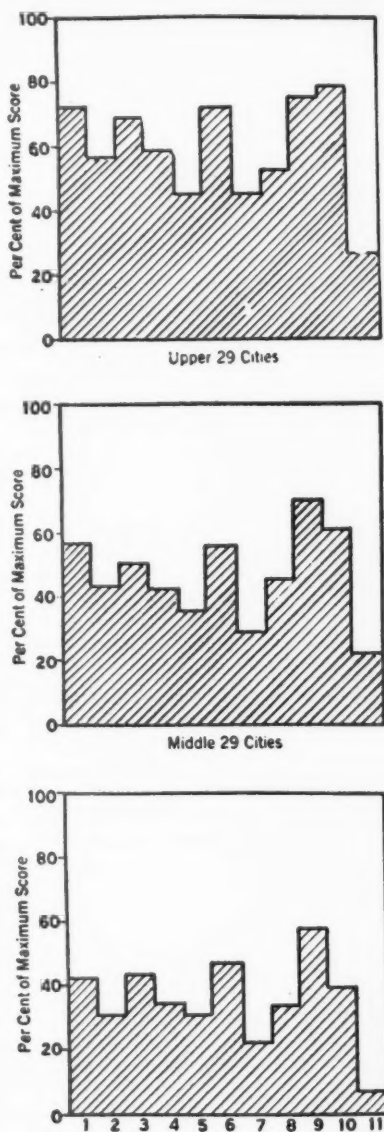


FIG. 2.—Average attainment in the eleven major health activities for the upper 29, middle 29, and lower 28 thirds of the 86 cities when arranged in order of total score. Figures in group of lower 28 cities: (1) Vital Statistics; (2) Communicable Disease; (3) Venereal Disease; (4) Tuberculosis; (5) Pre-natal; (6) Infant; (7) Pre-school; (8) School; (9) Sanitation; (10) Laboratory; (11) Popular Health Instruction.

each of the eleven major activities separately and comparing them with the maximum score allowed.

Figure 2. shows diagrammatically the percentage attainment in each activity for the average city of the upper, middle, and lower third. A community whose health program has, first, been planned to include all of the common activities with due regard to their relative importance, and second, has been put into operation in an orderly manner for a period of years, should show nearly the same percentage achievement in all activities.

Low points show underdeveloped activities, while peaks may be equally significant in showing disproportionate expenditure of effort. The application of such an analysis in attracting attention to specific activities will be readily apparent. Several cities have already made use of such diagrams to accompany their requests for money for health activities. Mayors and chambers of commerce have been awakened to a new interest in health work when a simple comparison with other cities and the interdependence of health agencies has been presented in a language which they can comprehend.

Summarizing the use of the appraisal form for city health work, we may safely say that: first, it provides a means of expressing, in simple and specific terms, the development of public health activities in a community; second, it enables communities, through self-analysis of their entire health program, to focus on certain definite needs; third, it provides a uniform terminology for presenting health activities to the public.

In justification of presenting such a paper before a conference of social work, permit me to recount a recent experience which seems to indicate the possibility of a similar application of objective standards to the social field. At a meeting of the Seattle-Tacoma chapter in May, their secretary had prepared a series of questions which were believed to be important issues in the social field today. Typical of these are: First, what does social work mean to the general public? Second, what do we want it to mean? Third, in interpreting social work, what are the relative weights that should be given to: (a) machinery of publicity and organization? (b) personality of workers? Fourth, why isn't social case work, for example, usually understood by the business man?

In the field of public health similar questions have been receiving attention and consideration for some time, and now seem in a fair way to be answered in terms which will go far toward increasing a popular support for public health activities. Whether these principles and methods can successfully be applied to the social field remains for the social worker to determine.

THE INDIGENT MIGRATORY TUBERCULOUS

THE FACTS OF THE CASE

Jessamine S. Whitney, Statistician, National Tuberculosis Association, New York

For more than a generation the beneficial effect of climate in the Southwest has become a tradition to health seekers. And that it is not merely a tradition is attested by the population of many cities in this section; the majority of those who have come seeking health have found it and have remained, substantial and enthusiastic citizens.

In later years the special climatic advantages of the Southwest have been put forth in attractive advertising by various commercial bodies of the larger cities. And by the Southwest is meant not only the mountainous country of Colorado and California, but also the arid deserts of New Mexico, Arizona, and parts of Texas.

It is not surprising, then, that the message of getting well in the Southwest has reached not only the well-to-do, but the health seekers in reduced circumstances who have the same urge to recover their health. For over a decade the health workers of the Southwest, and especially the tuberculosis workers, have been holding up their hands in helplessness and crying out against the influx of the tuberculous. They are coming, they said, in increasing numbers, without funds, and are becoming a serious financial and health burden on the various communities to which they migrate.

For some years this seemed to be the most serious social problem in the tuberculosis campaign in the United States, and it still is probably the leading one. About four years ago the National Tuberculosis Association, having listened so long to the complaints of the health workers from the Southwest, determined to find out to what extent this problem was a burden financially and otherwise, and for this purpose selected for study six cities of the Southwest which seemed to be centers of the migratory problem. These six cities were San Antonio and El Paso in Texas, Los Angeles in California, Phoenix in Arizona, and Denver and Colorado Springs in Colorado. The study was an attempt to discover how great the burden of the indigent tuberculous was in these cities.

A very thorough and searching study of the records of all social agencies which might deal with tuberculous poor was made. The term "indigent" was interpreted to mean any person who could not entirely finance his care and cure. The degree of indigency varied greatly. Some persons needed only free medical or nursing care, others were in need of temporary aid, while many were dependent almost entirely upon the community for their living and care.

The first important finding of the study was the extent of the tuberculosis problem. In the six cities there was a total of 7,319 tuberculous individuals cared for by municipal agencies during a single year, two-thirds of whom had

resided in those cities less than two years. This meant an average of one indigent tuberculous person to every 155 of the entire population of those cities.

The cities with the smallest population, of course, bore the greatest burden. Phoenix, having a population of only about 30,000, had the greatest ratio of indigent tuberculous persons, or one to every fifty-eight of the population. Colorado Springs, which is of practically the same size, having at that time slightly over 30,000 population, had one indigent tuberculous person to every seventy-eight of the population. San Antonio and Los Angeles had the smallest ratio, with El Paso and Denver next.

Another important feature which the study disclosed was the fact that many tuberculous persons bring their families along with them and thus add not only the financial burden of themselves to the community, but also the care of the added members of the family.

It is more often the woman health seeker who is accompanied by her family. Seventy per cent of the women brought some or all of their family with them, and only 30 per cent of the men. The family problem, then, becomes one of the most troubling features in the care of the tuberculous, although the "homeless man" problem is the greatest numerically. In the study of the six cities, besides the 7,000 or more tuberculous health seekers themselves, they brought with them 9,000 other members of their immediate families, over 5,000 of them children under sixteen. To one familiar with the preventive work of public agencies interested in tuberculosis, the enormity of this added burden in taking care of contact cases will be understood.

It might perhaps be surprising to those who are familiar with tuberculosis only as a disease of adults to know that one-tenth of all the patients in the six cities studied were children under fourteen and 1 per cent were under four years of age.

Only half of the cases recorded were born in the United States. The largest single foreign group was the Mexicans, who were found in large numbers in El Paso, San Antonio, and Los Angeles. Nearly three-fourths of all cases were men.

A particular feature of the study was to determine from which section of the country the migration was taking place. It was found that a few states only were responsible for most of it. They were, in order, Illinois, New York, Missouri, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Michigan. The migration from these states is largely from the six large cities which they contain.

That these health seekers come without any funds for caring for themselves, expecting that they will somehow be miraculously cared for or will be able to get "light work," which is non-existent, is shown by the record of application for aid by one-third before they had been in the Southwest three months. The women were better provided for at first or were more resourceful in placing themselves, since nearly 40 per cent of the men asked for assistance within a month after coming, and only 20 per cent of the women.

The financial burden borne by the various communities as a result of this migration cannot be exactly measured. As far as possible, however, the cost of all tuberculous activities in each of the cities was ascertained. The results show that the highest cost was in Phoenix, where the per capita yearly cost for each member of the community, men, women, and children, was \$1.75 for the support and relief of the tuberculous. The financial burden in San Antonio was least. Colorado Springs, being a small community like Phoenix, carried a large financial burden, the cost per capita at that time being \$1.00 per year.

Probably the saddest and most tragic part of the story was the inability to get adequate facts in regard to what happened ultimately to these tuberculous migrants. This is of the most vital concern, and a test of the community treatment of them. From the records it was found that 54 per cent were lost sight of, 13 per cent had died, 10 per cent were known to have moved out of the city, and only about one-fourth were known to be still in the city at the end of the year.

The enormous burden carried by the Southwest can best be evaluated by comparing the figures for these six cities with those of the city of Cleveland, in which a similar study was made. In the latter city with its facilities for caring for the tuberculous, only 11 per cent of all such persons reached by social agencies were non-residents (that is, had been resident in Cleveland less than two years).

No one who has traveled in the Southwest could be unaware of the magnitude of the problem. Every train carries an appreciable number of tuberculous, and the social and medical agencies in the cities are overtaxed to meet the pressing needs of these persons.

There can be no question that climate alone is not able to cure. The patient must have freedom from worry, rest, proper food, clothing and housing, as well as the effect of climate, to be successful in his quest. The indigent tuberculous is coming to the Southwest with none of these other necessary aids to cure. As a result, the deaths from tuberculosis in one county of Arizona constitute one-third of all deaths, and the tuberculosis death-rate of the state is over 300 per 100,000. It has therefore been the purpose of the National Tuberculosis Association and its affiliated state associations to attempt to keep these wanderers from a search which can only result in failure.

Many state tuberculosis associations, principally of the Middle West, have attempted to stem the tide by publishing folders with such titles as "Get Well in Indiana," or "Take the Cure in Michigan." In these folders they attempt to present the advantages of treatment at home with adequate care and freedom from worry as against an attempt at the cure in the Southwest without adequate funds. The National Tuberculosis Association also has in its publicity attempted to define these same advantages of treatment at home.

Whether this campaign of publicity had been successful in reducing the number of indigent tuberculous in the Southwest was made a matter of recent

study by the National Tuberculosis Association. It was thought that by comparing the figures obtained in the study of four years ago with present figures obtained on a strictly comparable basis it would be known whether the migration to this section was increasing, decreasing, or stationary.

Accordingly, two cities of the six formerly studied were selected for comparative purposes. These two were Phoenix and Colorado Springs. These were chosen primarily because of their smaller population, and because, accordingly, the ratio of the tuberculous to the general population was greater in these two cities.

The recent study shows that there has been a slight decline in the number cared for in Phoenix, amounting to approximately 9 per cent. But one must remember that between the two years, 1920 and 1924, there has been a 20 per cent decline in the death-rate and a corresponding decline in the incidence of the disease. Therefore one might expect that if the migration of indigents to the Southwest had kept pace only with the incidence of the disease there might have been a 20 per cent decline in the number found in those cities in 1924. As a matter of fact there was only a 9 per cent decline in Phoenix. Therefore we must conclude that instead of a decrease in migration there has been a relative increase.

While no definite study was made in El Paso, inquiry was made of the persons dealing with the migratory tuberculosis problem in that city and it was felt that there had been a slight numerical decline, although, as has just been pointed out, it amounts to an actual increase when viewed in the light of the decline of the disease itself.

But the most interesting fact brought out in the recent study is the very definite and decided increase in the number of indigent tuberculous in Colorado Springs. Between 1920 and 1924 there was an increase of 21 per cent in the number of indigent tuberculous cared for in that city. The former study included 385 persons; the latter one, 466.

In commenting on the results of the earlier study the writer said, "None of these cities has anything like adequate provision—medical, relief, or institutional—for caring for tuberculous persons, whether resident or non-resident." After four years that statement is still true. Colorado Springs, however, is probably better equipped to cope with the problem than any of the other six cities. And in addition it has less intolerance for tuberculous persons. It has definitely recognized the problem of the indigent health seeker and is taking all who come, the poor with the rich, and attempting to meet its obligations in this respect. It does not take news of that sort long to spread among health seekers, and it is undoubtedly on this account that the migration to Colorado Springs has increased so tremendously.

In Phoenix the policy for many years was to return, on half-rate charity tickets, non-residents whose residence could be established and who were tuberculous and liable to become a charge on the community. That policy

cost considerable money, but it relieved the community of a continuing burden. In Colorado Springs, however, this practice is seldom resorted to, and usually only in cases where the patient is willing to return.

We were interested to know whether these increases in migration in Phoenix and Colorado Springs had been attended by any major changes in the character of it. In recent years considerable has been written about the "gasoline gypsies," as they are picturesquely called. With the increase in facilities for purchasing cheap autos, many families are following the well-known slogan and seeing America first. For a time the health workers of the Southwest claimed that this was greatly increasing their burden, because many tuberculous persons were arriving in autos, in various degrees of dilapidation, accompanied by large families. However, it has been found by several studies that these migrants are not by any means in the majority, and that only about 30 per cent of them are tuberculous. They are therefore only a single phase of the problem and by no means the most important one.

The general character of the migration remains unchanged and confirms the accuracy and generality of the findings of the earlier report. As regards the proportion of men, the need for aid shortly after arrival, the proportion of the migrants who bring their families, the age groups, the percentages in the two years, 1920 and 1924, are practically the same.

A very interesting phase of the study was the fact that the sources of migration to Colorado Springs had changed very slightly; Missouri, Kansas, Illinois were first, second, and third in rank according to the number of their residents sent to Colorado Springs in 1920, and they had the same order and rank in 1924. Oklahoma, Kentucky, and Indiana were fourth, fifth, and sixth in 1920, and had the same rank in 1924 with a slight change in the order.

There is a different story in Phoenix. The states which led in the number of their residents sent to Phoenix in 1920 were, in order, Illinois, Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, and Missouri. In 1924 New York and Pennsylvania have dropped out of the picture and their places have been taken by Michigan and Oklahoma.

While the fatality rate among all known cases may not be a particularly significant figure, it is of interest to note that in Phoenix in 1924 there was one known death in every six known cases; in 1920 there was one known death to every seven cases. In Colorado Springs in 1920 the ratio was one death to every seven cases, and in 1924 one death to nine cases.

In Colorado Springs there seems to be no large group of foreign-born among the non-resident tuberculous, while in Phoenix the situation is complicated by nearness to the Mexican border and the consequent Mexican colony among which are many tuberculous. They constitute about one-eighth of the tuberculous population. In Phoenix tuberculous negroes are more in evidence than in Colorado Springs, perhaps because in the former city a hospital for negroes has recently been established, to which tuberculous negroes are admitted.

Along with the increase in migration to Colorado Springs has gone a corresponding increase in the financial burden carried. In 1920 the amount spent for the tuberculous in Colorado Springs was approximately \$32,000; in 1924 it was nearly \$41,000.

In Phoenix the estimated total expenditures for tuberculosis in 1920 was \$51,000, most of which was in out-door relief administered by the county supervisors. The amount spent in 1924 probably fell short of that by a few thousand dollars.

As before, there was the same story of emergency relief and the passing from ken of the patient, costing the community much financially and receiving no lasting benefit.

What of the future? We have seen that all the publicity efforts have not succeeded. The migration of the tuberculous to the Southwest is increasing. In Phoenix there has been a 9 per cent decline between 1920 and 1924, while a 20 per cent decline was taking place in the country at large between the two years.

In Colorado Springs an increase of 21 per cent in the migration took place between the same two years. Both communities are trying to meet their needs in this respect to the limit of their respective abilities. Colorado Springs is second in rank in the country in the per capita amount raised by the Federation of Social Agencies. Phoenix had a hard time this year to meet its budget for very necessary social work. Financially they are at their wit's end.

Colorado Springs is still advertising its climate and may expect a considerable increase in its tuberculous population. Are these cities going to be able to meet this increasing and continuing burden? If so, how? If not, what is to be done about it?

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF STATE AND MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES AND TO THE MIGRANT CONSUMPTIVE

*Jessie D. Lummis, Executive Secretary, Tuberculosis Society,
Denver*

In our discussion of the responsibility of the state and municipal authorities to the migrant consumptive it is important that we consider an aspect of the problem as it affects our western and southwestern communities.

It is not alone the consumptive individual who is the confirmed wanderer, the unstable individual whose fetish is climate but who gives no climate a chance to work its proclaimed magic for him, who makes up our migratory tuberculosis case. The case with a vast number of ramifications has been assembled for us throughout all our years of settlement and development and is still being assembled. This has been in no way more clearly illustrated than it was to me just recently by a few figures collected from the past year's work in the nutrition classes conducted by the Denver Tuberculosis Society.

In these demonstration classes conducted in public and parochial schools in Denver 450 children were given a complete physical examination during the year. With the exception of four rooms of first-grade children, where the entire room was examined, the group was composed of underweight children—some seriously underweight, as we call those 7 per cent or more below the standard weight-table measurements, some in the borderline, between the 7 per cent and the standard line. Of the total number examined, 18½ per cent, or nearly one-fifth, came from homes in which there was tuberculosis. In one group composed only of seriously underweight children who had come into the nutrition class for no other reason than that they were underweight, 40 per cent were tuberculosis contacts; in another group, 34 per cent; in still another, 25 per cent.

The migratory tuberculosis case for the West has the individual migrant consumptive as its first phase only, and from this first phase it gathers momentum as time goes on with the greater need evident, in these communities made up in such large measure of health seekers, of much more health education work among the children, many more preventive measures, in the effort to safeguard the health of the community, than in the average city or town. I feel that this aspect of the situation must be understood before the subject can be appreciated by the public at large—before the agonizing cry of the western and southwestern communities for adequate recognition of a situation that they are helpless to meet will really be heard.

A few illustrations will, I think, best put the situation before you. My first example is one that I do not class with the regular migrant group, but it so well illustrates the appeals that come to our communities constantly, and the way the burden grows with the real migrant as only a part of it, that I want to give it to you. The other two illustrations are perhaps typical, if the case of one individual or family with all its different complications and angles can be typical of another.

Mr. Blank has been in a western sanatorium for a number of months. He has been improving slowly but steadily. He became ill with tuberculosis several years ago and during an extended period of treatment all the family savings were used up. Finally the wife secured a position and has been able through her earnings to care for herself and the two children and to keep her husband in the sanatorium. A sanatorium in the West was strongly recommended by the physician in charge and the change from East to West was made. Husband and wife are of exceeding culture and refinement. There is great devotion between them and they felt recently that they must see each other. By extraordinary effort the wife was able to arrange for the care of the two children in the East and to save sufficient for the trip West. A day or two after her arrival the husband noticed a slight cough, which she made light of, insisting that it was due to nervousness. He persisted in his urging that she have an examination, with the result that she finally consented and active tuberculosis was found. The physician in telling me the story said, "We had the definite findings yester-

day. I have not told Mrs. Blank as yet. Before she is told some plan must be thought of that will help her to meet the situation. I should not be willing to answer for the consequences if we were not able to give this assistance."

My second story is of a typical migrant case: A family of seven—man, wife, and five children ranging from ten years to the one born shortly after arrival; man in the third stage of tuberculosis; wanderers for nine years from place to place in search of health; relatives not interested and for the most part do not answer letters; a year after arrival they are still largely dependent upon the community.

Another situation: A woman came to a western city from an eastern state five years ago with two small children. After a year's stay her health was greatly improved and she returned home. She discovered that while she was away her husband had been untrue to her, and she secured a divorce and returned to the West. She was self-supporting until about two years ago, when she had double pneumonia and it was necessary for her to call upon the relief agency. Her illness reactivated her old lung condition and she was admitted to a hospital and her children were placed in an orphanage. Her aged father and mother had followed her to the West (the mother dying about a year later), also three married sisters, one with six children and the others with two children each, and a widowed sister. The mother with six children was found to have tuberculosis, second stage. The other two married sisters were found to be tuberculosis suspects, and the widowed sister was very frail. After overwork at holiday time she also became ill. Instead of a mother and two children, there were, in less than four years' time, four women suffering from tuberculosis, another who was very frail, twelve children, and an aged father.

Such examples illustrate the subject to be discussed. There are many different phases of the problem and the tragedy of the lack of facilities for adequate care of the self-respecting, deserving, sick poor faces us in our western communities every day, for our residents as well as for non-residents.

The difficulties that arise in connection with the migrant tuberculous and that have to be met or disregarded by the state and municipalities of the West and Southwest are numerous and varied. Chief among them are the following: First, emergency or extended care for the very ill. Few cities have an adequate number of hospital beds even for their needy resident cases, let alone for the newcomers, and yet it would be counted everywhere only the part of a decent humanity to give the person who is ill or dying a bed and care. Second, temporary or extended financial relief for the patient, and if he has a family, of the family also. A community cannot allow people to starve, especially when they are ill and helpless. Third, a reliable diagnosis and classification as to the stage of the disease. So many come from a small town where there is not a tuberculosis specialist. They do not know of the specialists in nearby cities, and furthermore, with the feeling uppermost that they must go to a western climate, they do not exert themselves to secure reliable findings near home. Fifth, investigation of

residents and fixing of responsibility as to the care of the patient. Sixth, the decision as to the best policy, in view of the medical findings and of the residential and economic status of the patient. Seventh, the securing of financial assistance if the patient is to remain in the West.

Bearing these points in mind, can you visualize the load that Denver, for example, must carry, with probably a thousand cases a year of the migrant tuberculous, while some cities carry an even larger load?

So much for the needs, and any discussion that might arise in connection with them would, as I have implied before, center around our lack of facilities for care of even our own residents in accordance with humanitarian standards, lack of hospital beds, lack of dispensary facilities, lack of adequate financial relief. A summary of the facts of the situation would be for most of us an indictment not only of our treatment of the non-resident but of the resident as well.

But it would seem that certain general minimum requirements might be laid down regarding the responsibility of the state and municipality to the migrant consumptive. First, for one who is helplessly, and it may be hopelessly, ill, there must be temporary and emergency care if the feeblest attempt to maintain humanitarian standards is to prevail. Second, for diagnosis there must be arrangements for adequate dispensary service if the city or town is large enough to maintain a dispensary. If not, there should certainly be, in any health-resort town, arrangements for definite hours of examination by a private physician who is a specialist in tuberculosis. Third, temporary financial aid. Fourth, assistance to the patient as to what he is to do. This last point is the crux of the situation for the individual concerned. He is a sick person and commands our sympathetic help no matter what the other complications of the case are. Has he a legal residence? Can he receive care there? On the other hand, are there better chances for improvement in the new place of abode? Is his mental attitude such that to insist upon a return deprives him of all hope for improvement? The deciding of these questions and many others entails tremendous responsibility.

Shall the responsibility as to this decision be put upon the medical agency or upon the family welfare agency? Few dispensaries with which the writer has been in touch have a social case work staff adequate to handle this responsibility. Should not the final responsibility rest upon the family welfare agency, which in the long run must bear the relief problem? For, granted that the decision as to the return be made upon humanitarian principles, there is always the question of finance. No matter how strongly the doctors feel that it would be advisable for the patient to stay, no matter how strongly the social case worker feels that the social and psychological aspects of the case are such that to stay would contribute toward a cure, the patient must be financed during that period. Whoever handles it, a highly specialized type of case work is called for which should be recognized by the agency and by the authorities in the community.

I believe that the western and southwestern states can never bear the

financial burden of the indigent migratory consumptive alone and meet the situation as it should be met. I believe they should not be compelled to try to do so. It is this burden which has stood in the way of adequate relief for their own tuberculous who have become residents, both because of the extra drain upon the financial resources of the community and because of the fear, on the part of the general public and the authorities, that adequate assistance would mean an increased immigration and an enlarged problem.

A greater willingness must be developed on the part of all local communities to care adequately for their residents who are disadvantaged, who are at home or elsewhere. A consideration of the health of the individual client by every agency in every community would mean the detection of the disease at its source, and social treatment could begin at once. With the emphasis previously put at the meetings of this section upon the close interrelationship between the health agency and the social agency, and with Dr. Emerson's emphasis yesterday upon the financial value to the community of adequate dispensary service and of providing for regular health examinations, I do not need to enlarge upon this point. But let me emphasize again that the social treatment must begin when the disease is discovered, before migration begins. With the appreciation of the situation that would come to every community from such an arrangement there would also follow a greater willingness on the part of communities to contribute to the care of their sick, even if away from home, when the prolonged stay abroad seemed advisable.

More information, detailed information, assembled from the relief and medical agency records and given to the public would unquestionably be an important aid in the development of this sense of responsibility. We have some data on the subject, but we have not a picture of the situation that would be convincing to the laity. For the first time here in Denver I think we are on the way toward securing this. Blank questionnaires are being furnished this month to every agency that comes in touch with the tuberculosis problem. The agencies have promised to cooperate. These blanks are to be filled out during the year by the workers in the various agencies and data secured for every case handled. The schedules will be collected a year hence and the material tabulated and analyzed. The study will be much more complete than any thus far attempted, and should give us a real quantitative and qualitative analysis as to our tuberculosis situation in Denver.

How many of us, for our own cities, can answer the following questions? How many of our own residents should have had hospital care last year who did not receive it because no beds were available? What is the result so far as their physical condition is concerned? How much was spent by our agencies on relief among our resident families and individuals afflicted with tuberculosis? What sum would have been adequate? How much was spent on non-residents? For what was this amount spent? How many of these non-residents were chronic indigents—in the hopeless class of those who cannot be helped and who we

should admit cannot be helped in order to conserve our time and money for the others? How many were in the self-respecting group of the sick poor? How many had had no aid from charitable organizations until they fell ill?

When figures are available that show the actual need, and that demonstrate that it pays to give adequate assistance, I believe that the provision on the part of the authorities will be more ample. Figures, too, are probably the only means of convincing the public that we shall not increase our problem by meeting it.

It is not that we have not realized the need of having all this information. The staffs of the agencies have been and are now inadequate to cope with the situation. But I think that a more careful diagnosis of our problem, a more fearless defining of what we can do or cannot do, of what is hopeless and what is hopeful, might make the work that we do more effective and pave the way for a more appreciative public opinion.

A factor that would help greatly in the entire situation would be the development of strong state public welfare departments and of county and municipal welfare departments. These would contribute to the building up of a strong sense of local responsibility in which would lie the real solution.

It is the private agencies in the West that are handling the problem, on the whole, and it would seem that responsibility should gradually be shifted to the states and municipalities where legal authority rests, for this is needed in many instances for the protection of the community. The whole question of the migrant consumptive is tied up with so many matters of vital municipal concern that the private agency can cope with it only in part at best.

Can the problem of the migrant consumptive be lessened? Two factors in addition to those mentioned would contribute to this. A strict system of follow-ups on the part of tuberculosis dispensaries all over the United States would, I think, be possible of achievement and could, I think, be effective. There is no doubt but that the hopelessly indigent migrant should usually be returned to his home. Climate, his excuse for his migrations, is not even given a chance to function. He is a confirmed wanderer and adventurer like the general tramp, except that the fact that his general instability may have been due to his illness brings our sympathy. He is usually able to "ride the rods" from place to place, although it is true that he is in such physical condition that his appearance is pathetic and appealing.

There is no question but that the building up of a strong United States public health service which would stimulate state health departments and municipal health departments would be a factor in helping solve the problem. Close relationship between county health agencies and state health agencies would render many of the deplorable happenings of the past impossible.

The migrant consumptive will no doubt always be with us. He was one of the first to recognize that civilization was moving westward, and he remains firm in the faith. I believe we can lessen the problem and improve our methods of handling it. We can catalogue him and curtail his movements so that he will

not use up the substance that could be spent to such good advantage for those sometimes classed with him, but whose only points in common are the same illness and the same hopeful and trusting search for health.

• LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE INDIGENT MIGRATORY
CONSUMPTIVE PROBLEM

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The interstate migration of tuberculous persons is conceded to be a major public health problem and, according to the statistics which have recently been assembled, is likely to continue to be so for many years and even to increase in intensity. The subject has frequently been discussed from its medical, social, and economic aspects, but there seems never to have been a purely legal treatment of it. The object of this paper, therefore, is to present concisely some of those principles of law which apply to the facts as they are and also to the more practical of the many solutions to the problem which have been suggested.

The chief legal phase of this complex situation is one of jurisdiction. When a poverty-stricken consumptive in Connecticut borrows enough money to buy a ticket to Colorado, or is given such a ticket by some misguided charitable organization, and then arrives in Denver in a destitute condition, who is responsible, and whose duty is it to care for him? Is it a matter for the city of Denver, the state of Colorado, his home town in Connecticut, that state, or the federal government? As a matter of fact, in the past it has generally been the city of Denver or the social agencies there which have had to bear the brunt of such exigencies. The question of jurisdiction involves matters of domicile, residence, settlement, and, possibly, of interstate commerce.

Every man is presumed to have a domicile somewhere, and only one. Such a legal residence is his true, fixed, permanent home and principal establishment, to which he intends to return whenever he absents himself from it.¹ He may abandon it, however, and create a new one. For such a change there must be an acquisition of the new domicile, coupled with the intention not to return to the old. Thus, he may transfer his legal residence from one town to another, or from one state to another. Local statutes may require him to live a certain period in a state before becoming a citizen, but under such conditions he acquires domicile before citizenship. When a man changes his residence merely in order to benefit his health, he does not change his domicile, unless, of course, he has a definite intention to do so. The leading court decision to this effect is *Pickering v. Winch*.²

This case concerned the estate of an Oregon millionaire who died in Cali-

¹ See 9 Ruling Case Law 538.

² 48 Ore. 500, 87 Pac. 763, 9 L.R.A. (N.S.) 1159 and note.

fornia while seeking health in that supposedly salubrious clime. When we come to the indigent, however, we find that the pauper has not domicile, but what is called settlement. This is more in the nature of a residence, requiring physical presence and the intention to remain. A pauper is legally defined as one who is so poor he must be supported at public expense.¹ Such support devolves upon the place where the indigent person has his settlement. Settlement is usually a matter regulated by statute, each state having its own settlement laws effective only within its own boundaries. Once a person acquires a settlement in conformity to a state law, he must be supported by the locality of his residence, in accordance with the terms of the particular statute which applies. This may be manifestly unfair to a municipality which is a popular rendezvous for consumptive paupers, but it is the law. There is no uniformity in these settlement laws, and some western states do not even have any. This whole subject of settlement might properly claim the attention of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws.

As a partial remedy for the indiscriminate shipping of paupers from one place to another are the so-called "transportation rules," which have been drafted for the guidance of social agencies. This is an agreement to the effect that no transportation will be supplied unless evidence is produced that the applicant will have resources for maintenance at his destination, or that his legal residence is there, or that he is a proper charge on the social agencies. These rules are established only through comity and unfortunately there is no legal redress for failure on the part of signatories to observe them. The translation of these transportation rules into state legislation, acting as a mandate on official and voluntary local agencies, would be proper and might be practicable.

While a sufferer from tuberculosis is in a municipality, he is, of course, subject to the state and local laws, ordinances, or regulations governing the public health, no matter where his settlement may be. He is, under the constitution, entitled to equal protection of the laws, and the citizens of each state are entitled to the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the several states, but any state in the exercise of its police power may take any necessary steps to protect and promote the public health, provided that such operation is reasonable and in no way discriminative.

The police power is the inherent right of sovereignty to make rules and regulations, within constitutional limitations, for the health, safety, morals, comfort, and general welfare of the people. The states possessed this power before the federal Constitution was adopted in 1789. They did not give it up and it was, furthermore, specifically reserved to them in the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution. Under this power a state may impose inspection or quarantine upon persons or things about to enter its borders, even though this is an interference with interstate commerce, which is exclusively a matter under federal control. Such quarantine laws, when reasonably calculated to promote

¹ See Bouvier's *Law Dictionary*.

the public health, have been often upheld by the United States Supreme Court. Thus, a state could prevent the entry of any tuberculous person who was actually a menace to the public health, though it might have to prove in a court of law the existence of the disease and its danger. So too, a person actually a pauper could be debarred, but no person could be kept out because likely to become indigent at some future and undetermined date.¹ Nor can a person once admitted be thereafter legally deported, though some cities actually give indigent tuberculous the choice of leaving voluntarily or of being jailed for vagrancy. Whether the prevention of entry of tuberculous patients is practical or expedient is a matter of policy to be determined by each state for itself. So far, no state has seen fit to employ such drastic measures, though several have threatened to do so.

The control of diseased persons in interstate commerce is a federal matter which has been intrusted by law² to the secretary of the treasury, under whose direction the United States Public Health Service has drafted rules governing interstate quarantine, these rules having the effect of law. These regulations contain a provision that common carriers shall not receive tuberculous persons unless such persons have with them adequate facilities for the proper disposal of their sputum.³ These regulations have also been incorporated in the Standard Railway Sanitary Code, which is said to have been adopted by thirty-four states. Persons have been held to be subjects of commerce by numerous decisions of the United States Supreme Court, notably the so-called "white slave" cases⁴ which involved the enforcement of the Mann Act of 1910,⁵ prohibiting the transportation of women for immoral purposes. The interstate quarantine regulations could be amended so as to debar from interstate travel tuberculous persons actually dangerous to the public health, and such regulations could be construed to include indigent consumptives who by very reason of their indigency are certain to create a public health hazard. This might be legal, but the procedure presents serious practical difficulties. Even if the burden of enforcement were placed on the carrier, that is, by a penalty for accepting such persons for transportation, it would create vast administrative problems which a court might consider unreasonable.

The establishment of a federal sanatorium has been suggested. Such an institution, supported by federal funds, could be authorized to accept tuberculous persons consigned to it by state health authorities, just as the federal leprosarium may receive patients from the states,⁶ but it could not compel

¹ *Bangor v. Smith*, 83 Me. 422, 22 Atl. 379, 13 L.R.A. 686.

² 27 Stat. L., 449.

³ Interstate Quarantine Regulations, United States Public Health Service (Revised, May, 1921).

⁴ *Hoke v. United States* (1913), 227 U.S. 308, S. Ct. 281, 57 L. Ed. 523, Ann. Cas. 1913 E. 905, 43 L.R.A. (N.S.) 906.

⁵ 36 Stat. 825.

⁶ 39 Stat. L., 872.

entry and it is a question whether tuberculous persons traveling in interstate commerce could even be consigned to such an institution. If Congress passed a law to this effect, it is probable that it would be upheld by the courts, though the situation would be a new one. However, it is not likely that legislative persuasion would be needed to induce consumptive paupers to enter a federal sanatorium in an attractive climate, or even in an unattractive one. It would be overwhelmed with patients, would require a tremendous appropriation, and for this and other reasons would probably be impractical. Federal subsidies to state sanatoria would be unwise for similar reasons, and also on account of the question of policy involved, although there is plenty of precedent for such subsidies in other branches of governmental affairs.

An ingenious plan has been proposed whereby the proper authorities at the point of destination would secure a federal travel order for the tuberculous pauper and send him back to his original place of settlement. A copy of this travel order would then be sent to an appropriate federal department, which at the end of the year would bill the place of settlement for the expense involved. In the first place, this would require congressional enactment authorizing such action by a federal department; in the second place, there would be no method of enforcing collection, except by an agreement between the states, made with the consent of Congress; and there would invariably be much trouble with persons who refused to return. A few might go voluntarily. Persons sent back would have to be stopped at the border, because, if citizens of one state, they could not be lawfully ejected from another state against their will. The administrative problems of this scheme would be great.

When all is said and done, the solution of the indigent migratory consumptive problem is probably one of education and agreement rather than one of law. An opinion as to a solution which is based on superficial knowledge of the problem is not of great value, however, and only those who have given years of study to it are competent to express ideas on how to cope with this complicated situation. When a practical plan is forthcoming it is quite likely that the legal phases can be adjusted, within the limitations of existing principles, to permit the scheme to work satisfactorily. When the millennium arrives with its panacea for this problem, the aid of the legal profession should be enlisted to insure the proper utility of whatever arrangement is agreed upon. Up to that point it is a matter to be solved by the physician, the social worker, the philanthropist, and the civic official.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN COMMUNICABLE DISEASE CONTROL

VENEREAL DISEASES AND THE FAMILY

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In dealing with the familial and, therefore, the social aspects of venereal disease, we are not intimately concerned with the medical or pathological aspects. However, the social worker should be well informed of the general nature of venereal diseases and of their major characteristics. He can then appreciate their tremendous social importance, and above all he must appreciate the necessity of regarding these diseases and their victims in a sane and common-sense manner, which is another way of saying he must cultivate the scientific viewpoint.

To cope successfully with social problems, to initiate or set in motion benign forces which tend to improve our well-being and advance our civilization, a correct mental attitude is necessary—an informed, and therefore an intelligent, viewpoint, rather than a sentimental one. Not that we would banish sentiment if we could, but sentiment without knowledge is a risky and at times a most treacherous guide, particularly when we are dealing with problems in which moral values are entangled.

If we are to add to the great reforms of modern times, as evidenced, for instance, by reforms in the penal system, the industrial system, and the public health—if we are to add to their number the control and ultimate abolition of venereal disease, we must acquire a sane and well-informed mental attitude. We must realize that we are dealing not merely with prostitution, nor with transgressors of the moral law, nor with a submerged and inferior portion of the community who can safely be ignored; we are dealing primarily with those who are sick, just as are the sufferers from any other illness, and their sickness may be physical or mental or both. We must remember, also, that venereal disease is limited to no one class of society and that concerning it we find the same type of ignorance among the well-to-do as among the poor. We must realize further that the whole venereal disease question is an evidence of social disorder, of the fact that we are still unable completely to adjust ourselves to the complicated and unnatural demands that the social order makes upon us—unnatural from the biological standpoint. The average young man and young woman is unable (for economic and other reasons) to marry and assume family responsibilities at the time nature intended them to. The treatment, as well as prevention, of venereal disease has been hampered by generations of prejudice and ignorance and by a distorted conception of these diseases, due to the fact that their moral aspect has overshadowed all other considerations. They have been surrounded and inclosed by a taboo which has prevented them from being dealt with vigorously and scientifically, as have the other scourges of mankind.

The social worker who is correctly informed knows first of all that there are two venereal diseases with which he need be concerned—syphilis and gonorrhea; that these are infectious diseases just as are typhoid fever, mumps, or chicken-pox, and quite as distinct from each other; and that they are communicated mostly by sexual contact. Gonorrhea is a local disease and rarely becomes general. Syphilis is a constitutional disease from its very inception and it attacks every tissue and organ in the body.

We have learned in recent years the danger of the "carrier" in spreading disease—the food handler who harbors germs of typhoid fever while apparently in the best of health and free from symptoms, and the diphtheria carrier who, while exhibiting no untoward effects himself, harbors diphtheria bacilli and disseminates them in the school or camp. In this same situation lies the tragedy of venereal disease and its pre-eminent importance as a social problem.

Gonorrhea, having run its acute course in a comparatively short time, the infection subsides, a cure is often apparent, and then months later it springs to life again to threaten the patient, the marital partner, and their children. Syphilis, after the primary invasion, may attract little or no attention from the patient until severer manifestations make it evident that the disease has taken a firm hold. Even then its presence may not be suspected until the marital partner is an innocent victim. We have here the demonstration of the absurdity and cruelty of viewing venereal disease as the fitting concomitant of infringement of the moral laws.

The sufferer from venereal disease becomes a social liability from the moment of infection. If his disease is syphilis, there is first of all the chance that in later life he himself may become disabled and thus contribute to the dependency of himself and family. The fact that after the acute period symptoms subside with no outward sign of inward activity lulls the victim to a sense of false security and makes it most difficult, even in dealing with an intelligent person, to make him persevere in treatment. Years later he may find himself in the grip of any one of a number of disabling diseases, some of them incurable, whose relationship to the original cause he may not in the least suspect. The syphilitic, then, is liable to chronic disabling disease which may make him and his family dependent on the community.

There is the possibility that he will infect his wife and render her liable to invalidism with all that this implies in the way of unfavorable effect upon the family. A characteristic symptom of syphilis in the female is the inability to carry childbearing to a successful issue. It has been demonstrated that between one-quarter and one-third of syphilitic parents have no children, and that they evidenced twice the normal rate of abortions, miscarriages, and stillbirths.

There is the danger that the syphilitic parent may transmit his disease to the children. Such congenital infection is a frequent cause of mental or physical subnormality. In congenital syphilis, as with the acquired type, every form of clinical picture may be met with, and while early treatment is of great value,

such children have always a doubtful future, as they are ready victims to intercurrent maladies, and naturally their chief danger is that the nature of their disease is not realized soon enough. It has been estimated that 50 per cent of syphilitic children die in their first year, 25 per cent in the second year, leaving 25 per cent to reach maturity.

If a married man harbors a gonococcus infection, his wife is in imminent peril of invalidism and severe surgical mutilation, and his children may be unfortunate enough to become infected at birth and to lose their sight.

What a panorama of sickness, destitution, subnormality, and dependency do these facts reveal! This picture of the familial aspect of venereal disease is not overdrawn. While it is true that the majority of male victims contract their disease in youth and before marriage, the tendency of venereal disease to lie dormant but still be contagious is its most harmful characteristic. As has been pointed out by authoritative writers, men mostly contract venereal disease before marriage—women after marriage. And not unusually the husband as well as the wife is unaware of the real nature of the domestic tragedy that so often results as a sequel to an infection long since forgotten or disregarded. With this in mind, and considering also that syphilis may be transmitted to the offspring, we can appreciate the fact that a considerable proportion of victims do not contract their infection through illicit sex relations. So-called "innocent infections" are by no means rare.

The venereal diseases are among our chief contributors to the hospital and the dispensary, to institutions for mentally diseased, to the orphan asylum, the poorhouse, the home for defective children, and to other institutions, and are the principal cause of sterile marriages. Syphilis is one of the chief causes of death.

Here is an antagonist not to be overcome by a moralistic, or rather a pietistic, attitude, nor by ignorance, silence, and concealment, but by active attack, in which sympathy and understanding are necessary weapons on every battle front that the social hygiene campaign has developed.

The abatement of prostitution, the spread of information to the public, the provision of facilities for diagnosis and treatment, careful examination of subnormal children, routine and thorough examination of every prospective mother, followup on members of the family of venereal disease patients, all are types of activity against venereal disease. Most important of all is the instillation of high ideals in childhood, and education through carefully prepared and selected material. Routine examination of prospective mothers offers the opportunity of stamping out congenital infection. A series of cases at Johns Hopkins Hospital demonstrated that if infected mothers were treated before the sixth month, a normal child was practically always assured. If treatment was instituted at a later date, favorable results were not so certain.

The social worker has an important part to play in venereal disease control as has any other agent. Scientific research, clinical facilities, the elaboration of

therapeutic remedies, the standardization of treatment, are of little avail if we cannot reach the persons affected. Most victims will apply for treatment when the acute stage is giving them actual discomfort. But treatment is long, tedious, and calls for self-control and active cooperation on the part of the physician, the patient, and the social worker. Translated in working terms, this means that beside facilities for diagnosis and treatment there must be machinery to follow up the patient and induce him to keep coming for treatment, and perhaps put pressure on him if he is unwilling. Constant stimulation, supervision, and encouragement are needed. This demands a high degree of organization, with public health nurses and hospital social service workers working in harmony with the clinics and the public health authorities. Even then we have only just begun. The families of patients must be reached, the wife and children protected and examined as to their possible infection. Those infected must also be directed to the clinics or private physician for treatment, and in all this the patient and his interests must be safeguarded. More than organization is needed here; experience, tact, and sympathetic approach are indispensable.

The family case worker, the social worker in the juvenile court, and those who deal with the various phases of delinquency and of subnormality among children should ever be mindful of the rôle of venereal disease in contributing to their problems.

To sum up, we might say that social work in the venereal disease field calls for sanity and common sense—the avoidance of the spectacular and the bizarre. In many respects the social hygiene campaign stands where the tuberculosis campaign did some ten or fifteen years ago. In tuberculosis work we now accept as routine procedures which were looked upon as doubtful or dangerous when they were first proposed. So it is with our efforts to bring venereal disease out into the open and rob it of the terrors that go with secrecy and ignorance. The reporting of cases of venereal disease to the health authorities is one of the most vexing problems that constantly face us. It is gradually yielding to intelligent pressure and to educational methods.

The Charity Organization Society of New York has just published a pamphlet on *The Social Worker's Approach to the Problem of Venereal Disease*, that I commend to you wholeheartedly. It contains a foreword by Dr. Stokes which expresses a fact that is not sufficiently appreciated:

It seems to me that it is always worth while to emphasize a function of the social worker in connection with venereal disease which is not often thought of. The social worker and the follow-up system in dealing with venereal disease are part of medical research; in fact, the importance of observation and of the ability to follow the patient over a period of years is more vital in the problem of syphilis than in any other aspect of medicine. To the extent that the case worker and the social service assistant make this possible for the medical man, they are a necessary part of the machinery of clinical research. While the humanistic and spiritually constructive aspects of their work are of extreme importance, they should not exclude from consideration the very great contribution which the social worker can and does make to scientific medicine.

Above all, the social worker has the opportunity—the responsibility—of spreading the gospel of truth, of sane thinking, and of sympathetic treatment.

THE SMALLPOX PROBLEM IN THE WEST

Ethel Humphrey, M.D., Health Officer, Denver

The smallpox problem in the West is one that needs the serious attention of every health official. Susceptible persons plus exposure equals an epidemic as certainly as two and two make four. Vaccination and revaccination is a sure preventive, yet the age-old human characteristic is the necessity of learning by bitter experience. Until the wolves are actually upon them, sufficient support cannot be aroused to give needed authority for forcing a simple protective procedure. They fancy themselves secure.

With the step backward of some of the states and cities of the West in repealing their compulsory school vaccination law, the effort of their health officer is materially hampered. It falls to his lot eternally to warn, coax, cajole, and plead with those he serves to protect themselves and their children. He does his best through educational methods, lectures, health bulletins, radio talks, and other avenues for propagating scientific proof of the necessity for vaccination against preventable disease. Many approached are thoughtless or careless and do not heed, mentally promise to attend to it "sometime"; others, because of the effective propaganda of the anti-vaccinationist, actively fight any attempt to protect them. The just and well-merited penalty for neglect is severe; the inevitable result in time is a virulent epidemic accompanied by death and disfigurement, with its attending train of sorrow and discomfort, and an individual financial loss due to quarantine of exposed or sick wage-earners and large public expenditure for doctors, nurses, quarantine officers, vaccination stations, and other emergency relief—all unnecessary if everyone could but quietly and routinely be protected by vaccination.

Only wholesale vaccination of the unprotected population can save a yearly increase in cases and deaths, a conflagration as the dry fuel accumulates. In the face of figures showing a generalized increase in case incidence and death we postpone taking up the fight, too tolerant of unscientific error, the propaganda of the anti-vaccinationist.

There was a fluctuation of total cases in forty-four states and territories during the four years from 1913 to 1917, there being an average of about 28,611 cases a year. During the next five years the average jumped to over 80,086 a year; of these, 4,005, from 1913 to 1917, were in eight western states, and from 1917 to 1922, 13,731, the western states in this incidence meaning Montana, Colorado, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Washington, Oregon, and California. The number of cases mounted rapidly in some of the western states, i.e., California, Oregon, and Colorado, but Montana, Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico had no such alarming increase.

In 1922 there is again a decided drop in case incidence from a total of 108,904 cases in forty-four states and territories in 1921 to 34,169 in 1922, and a drop in ten western states (adding Idaho and New Mexico) from 20,596 to 8,029 in 1922.

In 1923 total cases only slightly decreased, from 34,169 to 30,313, and in 1924 increased again over 52,000 cases. With this increase in number of cases we have an increased virulence, with a greater death incident than in 1922, when hemorrhagic smallpox was doing its worst, and three times as many deaths as in 1923.

The drop in cases in 1923, therefore, was not an indication that the prevalence of smallpox is over, but rather the 1921 and 1922 scare had brought about an increase in vaccination in 1923. With the drop in cases and deaths, vigilance slackened, in the belief that the worst was over. The year 1924, therefore, showed another decided increase of cases and deaths. It only goes to show that the menace is still with us; as long as there is hemorrhagic smallpox in the country, intercity and interstate transportation make it easy and certain that unprotected communities will eventually succumb to this devastating disease. Vaccination and revaccination must be constantly urged.

The bitter experience of Colorado, and more especially of Denver, is a perfect object-lesson of what takes place when a lethargic public is not constantly urged and forced to protect itself. The number of cases increased gradually each year, from 268 in 1913 to 2,898 with 7 deaths in 1920; 957 cases in Denver, no deaths. No particular alarm was taken, vaccination was urged, but not carried out with any degree of completeness. In 1921 the situation remained about the same: 2,606 cases and 44 deaths in the whole state, with 924 cases and 37 deaths in Denver. In 1922 there was a decrease in the number of cases, but a terrible type was with us, an extremely virulent type that killed 246 out of the 784 cases. There was a slight lull during the summer months, no deaths in June, and the public was assured that the epidemic was under control; vaccination was still voluntary. With the advent of cold weather the case deaths rapidly increased. One out of every three who had it died; the rest were despaired of for weeks, many suffering from multiple abscesses all over the body, even after the pustules had dried up and the scabs fallen off. The hospital was filled to overflowing with persons that no longer resembled humans, so puffed and distorted, wild with delirium and pain of aching bones and burning flesh were they. The dead were rolled in sheets and laid on the floor to make room for more, most of them past caring what their surroundings were or what became of them.

The disease was no respecter of persons, devastation followed its wake in the homes of the rich as often as in those of the poor. Panic seized the city, and at last thinking people and the physicians of the county medical society woke to the situation, demanding drastic action, publicity, and outside help from the United States Public Health Service in engineering control.

Public gatherings were prohibited; business houses compelled all employees to show a good vaccination scar, and no child was allowed in school without a good recent scar. Free vaccinating stations were opened at convenient locations all over the city—open until 9:00 P.M. for the laboring man—as well as at the

city hall, as customary. Never has such wholesale vaccination been accomplished: 200,000 vaccinations in a few months. The November, 1922, cases—252 with 92 deaths—dropped abruptly to 82 cases and 22 deaths, in December. In 1923 there were only 90 cases in the state; 45 cases in Denver, 13 of those during the first three months of the year. The last death was in March, 1923. In 1924 there were six mild cases in two families, both imported. One woman just returned two weeks from a visit in Kentucky came down with a few "pimples." The husband and child had no vaccination scars, so were vaccinated and quarantined in with the case. The child promptly came down with smallpox, while the husband, a few days before quarantine was to be lifted after about three weeks, had an attack diagnosed by the physician as flu, but which we felt might be an unusual kind of flu, and so postponed lifting of the quarantine for a few days. He soon proved himself a beautiful case of smallpox.

The other case was a child direct from St. Louis, come to spend the summer with some relatives, giving smallpox to two little cousins. The cases were so mild that the children were at large some days before they were reported as cases of possible communicable disease. One small child was reported to have bought candy at the corner store with pennies she had scratched "bumps on her with." The neighborhood was canvassed for unvaccinated children and contacts, and none found. There were no further cases.

To date, 1925, there has been no smallpox. At present we have no hospital for isolation of smallpox, having discarded the old one.

Practically our entire school population has good, recent vaccination scars. Each fall a large number of new residents and some kindergarteners are vaccinated, about 8,000 this year.

It is easy now to enforce vaccination in the few requiring it, as no organized opposition is met. The conscientious objectors were forced to be vaccinated during the emergency, and as it is over now, are indifferent to the occasional protest of the other fellow. As long as the health board quietly does its duty, year in and year out, not allowing itself to drift along a few years without enforcing vaccination, it isn't likely that heated argument will be started, with the consequent stimulation of the anti-vaccinationist.

THE SMALLPOX PROBLEM IN THE WESTERN STATES

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In this paper the discussion will be limited to certain phases of the smallpox problem in Kansas, Missouri, and Minnesota. All figures that I have been able to obtain indicate that smallpox in these communities is becoming greater each year.

We have a problem—in reality an increasing problem. The smallpox prob-

lem is a vaccination problem. Smallpox has never been controlled by quarantine, and in my opinion it never will, so let us turn our attention to vaccination.

Objections to law requiring vaccination only in time of an epidemic.—The three states mentioned do not have a law requiring the vaccination of school children, except in time of an epidemic. Minnesota had a compulsory vaccination law, but it was repealed in 1903. One will readily admit that a law requiring vaccination during an epidemic is better than no law at all. But such a law is a compromise with the anti-vaccinationists, and is a compromise that leads to a great deal of difficulty, for the following reasons: first, such a law, on the face of it, admits that we must sacrifice a number of lives from an entirely preventable disease before the law becomes operative; second, such a law provides that someone must declare that an epidemic exists; third, such a law does not define the number of cases that constitute an epidemic. Almost all health officers, because of their interest in humanity, feel that when there is a marked increase in the number, and usually in the severity, of cases, an epidemic should be declared; fourth, when such a law becomes operative and the community affected really enters into the spirit of the law, it throws the community into more or less of a chaos, as large numbers of people become scared (as in fact they really should) and want to be vaccinated at the same time; fifth, such a system causes a great financial loss to the business men of the community; sixth, the school system is paralyzed during such a period; seventh, because of the large amount of excitement during such a period, any thing that has to do with smallpox is a newspaper story. Thus the anti-vaccinationists get more publicity at that time than at any other.

The bureau's conclusions and recommendations.—I believe the bureau's conclusions and recommendations shed so much light on the smallpox problem in the western states that they should be given here verbatim:

Our investigation of the smallpox epidemic covered, first, the vital statistics of the health department, records of contagious cases, hospital data, etc.; second, the action of the Public Health Committee of the Jackson County Medical Society in declaring the existence of an epidemic of smallpox; and, third, the unfavorable publicity which followed in the press, through placards, the bulletin to school principals, items which were copied by the daily and weekly country papers, and in the agricultural and trade press throughout the territory.

As a result of this thorough and impartial investigation we are forced to the conclusion that the third factor, the publicity (which we believe the press carried in good faith) was not justified by the facts shown to exist in the health situation of the city at that time, even in face of the virulent type of the disease. We wish to emphasize our belief in and insistence upon thorough precautionary measures of all kinds to protect our citizens against the inception and spread of contagious disease. We believe in the scientific detection and regulation of disease.

However, we do not believe in epidemics which can be started or stopped by publicity methods alone. We feel the smallpox "epidemic" of last fall had some of the earmarks of such a scare, and that it could have been nipped in the bud and the irreparable damage to business and the city's reputation averted.

To assist in preventing a recurrence of the events of last November, we make the following recommendation:

That the hospital and health board of Kansas City, Missouri, should add to its cooperative agencies an advisory committee of carefully selected business executives drawn from various

lines of business for counsel in emergencies which affect the public health and welfare. This advisory committee, of a number not to be unwieldy, to have equal advisory powers with the medical authorities, upon whom the hospital and health board rely for advice. By this means the analysis and recommendations of the health experts on the board may be tempered by the judgment of business executives accustomed to handling big problems of a business and civic nature.

Such counsel, coming on the one hand from expert business executives, would increase the efficiency of the hospital and health board. Such an organization could do more to ferret out and curb disease, prevent the spread of epidemics, keep at a high level the work of the health and sanitary departments, and in general protect health, life, and property, than a body of medical specialists working alone with the hospital and health board. We believe such a plan of cooperation between health and business officials could be set up without the necessity of any legal or political machinery.

Meanwhile the bureau will maintain a watchful attitude over all publicity concerning health conditions that may appear in the press or other publicity channels, and will endeavor to see to it that a prompt investigation is made of any alleged "epidemic." With the thought that the public health is first, and business second, the bureau wishes to avert any damage to the second inconsistent with the greatest benefit to the first.

In this endeavor we desire the cooperation of civic officials, medical authorities, business institutions, and the press of the city, as well as the general public, in a plan to make Kansas City not only a good place in which to live, but in which to do business.

Problems in the Twin Cities.—I have gone somewhat into detail on the Kansas City situation because of my first-hand contact with it and because I consider the whole situation rather typical of the western states.

The Twin Cities, Minneapolis and St. Paul, have been having quite an experience with smallpox during the last year (May 1, 1924, to April 30, 1925). During that time there were 1,501 cases with 378 deaths. The Minnesota law is similar to the Kansas and the Missouri law. It is interesting to note that the same problems have been met there. The first problem, which is to decide when an epidemic really exists, was a real one. The Minneapolis papers carried an official communication that "no epidemic exists" at a time when 333 persons had needlessly lost their lives in six months.

Suggestions.—It is fortunate for the writer that the subject of this paper is the smallpox problem in western states, and not the solution of the smallpox problem in western states. I feel entirely unable to suggest a solution to this complex and difficult problem. I do, however, have a few suggestions to make. As I have said that I consider the smallpox problem a vaccination problem, I might go on and say that I consider the vaccination problem mainly an educational problem.

One may ask who is responsible for the present situation, those persons who are leaders in health work, or the general public? My answer is that both are more or less responsible. It is impossible in a democratic form of government to make any law, or enforce it after it is made, unless the general public is thoroughly convinced of the need of the law. Where, I believe, we as health workers have fallen down is in allowing our population to grow up without the proper knowledge of the ravages of smallpox.

We cannot expect the general public, the majority of whom have never seen a real case of smallpox, to be in favor of universal vaccination unless special methods are used to show them the dangers of smallpox. In our public schools we teach patriotism by studying the history of the wars through which our country has passed. When matters of national military defense come up, the public remembers the history of past wars, remembers the pictures of the battles which were shown them when they were school children; and even if they have never been in a war, the vast majority have a spirit of national defense instilled in their hearts. But what school child is there, who, when the question of national smallpox defense comes up, can recall any pictures of persons losing their lives because of failure to be vaccinated? What child is there who knows the losses sustained by unvaccinated communities, or the effect of smallpox on the history of the world before the time of vaccination? I believe that some such educational work will have to be done before there will be any marked improvement in our present laws.

Conclusion.—The smallpox problem is becoming worse instead of better in western states. The law requiring vaccination only in time of epidemics is unsatisfactory. It causes large numbers of persons to lose their lives before it can be put into operation. It causes an inestimable financial loss to the business interests in the community affected, large financial loss to taxpayers, and it causes large numbers of persons to be vaccinated in a hurry and under conditions not as favorable as when vaccination is carried on systematically each year. The problem is a complex one, but one suggestion offered is the better and more thorough education of the school children of this country as to the past history of smallpox and of vaccination.

THE SMALLPOX PROBLEM IN THE WESTERN STATES

A. H. Flickwir, M.D., City Health Officer, Houston, Texas

Texas, in which the city of Houston is located, is really in the Southwest rather than the West, and Houston, being rather a short distance from the Gulf, is perhaps more southern than western; therefore perhaps our problems may be somewhat different from those of the other health officers who have spoken regarding the smallpox situation. No doubt the mortality is much lower in Texas, on account of the mild climate, than it is in the other states; also, it is well known that smallpox is usually more prevalent in cold weather than in the summertime and of course, being in a semitropical climate, no doubt some weight must be given to that in summing up the general situation, both morbidity and mortality, as there is not as much crowding as in some states, there being few tenements.

The great state of Texas also, as you know, has a border adjoining Mexico of over 1,000 miles in length, with immigration both legitimate and illegitimate

going on at all times. Then for the past twenty years there has been a great deal of immigration to our state from the North, the East, and the Middle West. Sometimes great train loads of home seekers come in daily, therefore you can realize the probability of smallpox coming along, especially as the immigration is generally in the wintertime.

Another condition in Texas which has a bearing on the situation in reference to smallpox as well as other diseases is the large colored population. We never have an epidemic of smallpox but that the negroes are usually in the majority, the reason being that they are not as apt to be protected by vaccination as much as the whites, a great many of them living in the rural districts outside of the city limits and coming into the city only to work or trade. And on the other hand a great many of our town negroes go to the oil fields or railroad grading camps, lumber mills, etc., to work, and are there thrown with an unvaccinated group of people again. Really, except for the above reasons, our smallpox problem is not much different from that of other states, although the state is so very large and the distances in the country districts are so great that there is a lack of country doctors, which naturally leaves a rather large unvaccinated rural population. Most of the large cities of Texas, including my own city of Houston, have a compulsory vaccination law for school children. Houston was among the first in the South to institute the same, and although it has been attacked several times by anti-vaccinationists and others it is still in force and has proved to be very valuable in checking the spread of this disease.

The population of Houston has been increasing very rapidly in the last twenty years, and in the last five years it has almost doubled in size, but still there were not as many cases of smallpox in 1924 as there were in 1904. Our highest point in the past twenty years was in 1907, when there were 194 cases, and the lowest in 1923, during which year we had only 6 cases. In 1924 we had a renewal of smallpox, having 86 cases, and since the first of January, this year, we have had about a like amount. During the past twenty years there were 1,215 cases of smallpox in Houston with only 33 deaths, which is indeed a very low mortality. We have not had a death since 1922, when there was only one.

Personally, I have seen a great many cases of smallpox since my graduation in medicine in 1901, but I have never seen a case of smallpox in a person with a good vaccination scar, regardless of how old the scar was. However, that is only my personal experience. I have seen patients who had chicken pox that had been vaccinated and diagnosed as smallpox, but no true smallpox in successfully vaccinated individuals.

In the schools of Houston in the last four years there have been over 20,000 successful vaccinations. In evidence of the success of vaccination in preventing smallpox, I wish to state that in 1924, and so far in 1925, there have been fifty school children in homes in which smallpox was present, and as they had all been properly vaccinated, not one of them developed the disease.

Now what is the smallpox problem? One of prevention, of course. And

what is the method of prevention? Not anything new by any means, just the tried and proved remedy, vaccination early and properly performed. We, like most other localities, have had to put up with anti-vaccinationists of all sorts, even some with the doctor of medicine degree of irregular schools, politicians of various sorts, misguided people of culture and refinement, religious bodies, etc. I have rambled a great deal in this article, but I wanted to show that there is only one problem in the prevention of smallpox, and that is to have everybody in a community, regardless of race, color, or station in life, vaccinated, and I believe the best way is continually to urge the same and to protect our school children by compulsory vaccination. It has been proved many times in the last hundred years that whenever the inhabitants of any country have become lax in requiring vaccination smallpox has appeared.

Dr. W. W. Keen's article last winter in the *Saturday Evening Post* was very accurate and to the point, and surely the experience and opinion of such an eminent medical man as Dr. Keen will have a great deal of weight with the vast number of readers of the *Saturday Evening Post*.

Social workers, such as the men and women present at this magnificent gathering, can be of great assistance in stamping out smallpox by urging vaccination and by explaining to everyone with whom they come in contact that it is the only method of protection and that sanitation, while it effectively curbs many other diseases that might become epidemic, does not control smallpox. Many large industries have long known the value of vaccination and have made it a requisite to employment. The experience in all branches of the government service should be sufficient demonstration of the efficacy of this procedure to satisfy anyone.

A great many people ask me if the large amount of Mexicans present in our state has not had a great bearing on the smallpox this winter? I have only seen one Mexican with the disease this winter, and he was a Texas-born Mexican. The United States Public Health Service has watched our border closely and required vaccination of every person coming across so that they have just about closed the door on smallpox from that source. The greatest offenders in the last few years against the curb of smallpox have been our own American people. A great many have been asleep at the switch. Local and state health authorities have been hindered in carrying on their vaccination program, though the United States Public Health Service, the American Medical Association, American Public Health Association have warned them many times. You all rush to the doctor to be vaccinated or immunized against typhoid before you sail for abroad. Why not do it at home and see that others do the same?

Social workers should always stay on the side of scientific medicine and further the cause of real scientific medicine, and not take up with the cults and unscientific bodies that are smooth of tongue and excellent advertisers. I have known social workers and teachers that did not believe in the teachings of modern medicine and, although they occupied high positions in their chosen

field, were lined up with certain irregular schools of medicine and were really a hindrance to health workers instead of an assistance.

Such societies of laymen as the Friends of Medical Progress will do much in the future to prevent the increase of smallpox by urging vaccination and keeping the general public informed on the importance of the same.

CHILD HEALTH

THE HEALTH OF THE SCHOOL CHILD

Mrs. Louis I. Dublin and John C. Gebhart, Director, Department of Social Welfare, Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, New York

Educators, public health officials, social workers, and parents are today devoting much thought and time to child health. The ideal we have set before us is that every child shall be perfectly healthy and free from physical defects; that he shall be spared the illnesses now due to infectious diseases, and so grow up to manhood and womanhood unhampered, so far as humanly possible, by many of the physical handicaps which are now found among them.

In spite of the progress that has been made in the past quarter of a century in the conservation of child life, the actual health conditions prevailing among the large mass of our child population are still quite deplorable. While we have succeeded in cutting our infant death-rate in half in the last twenty-five years and have taught the average mother a higher standard of infant welfare, the same methods are still to be applied to children over two years of age.

Medical science is constantly placing in our hands, weapons for the control of the infectious diseases of childhood. Already our statistics are beginning to show the effects of toxin-antitoxin in the control of diphtheria. The death-rate from this disease in New York City, for example, has declined from 36 per 100,000 in 1900 to 12 per cent 100,000 in 1924. Scarlet fever, whooping cough, and other infectious diseases of childhood are now being studied in the health laboratories of the country in the hope that they too will soon be brought under control.

The better organization of our health departments is year by year gaining ground in the saving of life and the conservation of health. A vast network of visiting nursing service over the country is bringing to the people everywhere the information and help which medical science affords.

The schools, realizing their responsibility in safeguarding the health of the child, have developed a school hygiene program and technique which is constantly growing in effectiveness. The early idea that school sanitation and the prevention of the spread of the contagious diseases were for the purpose of making the child a "fit subject for education" has given way to something better.

Health is regarded now as the right of every child. The schools are interesting themselves in the health of the children not merely because healthy children learn better, but because it is the duty of the school to assist them in the attainment of health for present efficiency and greater future usefulness.

There is fairly general agreement on the three main essentials of a health program for the school today: first, proper sanitation of the school plant and hygienic school administration; second, periodical inspections and physical examinations and the correction of physical defects which are thus disclosed; third, the molding of the habits, interests, and ideals of the child by health teaching and health training both within and outside of the school.

Sanitation of the school plant and hygienic school administration have reached a high point of efficiency in many of our schools. Sanitary drinking fountains or individual paper cups have taken the place of the old tin dipper. Toilet facilities are generally good. Lighting is usually arranged so as to avoid eyestrain. Even textbooks for elementary grades are now being standardized with regard to type, paper, and margin to conserve the eyesight of young people. Adjustable seats and desks are eliminating some of the defects of posture which were so often caused by improper seating arrangements. Much thought is also being given to methods of ventilating the classrooms, heating of school buildings, and many other details.

Medical inspection of school children, both for the purpose of controlling contagious disease and for the detection of the more obvious physical defects, plays an important rôle in the daily practice of school hygiene. According to a recent government report, thirty-nine states now have laws providing for medical inspection. In many states, however, the law is permissive only, and many local communities have as yet failed to make even a beginning. Because of the difficulty of securing financial support, adequate medical personnel is lacking. Much of the work of routine inspection is frequently delegated to the school nurse and occasionally to the grade teacher. These assistants, after some training, can usually select from a large group of children those who appear to show marked deviation from the normal regarding either vision, hearing, posture, or symptoms of malnutrition. They can also detect some of the marked symptoms of contagious disease. The children thus selected are referred to the school doctor, if there is one available, for final diagnosis. He makes recommendations to the family or to the family physician.

The advantage of calling upon nurses and teachers to assist in making routine inspection is that such arrangement gives the school doctor more time to make really thorough examinations and to deal adequately with those children who present serious medical problems. Some of our state laws require a medical inspection or examination for every child once a year. Unfortunately, however, very few communities have as yet provided adequate medical personnel to make such annual examinations really worthy of the name. The result is that the doctors are in most cases obliged to do a very superficial job. In

order to cover the ground, the doctor must often examine as many as three hundred children in a forenoon. In such an examination the doctor has no opportunity to use his skill and training to the best advantage in order to discover many important defects.

We therefore find ourselves today facing the fact that three-fourths of all our children have remediable physical defects which interfere with proper growth and development. Is this not an indictment of our present methods in child care? According to the report of the National Education Association in 1918, the following estimate is given of the prevalence of physical defects: 50 to 75 per cent of our school children have defective teeth; 25 per cent have defective vision; 15 to 25 per cent have adenoids and diseased tonsils and glandular defects; 25 per cent are undernourished; 1 to 2 per cent have organic heart disease.

It must be remembered that these figures are the result of cursory medical inspections, and it may be reasonably assumed that more thorough physical examination would reveal many more serious conditions. The program of thorough health examination is still in its infancy. The few studies which have been made clearly indicate that such examinations not only reveal a larger number of obvious defects but, more important still, they discover more of the serious impairments than could possibly be discovered by cursory inspection. In 1920 the Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor made a study of the findings of the examination of 2,186 Italian children in New York City whose ages ranged from two to sixteen. The study showed that 43 per cent of the children had nose and throat defects. Thirty-eight per cent were undernourished, and 3 per cent had serious involvement of the lungs. A study made by the Life Extension Institute of 326 children whose average age was nine years found that 36.5 per cent of the children had faulty posture; 32.2 per cent had constipation; 5.5 per cent showed definite or marked traces of albumen in the urine, while a slight trace of sugar was found in the urine of 6.2 per cent of the children.

While considerable progress has been made in perfecting and extending our school medical inspection, very few of our children are receiving the benefit of a thorough health examination. It is this phase of the health program for school children which is still seriously neglected.

The value of the periodical health examination has been amply demonstrated in our program in infant welfare. Pediatricians have recognized it as a most effective form of procedure in the care of infants. In health centers, "well baby" conferences, and baby clinics it is an important part of the routine. These agencies are gradually extending their work to include children of preschool age.

The periodic health examination of the adult is also being rapidly recognized as a valuable means of maintaining and improving health and of extending human life. Such data as has been collected by the Life Extension Institute and

the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company bear eloquent testimony of what can be accomplished through periodical health examinations. Among 6,000 policyholders who for six years availed themselves of periodical examinations by the Life Extension Institute there followed a saving of 24 per cent on the expected mortality. This obviously meant a saving of the companies' money through deferred death claims during this period. Indeed, it is estimated that on the basis of the cost of the examination the Company made a profit of 200 per cent. Many industries have instituted health examinations of their employees solely for the purpose of increasing efficiency and of reducing labor turnover. If industrial leaders find that this method more than pays for itself in conserving the health of its employees, surely the community cannot afford not to include periodical health examinations in its child health program.

The technique of health examinations for apparently well children is still in an early stage of development. The trend of medical education in the past has been to train physicians to care for the sick. The newer idea of prevention is, however, slowly gaining ground. The practice of thoroughly examining apparently well children for the detection of impairments which while unsuspected may lead to ill health is an important step in preventive medicine.

Further progress of medical inspection in schools may eventually lead to the provision of periodic health examinations. In certain localities in England, school medical inspection has almost reached this point. The practice there is to provide a very complete inspection at school entrance and three times thereafter during the elementary school career of the child. The type of inspection called for and the time allowed for its performance in the English school system allows the school doctor to give a reasonably thorough medical examination. In many communities in America such a program is impossible, if the time of the school doctor is reserved solely for strictly medical examination by delegating to the nurses the bulk of the task of routine inspection.

There is much difference of opinion, however, as to whether the schools should provide a thorough periodic health examination or whether this should be left to the private physician and the parent.

Many health officers and supervisors of child hygiene take the stand that it is the responsibility of the schools merely to sort out the more obvious defects, to report these conditions, usually through the school nurse, to the parents, and to assist wherever possible in securing the necessary medical treatment. Complete examinations and final diagnosis must be left, they claim, to the family physician or to private clinics and dispensaries. One cannot escape the feeling, however, that the advocates of this policy are largely influenced by the difficulty of securing adequate financial support necessary to furnishing a high-grade medical service, and also by the very serious problem of providing adequate supervision to insure proper medical standards for the work.

The correction of defects becomes a real problem just as soon as medical inspection is effective in discovering them. To secure prompt and adequate

treatment many have advocated school clinics for defects of teeth and even those of nose and throat. While many admirable school clinics are conducted in England and on the Continent with a fair degree of success, practice in this country so far has favored leaving the corrective work to the private practitioner or to well-organized clinics and hospitals. An exception is often made in the case of dental clinics. Dental clinics, where the work is restricted to prophylaxis and to repairing the first permanent molars among younger children, have had an excellent educational effect in training children in the care of the teeth and in the habit of going regularly to the dentist. Such clinics are regarded not as a means for correcting defects, for dental defects have a way of not staying corrected, but as an effective means of teaching oral hygiene and of preventing serious dental trouble later.

Our schools have undertaken, however, to provide special classes for physically handicapped children. Open-air classes for anemic and so-called pretuberculous children, sight-conversation classes, and classes for children with cardiac defects are provided in our most progressive schools. It is obvious that children with physical handicaps must receive at school special care and instruction in order to make normal progress through the grades and to conserve their health and strength.

It is the feeling of many progressive educators and health workers, however, that the school can and should serve as means of preventing the occurrence of many of the common physical defects. This feeling has grown out of the realization that the school, more than any single institution, is qualified to instil in children the practices, attitudes, and ideals essential to healthful living. Efforts are already being made to include in the training of teachers a knowledge and appreciation of the essential facts of healthful living and the acquiring of a technique of health teaching. It has been discovered that health training can be integrated with the entire school curriculum to the profit both of education and health.

Even this brief survey indicates that while during the past quarter of a century great progress has been made in protecting and conserving child life there are still certain needs which must be met before every child is assured of his birthright of health. They may be summarized as follows: first, we need more and better physical examinations and better followup of children of all ages; second, we need a standardized and uniform procedure for health examination of children which should be consistent with the best medical standards possible and yet practical enough to lend itself to wide application; third, provision should be made in our medical schools for the adequate training of our physicians in the value and technique of the periodical health examination of apparently healthy children; fourth, the schools and all other agencies should be utilized for establishing higher standards of community health and for imparting knowledge to both parents and children regarding the essentials of healthful living.

HEALTH TRAINING OF THE PRESCHOOL CHILD

Sidonie M. Gruenberg, Director, Child Study Association of America, Inc., New York

In the development of our educational ideas we have discovered different stages in the life of the child, but not in their chronological order. Apparently the adolescent was the first object of educational concern; perhaps it has always been true that this period is a period of strain and stress—for the surrounding adults. The younger child became of educational concern on a large scale only in comparatively modern times, partly because attention to the training of adolescents revealed defects in their preparation. In very recent times the infant was discovered, especially with regard to his physical care; it had become obvious that at least the high mortality rates could be reduced by closer attention to the care the infant receives and by applying what is known of physiological science. For years, however, the period between infancy and school, from about two years to five or six, was the neglected period. The child had survived the perils of ignorant or unskilful handling during infancy, but had not become subjected to the organized supervision of kindergarten or school; he belonged nowhere in particular, and was nobody's business. This is the stage that we commonly have in mind when we speak of the nursery or preschool child. It was the kindergartners who really helped to discover this child; they could not but be impressed with the number of bad habits and with real deficiencies in the children that came to them.

We all want children to be healthy and happy, but we do not want them to make health or happiness objects of conscious desire. It would be very unfortunate and not at all conducive to happiness to get children launched upon the pursuit of health. And yet we recognize that health is a condition that bears directly upon happiness and effectiveness, and that health is to a large degree subject to educational or training influences.

During this preschool period the child acquires very many habits that are of direct and constant relation to his health. On the physical side, it is obvious that what he eats, and how, his elimination, his sleep, his cleanliness, are of the utmost importance. But the period is of equal importance because here are fixed emotional attitudes that affect his well-being and happiness for the rest of his life. Here is where most people get their negativism and obstinacies, their fears and hostilities and jealousies, and their other hampering and injurious fixations of feeling.

Whose business is it to guide the child through this period and to see that his habits do fit into healthful living and wholesome relations to others? Obviously this responsibility rests with the mother; but the mother often needs the help of the public health nurse, of the social worker, and increasingly her efforts are being supplemented by those of the nursery school teacher.

What must these do for the health of the child? We think first of proper

nutrition. And then there are the several kinds and degrees of cleanliness: he needs training in proper habits of elimination, as well as in routinizing sleep and rest. His clothing is being standardized for season and occupation, and no doubt we shall soon have minimum daily exposure to quartz lamp in lieu of sunshine for cloudy days. All of these things and several more are given thought, and all are being taught to those who have to deal with the child, including mothers and prospective mothers.

But the greatest difficulties come after the solicitous mother has learned all the rules and tables. Here is a picture of an intelligent and earnest and well-informed mother stuffing carrots down the throat of a very unhappy, very obstinate, struggling child, held firmly in place for his own good while alphabetical vitamins are forced into service.

We know that milk is an excellent food for young children—Nature's own, if you please. Eggs seem also to have been invented especially for the nutrition of young vertebrates. The mother and nurse ought to know what is good for children, including carrots. With many mothers, at least, it often seems to be a choice between making the child eat what is good for him and letting him eat what he likes—or go without food. A little more knowledge, however, may relieve us of these cruel alternatives. It is possible, for example, that in the case of a particular child milk is not an ideal food, or even a desirable one. Some children do have idiosyncrasies that present genuine obstacles to a predetermined diet, and that is something to know, in addition to standard diet. Moreover, it is not merely more physiological knowledge that is needed, but knowledge of an entirely different order, namely psychological knowledge. For example, the very solicitude of the parent is in many cases the most serious obstacle of all in the health training of the child. The mother who resorts to forcible feeding of carrots or spinach has the conscientious determination to do what is right by the child. The child, on the other hand, may be unconsciously taking advantage of the mother's panic to get for himself a maximum of attention.

Here is a case of malnutrition from Minnesota. We see a large, dominating woman, who knows exactly what the child needs, and a child with the same firm lips and strong determination. The child has her own way. The conflict is dramatic and furnishes the child with the center of the stage and the satisfaction of triumphant outcome. In nothing else is the mother so much concerned about what the child does or does not do, and in no other relationship can the child get so much excitement for so little effort. The panic of the parent, impressed with the importance of calories, proteins, and vitamins, is the opportunity for the child to get a circus every day in the week, and to be herself the chief actor with 100 per cent attention from all present.

One of the great needs for the health training of this period is some way of helping parents acquire the technique for establishing health habits without making the child too self-conscious, too much aware of his importance, too much concerned with the significance of each detail of the ritual. This need is em-

phasized especially in those cases in which the parents have already mastered the essentials of physical care. In a case from Massachusetts, an educated mother, a well-meaning father, and an intelligent child of two and one-half to three years, and one younger child tangle up their feelings with their knowledge and desires until all concerned suffer in health. Every meal is an event—yes, an adventure—for there is no telling what the outcome will be. The child refuses to eat alone; with the mother present she will sit tight until the mother places the food in her mouth; then she will hold the food, but not chew it. Finally, the mother is exhausted and at her wits' end. What help does she get from her eager study of diet? There is certainly much more that she needs to know if she is to keep her child well, to say nothing of getting her into habits of health. The father and mother do not agree on the first principles of discipline. When the mother has the child in hand and makes requirements that the child does not meet, the father takes the position, What can you expect of a little child like that? When it is his move, however, and he finds himself equally futile, his reproach reads: Why don't you train her better; you have her all day. Practically every normal child would much rather go hungry than miss a show like that. These conflicts do not make for either health or happiness, but they do give a thrill to life.

In another case, this time from New Jersey, the child over two years old is still given to bed wetting, to thumb sucking, to waking at night with frights, and to temper tantrums. The tantrums finally bring her to the attention of the public health nurse; but what does the nurse use out of her technical training? She knows that there are conditions to correct—sound health habits to be established in place of those from which the child suffers. And she knows what good habits would be. But does she know that the child's difficulties arise chiefly from a faulty relationship between the parents? The father suffers from feelings of inferiority, and the mother is indeed in many ways his superior. He has few friends, does not care to go out, does not read. When the child cries out at night, he goes to her, and soothes her by taking her to his bed with him. This gives the child a great deal of satisfaction, but apparently the father also derives satisfaction from being able to comfort the child in this fashion. How is the mother going to train the child away from the enuresis when she is actually jealous of the little girl? She did succeed in breaking her of the thumb sucking, but only by scaring her into the belief that the mitten she used would destroy the use of the hand. One of the things the little girl needed was weaning from the excessive concern and sublimated jealousy of her mother, and from the father's misdirected affections. This she needed at least as much as regular hours for feeding and excretion and sleeping.

Many of the habits we seek to establish during these years are acquired easily enough if they are a part of the colorless routine of everyday life. In so many cases that come to the clinics the ignorance of the parents is an obvious factor; but in many cases the trouble comes from the mother's knowing some-

thing that her mother did not know, and from the mother's having more time to fuss with the one child than her mother had for a whole brood. The adjustment of the parents to changing conditions, to increased leisure, have a direct bearing on the attitudes which they display in connection with the details of everyday life. Their adjustment to each other as mates colors what they do and say to the children and how they say it.

We have to learn, then, in addition to diets and rules and tables, to cultivate a certain casual manner in handling everything connected with the routine of the day's living. We must be friendly, to be sure, but we must also affect indifference regarding a thousand important details. In a nursery the teacher in charge has to deal with the activities of the day's living in an impersonal way, without emotion. This fact makes it possible for the children to do here what their mothers have such difficulty in getting them to do, whether it is eating carrots, or going to the toilet before it is too late, or washing their hands, or saying "thank you." The children need affection and they need attention, if they are to be well and happy, but they do not need to have their feelings attached too firmly to those things that must be accepted as matters of course—the things that make up keeping alive and well. The child should eat, and he should eat in accordance with the best knowledge of the nutrition laboratories; but he should not eat in the presence of a personality charged with emotion, watching every move and counting the calories. The child should empty the bowels, of course, and regularly; but this need not be an occasion for an exciting drama.

Health habits should be the unconscious habits of healthful living, acquired as simply and unquestioningly as habits of wearing clothes, or sleeping in bed, or being polite, or using the mother tongue. The child needs to know nothing of the philosophy or of the importance of these habits. He gets them because they are parts of his living environment, the way in which those around him live and act. It is important for the adults in the child's immediate surroundings to understand what kind of living is healthful living; but it is far from necessary for them to raise with the child an issue as to which articles of diet or which details of routine he will or will not accept.

This distinction between supplying the conditions for healthful living and attempting to teach what is healthful is well illustrated by what happens to the child in the matter of sex knowledge and attitude. Many children reach the kindergarten with very decided notions and feelings on this subject. Much of what is in their minds does not correspond to the facts, and their feelings are of a morbid kind. On the other hand, it is quite feasible to bring the child through this period without any of these untoward manifestations. In the first place it is possible for the child to acquire a considerable amount of first-hand knowledge about the anatomy of his own body, with a decent vocabulary that does not carry any unwholesome suggestions or connotation. All parts of the body, as he becomes aware of them in turn, are equally interesting, equally

important, equally clean; and as fast as he knows them apart he should have names for them. The alternative is the early association of the idea of secrecy, or indecency, or impropriety, or wickedness, with some organs or functions. This prejudice does not stand in the way of learning what he needs later, but it makes difficult and often impossible a wholesome approach; it involves a great deal that has to be unlearned, and tends to fix certain fears or disgusts and inhibitions that impede healthful living and adjustment.

During the early years the child can learn not only about his own body, but also about the bodies of other members of the family—and he does, apparently, often in spite of the earnest but foolish efforts of elders to prevent him. He should learn in a casual, normal way that the human race consists of males and females; and when he gets around to the question of the source of babies he should be informed without fear and without embarrassment. Moreover, the parents who have adjusted themselves to life will have no difficulty in explaining to the child, in terms of his own limited knowledge and understanding, the function of the male parent in the creation of a new life.

It cannot be claimed that these early lessons about life are of direct value to the child as useful knowledge. To satisfy his curiosity all sorts of stork stories and other zoölogical fables might serve for the time being. The value of direct, truthful, and casual information lies first in keeping open the confidence and sympathy between parent and child, a relationship of first importance from the health point of view. In the second place, it lies in forestalling degrading and confusing information that will inevitably come from a variety of sources, and that we now recognize to be powerful agents in the development of habits that undermine mental and physical health.

It has always been known that physical conditions affect the mental and emotional development of the child, and it has been known that mental states affect the physical health. The tremendous increase in our knowledge of the child's nature and development has come about through the studies of many specialists, each dealing with a minute detail. As fast as each important fact is established we are tempted to make practical application of it. The result very often is that the child comes to be treated as a bundle of sharply defined departments that have nothing to do with one another. However valuable specialization may be in research, the time has surely come for us to deal with the child as a living unity, to coordinate for his welfare the many useful things we have learned.

HEALTH WORK FOR NEGRO CHILDREN

Forrester B. Washington, Executive Secretary, Armstrong Association, Philadelphia

There are too many deaths among Negro children today, for the good of the Negro race and for the good of the country as a whole. The Negro race needs a stronger and more healthy younger generation to help it combat successfully the many obstacles which it must meet. In addition to the normal struggle for existence, the black man in America must endure a number of handicaps. He must make his living by means of the lowest-paid and most unhealthful jobs in industry, though this condition is improving somewhat in certain sections of the country. He must struggle for life itself against unfavorable environments in the form of the least healthful neighborhoods and the oldest and most unsanitary houses.

The nation itself needs a stronger and more healthy younger generation of negroes, because more and more it is coming to depend upon Negro labor for the unskilled processes in its industries, particularly in its most basic industries, such as the fabrication of iron and steel, coal mining, ship building, meat packing, the manufacturing of automobiles, and the like. Indications point to the fact that in the not far distant future, especially if the restriction of foreign immigration continues, it will have to depend almost entirely upon Negroes for the unskilled processes, and, to a much larger extent than at present, for the semi-skilled and skilled processes of industry.

What are the conditions of mortality among Negro children today? I will have to use figures for infant mortality largely because very few cities could give me death-rates for child age groups over one year, nor could they give me the distribution of their Negro and white populations according to age groups in order that I might estimate for myself the mortality rates for children in the various age groups over one year. However, experience has shown that the infant mortality rate is a fair index of health conditions among children in general.

According to the United States mortality statistics for the birth registration area for 1922, the per thousand deaths for the birth registration area was 76; the infant mortality rate among the white infants was 73, and among the colored infants was 110. The infant mortality rate in the total cities in the registration area in 1922 was 80; among the colored babies it was 127. It is obvious, then, that in the two divisions the mortality rate among colored infants was from 50 per cent to 70 per cent higher than among whites.

Let us consider conditions in certain representative cities, taking them not arbitrarily, but selecting them in the order of the size of their Negro population. New York City has the largest Negro population in the country. Its Negro infant mortality rate is more than twice that of the general population of the city. Philadelphia, with the second largest Negro population in the country, had an infant mortality rate for Negroes of 135 in 1922, while that for white babies was only 79.

Regarding Washington, the city with the next largest population, I have some interesting figures for age groups other than those of infants. These rates are for last year (1924). The death-rate for colored children of one to five years in that city was 79, while that of whites was only 31. The death-rate for colored children of five to nine years was 26, while that for white children was 17. Apparently, colored children up to nine years of age die twice as fast as white children of the same age in Washington.

In Baltimore, which has the fifth largest Negro population, the death-rates for the various age groups for 1924, for both races, were as follows: the infant mortality for Negroes was 191.05; for whites, 78.04. The death-rate from one year to four years for Negroes was 19.42; for whites, 7.27. The death-rate for Negroes from five to nine years was 3.59; for whites, 2.34; and the death-rate for Negroes from ten to fourteen years was 4.00; for whites, 1.74. For Birmingham, Alabama, having the seventh largest Negro population, the infant mortality rate for Negroes was 130.4; for whites, 68.8.

Regarding conditions in St. Louis, which is next in standing according to the size of Negro population, let me quote from an article published in April, 1925, in *The Nation's Health*, by Dr. Park J. White of the St. Louis Children's Hospital. Dr. White says: "In St. Louis the infant mortality rate, the still-born rate, the foundling mortality rate, the incidence of rickets, of rickets plus malnutrition, of hereditary syphilis, and of tuberculosis are all three times higher for colored babies than for whites. Thus, the colored baby in St. Louis has half the white baby's chance for survival, and from two to three times the white baby's chance for contracting the (largely preventable) diseases mentioned."

Other cities having large Negro populations from which I was able to obtain information were Mobile, which in 1924 had a Negro infant mortality rate of 97, and a white infant mortality rate of 56; Detroit, Michigan, which in 1924 had an infant mortality rate for Negroes of 119, and 76 for whites; Columbus, Ohio, which showed a rate of 97 for Negro infants and 56 for whites; Kansas City, Missouri, with a Negro population of 30,706 in 1920, which had a Negro infant mortality rate in 1924 of 155.3, and a white rate of 78.

Lynchburg, Virginia, gave the following figures for child death-rates in 1924: Negro infant mortality, 102.8; white, 66.3. Death-rate for Negro children one to four years of age, 71; white for the same age group, 62. Negro death-rate for ages five to nine years, 39; whites for the same age group, 22. Negro death-rates for age groups nine to fourteen years, 50; whites, 13.

These figures, while not complete to be sure, are representative, and show the consistently higher mortality among Negro children than among whites. Space does not allow a discussion of these rates over a term of years, but I will say that conditions are not quite as bad as they appear, because almost everywhere in the registration area, over a period of ten years, the Negro infant mortality rate has shown a great decrease. Moreover, careful studies have shown that

colored children are relatively immune from certain diseases, such as scarlet fever, measles, and diphtheria. School physicians in Philadelphia claim that Negro children suffer from about one-third less eye diseases than white children.

The death-rates for Negro children in New York and Philadelphia are high, in my opinion, because the Negro hasn't been permitted to make the industrial progress in these two cities that he has been permitted to make in Pittsburgh, Detroit, Columbus, Cleveland, Chicago and many other cities farther west. The fact is that if it were not for the splendid health programs in Philadelphia and New York for colored children, the death-rates in these two cities would be much higher.

The greatest of determining factors in mortality rates among children is the economic status of the family as determined by the father's earning power. Another cause of high mortality rate among colored children is the lack, in many sections of the country, of health work for Negroes, particularly for Negro children. A third cause is the ignorance of Negro parents.

In the South the high mortality is aggravated by the fact that most of the Negro children live in the rural districts where there is a lack of machinery for the dissemination of health propaganda, as well as a lack of health facilities and health services such as colored public health nurses.

In the North the high mortality is aggravated by the fact that the Negro is going through a period of adjustment as the result of the migration.

We have seen the connection between the Negro's ill health and his economic condition. This can be improved in only one way, i.e., the obtaining of better-paying jobs for Negroes. The war helped somewhat, and the fact that the Negro surprised his employer by his efficiency at that time helped more, in improving the type of jobs held by Negroes during the past ten years.

The physical environment of Negroes should be improved. In Philadelphia, during the past year, nearly 35,000 new houses were built, but not a single one was available for Negro tenancy. On the other hand, it was estimated that during the year six to ten thousand Negroes migrated to Philadelphia. A cessation of the tendency to confine Negroes to certain sections of the larger cities would help to improve conditions a great deal. The promotion of large-scale housing projects for Negroes would also help.

We should not confine our attention, however, simply to improving the economic condition of the Negro family. Such a program would be unfair to the Negro child, who is now suffering with rickets or tuberculosis and other diseases resulting from unfavorable environment. It would be unfair as well to all the other Negro children who will be born before any radical improvement can be made in the Negro's economic condition.

The program, therefore, for the improvement of the health of the Negro child must be twofold. One phase must be economic. It must be a movement to improve the Negroes' industrial status. The second phase must be a movement

along health lines to safeguard the Negro child against the unique hazards which he must encounter.

The first step in the purely health phase of health work for Negro children should be the education of the Negro in health standards. Also, birth control information might well be disseminated among many Negro parents. The Negro as a race possesses the least wealth in the United States. For that reason it is as important for Negro parents as for any other parents to learn how to space children when too many would cause suffering or neglect.

The kind of health education that is most desirable for colored children is the kind that will inculcate in them health habits which will continue with them into adult life. The importance of sex instruction should not be overlooked. The dangers of venereal disease should be presented to both old and young. This is important because of the promiscuous way in which the sexes are thrown together in the overcrowded Negro districts of New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Chicago, and the like. There should be colored public health nurses to present these matters to Negro parents and children.

It is surprising that more of the cities and health organizations which profess to be worried about the size of their Negro health problem do not call into consultation those individuals who probably know more about the problem than any other group in the community, namely, the Negro physicians.

In communities where there are separate colored schools, it is necessary to urge upon the educational authorities that the same health activities that are beneficial for white children are also beneficial for Negro children; that if open-air classes and hot noon lunches are good for white "kiddies" they are also good for the colored "kiddies."

I have one suggestion to make in addition to what has already been mentioned in regard to the extension of health work for Negro children in the North. I believe that any clinic, or hospital, or any combination of health institutions which sets out to do health work for Negro children in northern cities ought to maintain a well-planned extension service that visits the homes of the Negro newcomers, otherwise health institutions, no matter how excellent from a scientific point of view, will not reach the people that need their services most. Of course, the best type of extension workers and house-to-house visitors that could be used would be colored public health nurses.

I would like next to discuss the health work that is already being carried on for colored children. There are communities in which really worth while work is being done for colored children. Among the large cities which are doing excellent work are New York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati. In New York a comprehensive program is being carried on in two sections of the city. In the Columbus Hill district there has been a campaign going on for a number of years. This is the poorest colored settlement in the city, and the death-rate in the past was shockingly high. It is at present much higher than it should be,

but great progress has been made. Intensive prenatal work is done with colored mothers by the Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor. Its program includes a full health staff with a baby and prenatal clinic doing constructive work.

In the Harlem section of New York, where Negroes are more prosperous and social conditions are not quite so deplorable as in the Columbus Hill section, a committee is actively at work, under the auspices of the New York Urban League and the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association, which brings together all the organizations interested in the health of the colored people. This is known as the Harlem Health Association. Health propaganda is carried on daily, instead of sporadically, through lectures given in churches and schools and through permanent exhibitions. Twelve colored dentists have volunteered their services for a free dental clinic for colored children.

In Philadelphia there is the Philadelphia Negro Bureau, organized by the following agencies: Phipps Institute, the Whittier Center, Jefferson Hospital, and the Philadelphia Health Council. Four clinics have been placed by this bureau in the most congested Negro districts of the city, with a staff of twelve colored physicians and nine colored nurses. The nurses visit regularly the homes of the patients who attend these clinics.

I think that Cincinnati deserves special commendation for appropriating its share of funds from the Shepard Towner bill to the improvement of the health of Negro children. Two colored nurses have been employed, in addition to three already working for the city, and two additional clinics have been opened for colored children.

It will be noted that the comprehensive programs which I have mentioned are in communities where the death-rate as a rule is lower than elsewhere, showing undoubtedly a direct connection between low death-rates for Negro children and a program for improving the health of Negro children. Notable exceptions as have already been mentioned are New York and Philadelphia, where the death-rate for Negro children is rather high. However, one must consider what the situation was in those cities before the health movements were launched, and imagine how much higher the rate would be if it were not for them. Some excellent health educational campaigns have been carried on at regular intervals among Negroes, the best known and most thorough of which is perhaps the National Negro Health Week, which was launched by the late Booker T. Washington. This movement, while intensive for only a week, has stimulated many health movements which have become continuous.

I would like to cite a concrete situation which illustrates dramatically and vividly most of the points I have tried to make in this brief address. I wish to discuss health conditions among Negro children in the Thirtieth Ward of Philadelphia. This is the ward having the largest Negro population in the city. With an area of 51/100 of a square mile, it has a total population of 29,471 persons, 17,325 or 52.5 per cent of whom are Negroes. The startling fact regarding

health conditions among colored children in this ward is that the infant mortality for Negroes is much lower than that for whites. The average infant mortality rate for Negroes in this ward, over the nine-year period from 1914 to 1922, was 123.6, while for whites it was 155.3. This is a difference in favor of Negro infants of 31.7. These figures are taken from the annual reports of the Philadelphia bureau of health for the years 1914 to 1922. Attention was called to them first in a *Survey of Health of Negro Babies*, just issued by the Whittier Center.

In conclusion, may I state that I see great reason to be optimistic about the future of the health of Negro children. Economic conditions, and consequently the home life, of the Negro is improving, and experience has shown that when the Negro child is born in a home enjoying these conditions he has as much chance to live as any other child.

IV. THE FAMILY

FAMILY SOCIAL WORK

Frank J. Bruno, General Secretary, Family Welfare Association, Minneapolis

Judge Parker, speaking before the United States Chamber of Commerce recently on business ethics, made the interesting distinction between economic function and economic motive. He pointed out that economic activities have reasons for their performance—they serve a useful purpose, but that the motives which lead them to engage in these activities may be quite different in their nature. Advertising has both an economic function and an economic motive. The function is to facilitate distribution; the motive which leads to advertising is gain. Obviously, these two may not coincide. When they do not, the economic function may be temporarily obscured or even defeated. It is worth while to pursue Judge Parker's distinction a little farther. The economic function of trade is, I suppose, to furnish goods; the economic motive to trade is profit. It is quite conceivable that the motive may under certain circumstances not only fail to "furnish goods," but actually hinder the process of furnishing them. On the other hand there is something inexorable about real economic functions. Sooner or later they win out because of their inherent fitness to living, but a conflict between motive and function, before function has won out, produces suffering and economic maladjustment. One has only to look about him at economic activities, keeping in mind that economic function is to furnish goods and economic motive is profit, to recognize that these two forces—function and motive—are in a state of what my economics teacher used to call movable equilibrium, ever changing, ever attempting to adjust themselves to each other, yet always in conflict, and in that conflict producing some disastrous consequences. One of the words popular not so long ago in social work—maladjustment—is significant of this economic conflict. Of course this explanation is simpler than the facts. For instance, economic processes are cooperative. The motives of all those engaged in the process may not be identical; occasionally they are opposed. Nor do the same groups always have the same motives. In production, the motive of the employer leads him to crowd for greater production; of the employed to limit production. In distribution, the parties exchange places. Yet in this double conflict and inversion of position caused by changing motives, the economic function remains the same. And I suppose it could be shown that as motives led the participants in the

economic processes to vary from the requirements of economic function, there was economic waste, and—what is more important to us—somebody suffered.

When we transfer this consideration to our own special field, that of social relations, a somewhat more careful analysis must be attempted. It is also true that we are probably on not quite so certain ground, as the general science of sociology has not been so successful in defining its concepts as the special social science of economics has been.

Social case work must assume as its major responsibility the task of determining whether men are successfully meeting the demands of the functions they are called upon as social beings to perform, and to aid them to a more successful participation when they have failed. (Success and failure are, of course, relative terms.) Social functions, however, do not exist in the abstract, however convenient it may be to discuss them as if they did. An individual as a social being enters into certain relationships with others; he participates in joint activities with other individuals. For purposes of clarity these joint activities may be called social institutions. Illustrations of them are trade (which we have discussed above and which is a social institution, although for purposes of special treatment it has been segregated into a science by itself, economics), the state (which is similarly treated in political science), the church, the family, the school, the community, etc. As a social being, one is to be judged by the success with which he participates in the activities of one or more of these social institutions.

Again, each of these institutions has a function, or more accurately, functions, and in addition, individuals are induced to participate in these social institutions by a variety of motives which may or may not lead the individual to act in harmony with the function of the institution. It should be said here that it is not necessary that the motive which leads to participation should make the individual conscious of the function of the institution. In fact, a great deal of successful functioning in social institutions is secured by wholly irrelevant motives: fears, taboos, customs, superstitions, public opinion.

One of the causes of the crises in social institutions today, and one which accounts for the rise of social work, is that the automatically acting motives which the long history of the race selected into its behavior for their survival values, without the conscious and intelligent cooperation of individuals, are gradually breaking down in the destruction of the simpler homogeneous communities of our ancestors. We are laboriously striving to substitute intelligent and purposed motivation for these older customs; but because we know so little of the real function of social institutions and of the way by which the individual may successfully participate in them, our progress is slow, halting, and with many uncovered spots. There is a thoroughness in natural selection, even if it is slow and tremendously costly, which intelligent selection does not, at present, approximate. There are so many and unexpected factors. This is even true in the physical realm. We breed a bulldog for certain qualities, and discover he is

highly susceptible to pneumonia. It does not make much difference in a bulldog, but in the institution of the community we find that drinking alcoholic liquors has certain serious consequences in our complicated society, and we use the power of the state to ban it. Instantly a crop of socially injurious behaviors springs up unexpectedly. Or, in a less debatable field, economics, we introduce the factory system into the institution of trade, aimed greatly to increase productivity. And it does. But look at what it has brought with it of social problems in the last hundred and fifty years. A great deal of legislation during all that time has been directed toward correcting those unexpected results of modifying a social institution. On the other hand, sometimes one gets singularly complete results from such intelligent attempts to create a new social control. Ten years ago, in Minnesota, it was very common for a deserting or non-supporting husband to say that no one could compel him to support his family. No one says it now. A few well-thought-out laws, rigorously enforced, have taught such men that the state has such power.

The dilemma of the thoughtful student and worker in the field of social relations is that he cannot rest inactive while much of the social organism is losing its roots in custom and tradition, nor can he change its bases, or the methods of enforcing its requirements without danger of paying a high price in dislocation elsewhere.

As this is not a paper on social reform but on social case work I merely will add dogmatically that the only present solution is to adopt a tentative attitude, both with regard to what are the successful functionings of social institutions, and how men can be best induced to approximate them as they change their bases of action from automatic habits enforced by customs to intelligently directed behavior.

The social institution in which we are interested is the family. This does not mean that in our social case work we do not or should not consider the members of the family in their relationships to other social institutions. If we give special emphasis to the institution of the family it is because either no one else is doing so in the field of social effort, or because its primary nature forces us to take it into special consideration as we treat an individual as a social being. However it may be, the family is the social institution of primary interest to us.

It would be an interesting task to list what has been said regarding the function of the family. May I be dogmatic and say, for the sake of brevity, the family is a social institution primarily. Biologically it is not necessary. Economically it has serious disadvantages—for the woman at least—in spite of the popular adage that two can live more cheaply than one. For the permanent monogamous family there is little need in hygiene, psychiatry, or psychology. The institution of the monogamous family has been selected into our psychosocial environment because of its social survival value when tested by society's need to preserve its gains—its social heritage. The function of the family may therefore be described as the vehicle for the transference of social heritage from

one generation to its successor. The first chapter of Graham Wallas' *Our Social Heritage* dramatically symbolizes the content of social heritage. It is enough to remind you that it consists of all the customs, institutions, skills, learning, and culture of the race. If each generation had to learn it anew, there could be no social, although there might be biological, process. We should be in about the same status as the animals, with only an inelastic and sharply limited instinct to guide us. The biologists of the last century pointed out how the greatly lengthened period of childhood of the human young permitted an extent of time for training possessed by no other animal. That, of course, is true, but the more inclusive fact they did not point out: that there must be a method for insuring this training on which the continuity of civilization depended. As you stop to consider it, you can see that the family is as perfectly fitted to fulfil that function as any conceivable social contrivance. We know now that the plastic mind of the child is molded by the attitude of the adults about it, that affection toward it plays a larger part in developing its own self-integration and sense of self-respect. This point is so well known that it is not necessary to elaborate it. What is not so generally recognized is the unique manner in which the institution of the monogamous family fits this need. You remember Miss Byington's definition of a family—as good a definition as I know—the affection of a man for a woman, of a woman for a man, and of them both for their children. Children born into such a relationship have the highest probability of receiving whatever their parents—the representatives of the previous generation—have to transfer to them. No external urging will ordinarily be necessary; on the contrary, the strongest possible wish of the parents is to give all they can to their children. If such transference costs high in effort, if the adults must suffer pain and spend resource which makes a deep inroad upon them, this type of relationship gives the greatest possible assurance that the price will be paid. It could also be shown that not only content but kind of heritage is assured by this relationship of deep and lasting affection. Mrs. Sheffield, at one of these conferences, pointed out this aspect of the situation when she said that the mother is the priestess of the family, interpreting to the child the mysteries of life—handing down to it all that her predecessors had found valuable in facing the dread, unanswerable question which life presents—of hope, of faith, of devotion, of reverence. On the other hand, the father is the interpreter of the great world outside the home. While of course the family is not the only institution which insures this transference of the gains of civilization to each new generation—as school, church, and community at least have valuable parts to play in this task—yet its place is unique among them as, for the first years, it is the child's only source, and it continues to bear an especially close relationship even after it begins to be influenced by these other institutions.

When we compare this quite clearly defined function of the family with the motives which lead to participation in the institution, the source of much serious conflict is at once apparent. Affection, passion, economic support, eco-

conomic advantage, social prestige—these and other motives lead to the formation of families. It must be apparent that some of these motives have little reference to the function of the family, and some of them are directly antagonistic. As pointed out above, in the preindustrial era, when communities were smaller, homogeneous in membership, and simpler in organization, other controlling forces were effective in compelling a certain rough conformity between function and behavior, by superimposing apparently accidental controls, fear of public opinion, custom, taboos, ostracism, and even poverty. Monogamous families continued, not because men and women were more constant in their affection than they are now, and realized the tremendously important function they were assuming, but because the man and woman concerned did not dare do otherwise.

Now that those external restraints are being removed, the men and women dare do otherwise, that is, now that the conflict between function and motive in the institution of the family is no longer inhibited, it comes out in all sorts of weaknesses which are appearing in the family structure. Take, for illustration, one of the motives—passion. There is nothing in it as a motive to insure the formation of a stable family. Released from the restraints of custom, it is finding its satisfaction—as it always has whenever released—in various forms of heterosexual relationships, relationships that are analogous to successive polygamy in divorce and to promiscuity in prostitution. I am not here arguing for or against divorce (although I have no such scruples with regard to prostitution); I am merely pointing out an illustration of the way the function of a social institution may be defeated when its motive does not coincide with its function.

As I see it, therefore, family social work has as its main task, first, a clearer understanding of the function of the family, of each member of the family, of how it is promoted and how retarded, of how its sources may be tested; then a clear analysis of the area in which function and motive may come into conflict, and most important of all, a careful scientific study of the ways by which the two may be harmonized when motive leads its member or members to violate its functions.

May I briefly point out some considerations which follow from this point of view:

Family social case work necessarily deals heavily with economic factors, and there was a time when economic considerations controlled. Standard of living, a minimum wage, regularity of employment, compensation for accidents, readjustment of economic resources—these are economic ideals which add much to the enrichment of family case work. Its workers must keep themselves abreast of the best findings of economic research and be thoroughly trained in the science of economics. But the best of economics is not social case work. It is but one aspect of social life; and family success is not measured primarily in its terms. Relief—as an artificial distribution of goods—has a certain economic aspect; but in family case work its economic aspect is secondary to its social.

The primary question is: Does it promote the function of the family? Obviously, in the majority of instances it does. But just as obviously, also in a majority of instances, the affirmative is not unqualified. Low standards of living—real doing without things—under certain circumstances may further the function of the family, if voluntarily assumed; less often, perhaps, it might produce such ends if forced upon a family. Of course, this is only repeating what was said so eloquently centuries ago, that "man doth not live by bread alone," it is a restatement of the too common observation that life's things may be purchased at too high a price.

The tremendous development of relief in the last ten years should raise in all family workers such questions as the foregoing. It has been justified on the need for maintaining a new standard of living. That it has really won many families to new ideals, stimulated them to new efforts by which these ideals could be realized, there is no doubt in the minds of case workers on the job. I think it can be asserted with equal confidence that it has been used too indiscriminately; that it is looked upon, in fact if not in theory, as an end, and that the economic aspect of family life, rather than the function of the family, has obsessed our thinking, resulting in failure of our work and no real progress in family rebuilding in far too many cases.

The same sort of argument could be used with respect to the two other great disciplines which have added great resources to family case work and which also have dominated it: medicine and psychiatry. We cannot do without them; every one of their findings is a new tool in our hands, or, to change the figure, a new resource at our command. There is no essential or necessary conflict between them and us, any more than there is between them and sociology; only they have one sanction, we another. Workers in those fields, however, are often quite as keen in seeing this as we. How often a physician will deplore the fact that a tuberculous man has been cured but his manhood wrecked by the pampering effect of long hospitalization. And Adolph Meyer has told us and his fellow-psychiatrists many times that psychiatry is but an avenue for understanding a man, who is, after all, greater than any classification.

The next deduction I should like to point out is that while all of these disciplines make their contributions to our understanding of those who compose families, and our job is to use them in interpreting their function, our knowledge is as yet imperfect and fragmentary compared with them. The family as composed of physical beings is a fact, objectively demonstrable. The family as we are interested in it, the social institution, is a concept, a synthesis of inferences, not objectively demonstrable at all. This greatly increases the difficulty of our subject-matter, makes progress less certain, and renders absolute demonstration impossible. We can merely say that it is our conviction, based on a large number of observations, especially by others than ourselves, that the function of the family is to act as a vehicle for the transference of social heritages. But the evidence is circumstantial, cumulative, indirect. In no one

instance can it be demonstrated, nor is any one aspect true of all instances. I am here only pointing out one of the difficulties of method in social science.

The other side of this picture is that this is a field in which everyone believes he is an expert—or, to put it in another way, in which everyone believes he knows by intuition, whatever that may mean, all that needs to be known of the mechanism of social organization. What each has is, of course, his own philosophy of life. He must make it, and he does, in order to explain to himself the meaning of living. For the most part, it is acquired by taking it unconsciously from others, as part of his social heritage, to which each one adds but little; it is part of his psycho-social environment, and it acts as an automatic social control.

Between the certainty of the man on the street, on one side, who easily carries his ancestral philosophy, and the consciously exact sciences on the other, social case work—the conscious process of trying to understand the “how,” and to a certain extent, the “why,” of social institutions and of those who compose them—is in constant danger of being crushed between the upper and the nether millstone. The former, in his proud sense of success, and utterly unconscious of the tremendous changes in social structure, fails to understand that these new forces which he has so profitably employed may destroy as well as bless; the latter, trained to objective and quantitative data, looks with suspicion on a discipline whose very data are conceptual.

But that is the position of family social case work. It stands at the place where the automatic sanctions of behavior are being transferred into the consciously accepted, or the externally enforced. It must interpret the meaning of social function, explaining the place of motive and the reason for conformity to function; it must help to transform a society which has controlled its behavior by tradition into one which controls it by intelligent choice. And our peculiar task is with that primary institution of society, the family, carefully studying the forces which create it—human motives—the demand made upon it in our ever increasing complex social organization, and the success with which it meets its functional requirements; that its members, especially its children, shall meet life well-born and physically well, but also bravely, honestly, eager to do their share of the world's work, equipped with the best in content and method of the knowledge of this generation. This is the real test of family case work.

THE COST OF MAINTAINING GOOD CASE WORK IN A PUBLIC AGENCY

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In speaking of the cost of maintaining good case work in public departments I do not intend to bring before you any array of statistics. Rather I would present for your consideration some thoughts as to the nature of the cost, who

bears it, and how, and what then. Good social work under public administration is possible, I believe, only as three groups of people are willing to pay a heavy price for it.

First, there is the broad inclusive group of the taxpayers in general. The taxpayer is already heavily burdened, and his taxes constantly rise. This is probably inevitable as our more highly organized society naturally undertakes more and more projects in common for the common good. These joint undertakings may be the best possible investment for the community, but they do cost a great deal. Probably most legislatures receive twice the budget requests that they can meet. But it must never be forgotten that, after a public department has once assumed a responsibility, inadequacy of budget, and especially of staff, is likely to be particularly disastrous to the quality of its work. This is more true of a public department than of a private society, because a public department can less easily limit the quantity of work it must assume.

If good social work is to be established, or maintained after it has been established, in a public department, the taxpayer must pay a heavy and generally increasing financial cost. He will be justified in paying it only if he is deeply convinced of the value and importance of the work.

This means education—not only the brilliant periodic campaign at special times of critical action, but the daily plodding of ceaseless educational work. The constituency to be convinced is very large, and acquires deep and lasting convictions slowly.

Such educational work will require the generous and constant efforts of my second group, who must pay a heavy personal cost if good work is to be maintained in the public department. This is the group of disinterested, well-informed citizens who know and care about the work of the department. Only they can truly and convincingly and widely interpret it. Only their watchful help can protect and develop it. At the center of such a group should stand, I believe, a well-chosen board for the department. Even if there is a board, that and the staff together are yet inadequate to the whole task of making the department widely understood and properly valued. At best the department needs to be surrounded by a whole guardian company of disinterested citizens who can speak for it, promote it, sense its every danger, and instantly and intelligently rise to its defense. It is they who must bring influence to secure to the department the right kind of a board, if any, and the right kind of staff. This guardian company must be recruited mainly from social workers and board members of private societies. Few other people are close enough to the work to understand just what is involved. If good work is to be held in public departments, this guardian company of socially informed citizens must pay the price of eternal vigilance, of sympathetic support in season and out, and of constant readiness to serve, not only in time of crisis, but along the way. This service is needed not only from good citizens near at hand, but it may be needed from many at a distance. To you case workers here gathered let me say that part of the cost of maintaining good case work

in a public department is the generous willingness of case workers in private agencies in other cities to answer case inquiries.

There is yet another price the guardian company—speaking now of the group immediately around the department—must pay. That is willingness to renounce all special favors to their own particular interests. I refer to public subsidies or special partnerships of any sort between public authority and private agencies. It seems to be clear that in the intricate political maze no one can work freely and effectively for a variety of public interests who has a personal and primary responsibility for one of them.

This raises some very serious practical and philosophical questions affecting that guardian company of interested citizens around the public department. Especially is this true in chest cities, where practically the whole social work force of the community is knit into one. If a community chest enters a partnership with the city for partial support of some chest agency—a legal aid society, for example—the chest's influence with the city must thenceforth be constantly turned first of all to securing the means to carry forward that particular work, lest its own administration of it fail. At once the chest is crippled in any effort to fight for a better health department, for more adequate support for the public case work agency, for the needed policewoman or probation officer, or anything else that may be needed for the public administration itself.

This is a very grave problem which it is to be hoped the chests will ponder well. Subsidies and partnership plans between public and private agencies have been argued from many angles and need now to be re-examined. We are here unconcerned about any aspect except the effect upon the problem of holding good work in the public agency. It seems to me that any such policy in a chest city cuts at one stroke the power of the entire guardian group to help the public departments, while the strength of this guardian group is, as it seems to me, the very crux of the problem of developing and holding good social work in the public departments.

The third group who must bear the cost of maintaining good work in the public departments consists of the social workers who are doing it. My own observation has been that, with a few exceptions, salaries are considerably lower in public departments than in private societies. This impression is borne out by a study made by Mr. Philip Klein and by some inquiries that I have made from other people who are in a position to have reliable impressions. The salaries of executives especially are noted as being lower in public than in private agencies. Salaries in subordinate positions apparently range about the same, though field supervisors in public departments seem to be paid less than supervisors in private agencies.

I am convinced that for a long time to come salaries in public welfare departments, especially in the more responsible positions, will be comparatively low, and that any capable social worker who enters into the public service must do so with expectation of financial sacrifice. But the question of salary, beyond

a comfortable living on which a man can meet his just obligations, will probably make very little difference. The attraction of social work in any field lies not in the salary, but in the opportunity to do immensely interesting work that calls for the worker's every power of thought and imagination and practical resourcefulness, and applies it to a great purpose. Social work under public auspices has one great additional attraction in a democracy. Of course it is true, as has been well pointed out, that it is no more democratic to serve the public good through an organization supported by taxation than to serve the public good through an organization voluntarily created and supported by public-spirited citizens. Indeed, it is only the democratic spirit of such voluntary efforts that makes a real democracy possible. Nevertheless there is a tremendous challenge to the social worker in the opportunity to help to make democratic government work. Democratic government is still on trial. It is by no means as yet universally or uniformly successful. But we do believe in it. It is a magnificent adventure of human society to manage by joint effort its common affairs for the good of all. And it should sound a clarion call, particularly to social workers.

But the cost of salary is by no means the only cost the worker must pay. A far heavier one lies in the harassing uncertainty and instability of the work—uncertainty as to budget, as to staff, as to policies, even uncertainty as to continuance of the work itself.

There is yet another cost that may be required from the worker. It has been said that employment in public office carries with it a certain honor and dignity that helps to make up for the lack of salary. I am wondering whether that is really true. Perhaps on the whole it is. But certainly it is by no means always so. We have a way of respecting the office which we have created, but not the officeholder. There seems to be a common feeling that people in appointive offices are not really competent to make good elsewhere. Common phraseology expresses this thought. Have you noted the expression that workers are "taken care of" in the public employ? Politicians "take care of" their constituents. Civil Service "takes care of" its appointees. And the sad fact that this is really true of so many public officials brings the stigma on those of whom it is not true.

But if I have painted a black picture of the cost to the social worker it is only to point out the responsibility that lies again in the hands of that guardian company of good citizens of whom I spoke before. They, and I believe they only, can bring the influence needed to secure proper salaries, to insure the stability and favorable conditions that will make the efforts of good workers worth while, and bring the courage and joy of honor and fellowship.

In truth, I believe this is being done to a greater and greater degree, and that more and more fine workers are going into the public service. Always there have been some giants among them, especially in state departments and, since the creation of the children's bureau, in the federal departments.

To conclude, the cost of holding good social work in the public welfare de-

partments must be paid, and heavily, first by the taxpayers, secondly by a self-constituted devoted group of specially interested and tireless citizens mainly connected with the private social agencies, and thirdly by the social workers concerned. The middle group is in the key position. Success depends mainly upon them. But it is the social workers who will take the brunt—and also the big satisfactions.

The last two groups, working well together, can accomplish almost anything. And nothing in life is more worth working for. The magnificent possibilities of social work under public administration, in spite of its difficulties, the tremendous reach of its influence upon the whole realm of social service and upon the working out of governmental problems for the welfare of the people, should make a call irresistible to public-spirited citizens, and especially to social workers.

But when, with the best efforts of such interested groups, it is yet not possible to hold good work in a public department, and adverse forces of political or personal influence or misunderstanding strike it down, why then, that is only an incident in the long, long struggle for democratic government, and everybody concerned will need to acquire that characteristic of the old giant Antaeus in Greek mythology who gained new strength whenever he was thrown to earth. Patience and faith is the final price that must be paid to hold good social work in public departments.

THE COST OF MAINTAINING GOOD CASE WORK IN A PUBLIC AGENCY

*Rose Porter, Executive Secretary, Mothers' Assistance Fund,
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To arrive at the cost of keeping up good case work is difficult. The human element in this complex field plays too great a part to make an actual accounting possible. Before discussing the basic cost of administration, therefore, let us consider briefly the essentials of good case work.

The musician, before he achieves his art, must master a technique; the case worker, before she becomes a skilled case worker, must master hers, but of more importance than the technique is the attitude of mind with which the social worker approaches the problem, an attitude of mind which develops understanding between herself and the client, a vision of social work as a whole, unhampered by prejudices, which places the individual problem in its right relation to all of life.

Nor can case work develop far beyond the understanding of the community to which it looks for support. The agency necessarily depends upon the community, both for financial support for constructive work and for a staff which is adequate to give to each individual the skilled service required. But unless the community produces a board which is motivated by a social consciousness,

good case work cannot be maintained. To what extent, then, can we determine the cost of keeping up good case work in a public agency? First, how far is it possible for a public agency to maintain standards unhampered by outgoing or incoming administrations, or to maintain an adequate trained personnel, unhampered by political pressure? Second, how far is it possible to maintain good standards with a fixed fund and to limit the intake to a number which makes good case work possible, rather than scatter the funds in an effort to care for the larger group? Third, to what extent is it possible to develop volunteer service in a public department? Fourth, to what extent can a public agency participate in the development of good case work?

In the state of Pennsylvania the administration of the Mothers' Assistance Fund, as it is called, within the several counties is in the hands of the boards of trustees, seven women in each county appointed by the governor, subject, however, to the rules adopted and issued by the state supervisor. The law provides that the governor shall appoint a woman as state supervisor who must be qualified by training and experience.

The state appropriation (in Pennsylvania) is apportioned to the various counties according to a fixed classification. Unless a county accepts the provisions in the law and places at the disposal of the board of trustees a sum equal to the amount available from the state appropriation for such a year, the county will not receive its allotment from the state. The act also provides that the board of trustees appoint competent social workers and clerical assistants as may be necessary, but at no time, however, shall the annual expenses for administration exceed 10 per cent of the entire appropriation for the county.

An analysis of the budget for Allegheny County for the past year, which was \$313,616.00, shows that \$285,170.24 was spent for grants and \$28,446.26 for administration. There is a real saving in office expenses, as the county has granted free office rent. There is a comparatively small cost in bookkeeping and other office details in the county office in administering so large a fund, for upon petition from the county, the grant allowed is sent by check direct to the recipient from the state and county treasuries, but not until there is a complete summary of the investigation, a plan and a budget for the family in the office of the state supervisor.

The appropriation is sufficient to provide for a case working staff of twelve, a stenographic force of four, a case supervisor, and an executive. Eight of the twelve workers are college graduates, and ten of the number have had some case work training in private case working agencies. Two of the stenographic force have had more than one year of college work. The case supervisor, who has recently been added to the staff, is a college graduate with post-graduate work in a recognized school of social work, and with five years' experience in good private family case working agencies. The staff is composed of Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant workers. This does not mean, however, that the workers do not work with families of all faiths. The salaries for the stenographic staff range

from \$100 to \$125 a month, and for the case working staff, not including the case supervisor, from \$100 to \$140 a month. All members of the staff who have been with the Mothers' Assistance Fund for a year are entitled to a month's vacation with salary. It is of interest to know that the turnover is low. The standards of the personnel in Allegheny County correspond very closely with those in good private agencies. It is recognized that if we are to maintain the best standards the staff must be stimulated to keep in touch with the progress in the case work field. Members of the staff are encouraged to take further training in schools for social work during the summer, and in addition to this a regular course of study is outlined for the weekly staff meetings.

The responsibility for the caliber of the staff rests with the board of trustees, which appoints the executive secretary. Civil Service does not apply in Pennsylvania. Civil Service does not necessarily secure able workers, nor the lack of it, incompetent workers. In the appointment of an executive in Allegheny County, the board is invariably in touch with the state supervisor, and her counsel is sought. Occasionally political or other pressure is brought to bear, but invariably the board holds its ground in demanding training. This they are able to do partly because of the support of the state supervisor. The Mothers' Assistance Fund throughout the state of Pennsylvania has for the most part been recognized as nonpartisan, and politics has practically interfered not at all. Incoming and outgoing administrations have in no way influenced appointments on the paid staffs, and every governor has recognized the importance of appointing able women to the boards. Undoubtedly the interest and concern of the women of the state in the development of the best possible standards in mothers' assistance have had very great influence in the preservation of the high personnel of the boards.

In the mothers' aid field it is possible, though often difficult, to limit the assistance to a number for whom adequate aid can be provided, rather than to spread it by giving a little to all who are eligible. This policy has been consistently advocated by the state supervisor and increasingly adopted by the boards. There are now 4,018 mothers and 13,940 children cared for by the Mothers' Assistance Fund in the state of Pennsylvania. There are 1,800 families on the waiting list. In the Allegheny County office during the past year there have been from 560 to 600 families active each month. This gives to each worker an average case load of 50 families. In addition to this there is a waiting list of 452 families. The applicants are given a full first interview on the day on which the application is made, or within a very short time afterward, and are considered in their order as soon as funds are available. As a rule, one-third of the waiting list can be eliminated after investigation as ineligible. An attempt to care for the entire number would destroy constructive work, as the aid, already inadequate in many instances, would be greatly reduced. Assistance from other agencies would be encouraged and consequent division of responsibility might easily lead to poor case work. It would overburden each case worker to such an

extent that she would be unable to give intelligent service to each family. Through constructive work a large number of families become self-supporting each year.

In the study made by the United States Children's Bureau about a year ago it was found that the Pennsylvania plan, providing for an administrative budget of 10 per cent of the total county appropriation, made for considerably more adequate administrative allowances than were provided in the other states coming within the scope of the study. Furthermore, the unpaid boards of trustees in Pennsylvania supplement the service of the paid workers at many points; invaluable contributions have been made in publicity, legislative, and educational work, and the service of these trustees not only reduces the cost of overhead, but is of inestimable value in providing an intelligent, sensitive medium of communication and "radioactivity" between the professional paid staff and the public at large.

It is necessary to remember, in discussing the cost of keeping up good case work in a public agency, that we are in a changing world and that we must evaluate trends and tendencies and compare them with facts as they existed a few years ago. We have, no doubt, become more scientific in the case work field in recent years, and have learned to give more intensive treatment. This has made it both possible and necessary to define more accurately the function of the case working agency, and has led to a more definite division of responsibility. This trend has placed increasing responsibility upon the public agency.

The contributions to the development of case work standards by the Mothers' Aid have thus far been largely in the fields of education, health, and nutritional supervision. At the present time, in Allegheny, there are 123 children in families under care who have finished the grade school and are profiting by further training. Two of this number have finished high school and are taking courses in college at night, making progress. It is the practice of almost all of the boards in the state to encourage and aid children in securing every possible educational advantage and to allow the assistance to the age of sixteen if the child will profit by remaining in school. Routine physical examinations have been made of large numbers of children in Allegheny County, and in twenty counties of the state all children are given such examinations when the grant is made. More than one-third of the mothers in Allegheny County are carefully keeping an account of their household expenses, and an effort is made to assist them in apportioning properly their expenditures and in giving to their children a well-balanced diet. Two counties in the state employ full-time dietitians; another county shares the services of a dietitian with other agencies of the county, and three additional counties have had nutritional surveys.

As many of the Mothers' Aid families are under care over a period of five or six years, there is a real opportunity to study the personality of both the mother and child, to discover the aptitudes and capacities of each child, and steer children away from dead-end trades, to understand the customs and tradi-

tions which play so great a part in the life of the foreign mother, to discover the cause of maladjustment in the problem child, and to study the successful mother.

SOME TESTS FOR THE EVALUATION OF CASE WORK METHODS

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It is inevitable that a profession which is concerned entirely with people and their relations to each other and society shall be continuously and persistently criticized and checked up by people concerned therein. Thus the community, the families concerned, the agencies and individuals carrying on the work, are constantly, and always will be, performing an evaluation function which, however crude and intangible it may be, will nevertheless have its definite influence in the growth and development of case work philosophy and technique.

It is a more formal and definite method of evaluation with which this paper is concerned, however, and one which can be developed and practiced only by the agencies and case workers themselves.

Beside a variety of sources from which the evaluation process may emanate, such as the community, the family, and case workers themselves, there are various phases of the work toward which it may be directed, i.e., technique of investigation, analysis, diagnosis, and treatment; or the evaluation may consist in an estimate of actual results. The direction of the process will depend on its objective, which may be a test of technique, or a test of accomplishment in terms of actual adjustments in individuals and families. Until case work technique has been more scientifically established than it is at present effective and valid evaluation cannot be practiced on technique alone, for at the present stage of its career, technique is dependent on actual accomplishment for the proof of its validity and effectiveness. Thus, evaluation of results together with evaluation of technique should, and undoubtedly will, become an instrument in the development of case work technique.

Most family agencies are undoubtedly familiar with a method of checking problems and services on a statistical card which was devised in 1915 by a special committee on statistics of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work. It is a further expansion and use of this system which, in the experience of one family care agency, has seemed to demonstrate evaluation possibilities, particularly in the field of executive treatment.

For the benefit of any who may be unfamiliar with the statistical card to which I refer, I will describe it briefly. The back of the card contains a list of problems, such as unemployment and related problems, lists of physical ailments, mental diseases, social problems such as domestic infelicity, family desertion, juvenile delinquency, bad housing, etc., with a corresponding list

of services, such as employment secured, physical treatment, institutional care, mental examination and treatment, imprisonment of deserter, support order, adjustment within family group, juvenile court action secured, removal to better quarters, etc., secured. In this system, however, though the lists of problems and services seem to correspond, there was no means or method of actually correlating these problems and services in the checking, so that it could not be determined, for instance, whether in an individual instance a case of tuberculosis had received physical care or sanitorial care, or, taking a group of cases, how many had received physical treatment or how many had received sanitorial care.

Furthermore, the checking method did not provide any means for indicating effort but incompleted service. Thus, though the method provided some means of evaluating service, in that services were enumerated, there was no means of evaluating service in relation to the problems, nor was there any way of estimating degrees of service.

Last year a family agency, with some trepidation, to be sure, introduced a method of checking which attempted to meet both of these deficiencies. I say the method was introduced with trepidation because in the beginning it seemed complicated, and the fear was expressed that the burden of carrying it might be heavier than any case worker could or should be asked to carry. Fears on this score were allayed by experience, however, and the system now seems to be established on a permanent basis which is quite satisfactory to all concerned.

The card to which I am referring makes it possible definitely to relate services to problems. This is accomplished by means of a number system whereby the problem and the corresponding service are given the same number, i.e., unemployment is numbered 1; the corresponding services are marked 1*a* and 1*b*, which are, *a*, employment secured through an agency, and *b*, employment secured directly. Problem 3 is insufficient earnings; the services read 3*a*, wage increase secured, and 3*b*, better employment secured. Problem 5 is indebtedness; the services read 5*a*, advice which enables family to meet debt; 5*b*, debt paid through another source; 5*c*, extension of credit or debt cancelled. A group of medical problems, such as tuberculosis, asthma, cardiovascular, etc., the numbers of which on the card range from 7 to 21, have a group of services which are labeled 7-21, which read, *a*, physical treatment; *b*, physical treatment through specific *a*, local source; *c*, institutional care; *d*, persuading patient to remain in institution; *e*, bedside care—public health nurse; *f*, dental care; *g*, optical care; *h*, prenatal, postnatal care; *i*, nutrition class. Another problem, called educational or vocational need, has a list of the following services which correspond to it: *a*, vocational; *b*, guidance; *c*, scholarship; *d*, trade or industrial training; *e*, occupational adjustment; *f*, English classes; *g*, children kept in school beyond work age. Beside the list of services which correspond to the list of 51 problems, there is a list of miscellaneous services, each of which may apply to any one, to none, or to a group of problems. They are: 52, connection with

relatives strengthened; 53, settlement contact; 54, recreational or cultural opportunities; 55, religious training; 56, fresh-air care and vocations; 57, temporary shelter; 58, day nursery care; 59, business equipment; 60, restored to self-support; 61, psychometric test; 62, general physical examination. The question will be raised as to what happens when a problem exists in two members of a family and two kinds of services are given for the same problem. This difficulty is met by a number column where a number corresponding to the number of the family member on the front of card is recorded. Numbers 1 and 2 refer to the man and the woman, and the children are numbered in order of their ages. Thus, if the father and the second-oldest child in the family were suffering from tuberculosis, and the father were receiving sanitorial care and the child clinic care, these facts would be recorded as follows: Problem 7, tuberculosis, would be checked; in the member column would be recorded numbers 1, for the father, and 4, for the child. On the service side, institutional care would be checked with the number "1" recorded in the member column opposite it, and physical treatment would be checked with the number "4" recorded in the member column opposite it. In instances where the problem and the service which was given are not in corresponding groups, the service is related to the problem by means of a note after the service, which gives the problem number. This happens most infrequently, however, so that it is but very seldom that it is necessary to use this device.

The other significant features of this card is a method of checking which indicates effort, or some explanation of a failure to give service. Thus, a check indicates complete service; a cross, service initiated; a circle, service offered and refused; a dash, care not given because of lack of community resources; another device for care given in a previous month.

Some figures based on the experience of 1924 and the first months of this year may indicate some of the possibilities of this method of evaluation. First, let us consider the five methods of checking, with their indications of service completed, initiated, offered and refused, not given because of lack of community resources, and given in a previous month. The figures for 1924 cover ten months only, as the plan was not in actual operation until March. In that period, 57,606 problems were recorded, on which there were recorded 11,094 completed services, a ratio of 19.3 per cent; 3,991 services initiated but not completed, a ratio of 6.9 per cent; 961 services were offered and refused, a ratio of 1.6 per cent; and 145 services were recorded as not having been given because of lack of community resources, a ratio of .2 per cent.

It takes but little imagination to realize the infinite analyses to be made and deductions to be drawn from sets of figures like these. First we find variations for the organization as a whole, as to ratio of services to problems at different times of the year, i.e., services were at their height in June, with a ratio to problems of 29.8 per cent, with a drop to 18.2 per cent in August, when the staff was depleted by vacations. March, 1925, is a distinct improvement over

March, 1924, with an increase in ratio from 29.3 per cent to 35.9 per cent, a condition which is certainly encouraging, and one which would seem to have some connection with an increased staff. Variations in different districts have their significance and demand explanation. One district, which had been running an average of 40 per cent services to problems, suddenly dropped to 21 per cent one month and then shot up to 51 per cent the next month. It is likewise significant to note a contrast in ratios between a district which was suffering from a depleted staff one month and a district which was very adequately staffed that same month, the one showing a ratio of 11.6 per cent, the other, one of 40.6 per cent. All of these figures may seem to point out very obvious facts, but it is often reassuring to have factual proof of the obvious, particularly when it is a board of directors that is to be convinced of the validity of those facts. From the supervisory point of view, the trends and fluctuations in work from month to month, district by district, presented by figures such as I have quoted, are often some which might never have appeared in any other way, with the consequence that the facts underlying them might never have been revealed. So much for the evaluation possibilities of statistics of problems and services as a whole group, of which, I will again state, we have barely scratched the surface.

We find our next evaluation opportunity in studies of individual problems and their services. The fact that the problems of unemployment and underemployment in the statistics for 1924 showed a higher proportion of services offered and refused than any other problem made it seem worth while to analyze those figures a little further. This further analysis revealed the facts that 35.6 per cent of the cases of unemployment received treatment either through an agency or indirectly; in 5.9 per cent of instances, services were offered and refused; and in .8 per cent care was not given because of lack of community resources. The query is, What happened to the other 56.7 per cent? When figures like these are presented to a staff of workers I am wondering if they will not stimulate thought and action.

The study of the problem labeled "Domestic Infelicity" and the treatment thereof yielded some interesting results. In 15.7 per cent of instances, treatment called "social adjustment" was either initiated or completed. In one instance the family was referred to the family court, and in three instances families were referred to the National Desertion Bureau. In 8 per cent the service of social adjustment was complete, and in 7.7 per cent it was initiated. In 2.5 per cent it was offered and refused. Apparently the community had no responsibility in the solution of this problem, as there were no recordings of service not given because of lack of community resources!

In March, 1925, statistics in regard to the treatment of educational or vocational need were of interest, since they showed a marked increase over March of the year before. Problems in March, 1924, numbered 186; in 1925, 331; while services jumped from 77 to 179, showing an increase in percentage of services to problems from 41.4 per cent to 54 per cent, and this in spite of the

increase in recognized problems. These figures were of particular significance, since they followed a decision by the staff to take over the responsibility for doing vocational guidance work with children, with advice of, and in consultation with, the specialized department to which this responsibility had formerly been relegated, and which had been able to give this service to only a limited group. The increase in service figures is gratifying. There still remains, however, the question as to how its quality may be estimated.

And this last question raises another as to what contribution this statistical system does make to the evaluation process. That the figures contain an infinite mass of material for study, analysis, and interpretation is evident. That they are open to criticism because of lack of scientific foundation, due to inaccuracies of checking, of variations in interpretations of terms, is also evident. But without doubt we can accept the idea that they do indicate trends, emphases, and fluctuations in activities with pretty definite indications of degrees of success, and that in so doing they are actually one means of evaluating case work processes.

In introducing this method of evaluation for discussion, the statement was made that it applied chiefly to the evaluation of the executive aspect of treatment. Its effectiveness in indicating leadership treatment must not be overlooked, however.

Some degree of evaluation of the leadership aspect of treatment is implied in the two following methods of analysis of individual pieces of work. The first is a closing entry form which is used by a family care agency. It contains two items of significance to us: (a) problems in the home up to the time of closing, (b) solution of problems, which is followed by the statement that this topic should include a somewhat detailed statement as to how nearly problems were solved and as to why other problems were left unsolved. The other is an outline which was drawn up for evaluation purposes by the Committee on Content of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work. It reads: (a) What has this piece of case work accomplished for the family group as a whole? (b) What has it accomplished for each individual in the group, with special reference to his or her future? (c) What does this particular piece of case work for this family signify to the community in general and to the progress of the community? (d) Wherein was the work successful; for whom, and what factors contributed to its success? (e) Wherein was the work unsuccessful; for whom, and why? (f) If the failure is to be accounted for by inadequate community resources, in what way are we trying to meet the need? Should the society assume leadership in effort or should others? (g) Does this particular record illustrate in any way the advisability of the society's doing an extended research job as to how they are meeting a particular problem, or does the record indicate that the community itself is partially meeting a need and the society is not giving proper support to the movement because of lack of training of workers, insufficient number of workers, etc.?

The following outline, added by one of the members of the committee, definitely places the emphasis on technique: First, was the social history obtained sufficient? Second, were the problems clearly defined? Third, were the family and their immediate group consulted as to the making of the plan? Fourth, were this immediate group, as well as other sources of social history, used in this treatment? Fifth, what was the attitude of the worker toward the ideal of maintaining the family unit as a unit in making the plan? Sixth, what consultations influenced this? Seventh, why did the worker consider that her responsibility for the family ceased, and close the case?

A combination of the last two outlines should constitute a minimum basis for any really adequate evaluation of case work processes. It is evaluation of accomplishment, with emphasis on three different factors: the family, the community, and the agency. It is only evaluation which does embody these three factors which has any real meaning in the development of case work philosophy and technique. Furthermore, such analysis and criticism are vital to the progressive development of case work. It should be part of the program of every case work agency to make such evaluation of its work possible. This undoubtedly involves the institution of research departments, in case work agencies, by which I do not mean to imply that such an activity should be carried on in any way apart from the actual practice of the work. Neither is it possible for it to be included in the daily routine of the visitor. Probably the most ideal method would be to give a selected worker or group of workers the opportunity to combine such a research with a case work activity. For the processes of changing attitudes and other intangible phases of the art of case work are not to be found in case records to any satisfactory degree. Consequently, such criticism and analysis as has been outlined above can only be carried on by the workers themselves. Furthermore, such an opportunity would be a source of stimulation and inspiration, not only to the individual worker concerned, but to the staff as a whole, and it would undoubtedly play its part in allaying the feeling of discouragement which so inevitably haunts every thoughtful case worker.

Henry Seidel Canby, in a review of *The Genius of Style*, by W. C. Brownell, in the *Saturday Review* for February 7, 1925, states of literary style that "it is that lifting of individual expression into an order and rhythm which both perfects the expression and makes it comprehensible in its entirety by other men. It is a medium for personality, controlled by imagination and prolonged by the continuity of thought. It is not natural any more than speech is natural; it is simple only as a result of simplification." I do not know that anyone has ever defined case work technique, but I am wondering if it is not to the art of case work something very closely allied to what Mr. Canby has stated style is to the art of writing, and I am further wondering if evaluation is not as essential to the life and growth of the technique of the art of case work as literary criticism is to the life and development of literary style.

SOME TESTS FOR THE EVALUATION OF
CASE WORK METHODS

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Once upon a time there was a client who, through tears which blinded her sight but not her insight, gave a summary of what, in her mind, was the net result of contact with a keen case worker. The woman had managed her life badly, and the worker knew the facts. The case read: "Mrs. X, in defense of her husband's non-support, says she probably spent too much money on furniture and too much time in hard work which he should have shared in. She condones her husband's infidelity and seems unable to see clearly what her next step should be." But long afterward from the trembling lips of the client came: "It was here in my little sitting-room the worker told me I had taught my husband to loaf. God knows I did try to make him love that room. It was here in my shining kitchen that she told me I should have spent less time over the menial things of life. And here in our little bedroom, leaning against the baby's crib, she stripped the romance of life away, and where once my husband and I had erected our altar to love she only saw a desecrated temple. I liked that girl for the fearless honesty in her eyes, and I hoped she would like me too. Yet she didn't give me time to see things her way, and I am sorry now I did not take her advice."

Once upon a time there was a so-called case worker who told a pregnant high-school girl that as the father of her unborn child was a married man, and bigamy was unlawful, she could do one of two things: marry the man's bachelor brother or go to a state institution. The frightened girl found a third solution all by herself.

Once upon a time in a certain city a case worker died. It shook many a family to its depths. Love and despair longed to express themselves in positive ways. A group of small boys found a way and organized a squad to keep the last watch. From the undertaker's to the railroad station they marched as escort to the hearse, then waited with uncovered heads by the lonely coffin till the midnight train carried their friend away into what was to them very real darkness. Had she not understood all their badness and yet been their friend? Had she not even made their parents understand them?

Now each worker obviously had methods, and each worker had an attitude of mind. Yet one brought death to the spirit of the woman. Another brought death to the body of the girl. But the third made an undying impression on some boys and their parents.

A first test, therefore, might be, "Who uses case work methods?" Well, *we* do. And who are *we*? When Alice thought herself most important in her travel through Wonderland, the Caterpillar bluntly ended a conversation by saying, "You, who are you?" And when Alice appeared offended, he added,

"Keep your temper." The public is saying, "You, who are you?" and, I suspect, secretly watching to see if we keep our tempers. The kind of people we are speaks out so loudly that the public and our relatives do not wait to hear our definition three paragraphs long describing ourselves as case workers. One terse adjective and one ugly noun, and we are damned as "smug meddlers" or "kept idealists." Is it fair to say, then, that just so long as we let practically anyone qualify and handle these tools called our case work methods, just so long will we have in our professional ranks third- and fourth-rate case workers to discredit us, just as third- and fourth-rate ambulance chasers discredit the legal profession? Whether we like it or not, whether it is just or not, whether we say "the public be damned" or not, that little age-old process of being sized up is going right on. The public dimly knows there are differences. We should meet the challenge and apply the test of who uses the methods. The best methods can be ruined by untrained and untrainable people just as truly as they can be transfigured and transcended by trained, eager spirits.

The second test is, "Where are we using it?" We are using it in a changing world, with changes of emphasis; in a world to mend. Yet some of us are plugging along as if unconscious that nearly fifty years have slipped by since first methods were being formulated. Do we really know what is going on in the world about us today, or what is going on in the public's mind, or in our client's mind, in our worker's mind, or even in our own minds? We acknowledge that the differences between us as case workers are as wide as the customs in the places of our birth—for we are of every race, and sect, and age. We observe differences in personal standards in different sections of the country. Is this method, then, something which we all can use? As each of us regards the standard of living today, so each of us goes out to influence individuals and families through case treatment. Do we admit the passing of old authorities? If we believe that fathers no longer have power of life and death over their children's physical being, do we also believe they should not have the power to break the spirit? Do we believe a husband should not enslave his wife's physical, mental, and spiritual life? What standards of conduct do we set up for the wife? Do we have any common agreement upon minimum grounds for divorce? Do we feel there is nothing sacrosanct in a biologically perfect family—man, woman, and children—and that they are individuals first, members of a group second? Are any of us still frightened over that phrase, "breaking up of a family"? Do we rather believe that no longer physical separation in a family group means breaking up of a family? And that a real bond of affection is not severed by a temporary or even more permanent separation of individuals from each other? Have we really challenged the so-called "home" as defined by many a man—a safe little kingdom where, once the door is shut, he can let loose his real nature, and in the name of love outrage his wife, and in the name of affection tyrannize over his children? Or the home dominated by a vain and shallow mother who demands constant expression of affection and maddeningly poses as a martyr at the stake earning

a halo? Do we admit that family feeling is not necessarily strong between married people, any more than we insist that marriage in every case rights a wrong? The fact that we raise these questions should make us face the test of the differences in present-day opinions and practices.

Case work methods—on whom do we use them? On our equals, our inferiors, or our peers? Case work grew out of caring for those who obviously fell below the poverty line; those obviously inadequate; those maliciously or wilfully dragging down the higher standards of life. In starting to use scientific methods, we have taken the disadvantaged groups in many fields. Montessori methods were first tried on feeble-minded children; industrial handicrafts on negroes. These methods are now used with all groups. In family social work, people needing us have been caught by the extremes of sentimentality and technicality. Will the same methods used by people thus widely motivated work equally well? Until we have some higher ground for accepting cases or limiting intake (after allowing for local conditions) a big test is right here. You may have challenged my emphasis on the public's lack of apprehension of our job. We can rationalize by saying that great movements usually are misunderstood. But do our fellow social workers really understand us? We often think not, when they expect us to honor their requisitions for blankets, railroad tickets, and drug-store prescriptions. We have let relief problems retard the comprehension of the other services we can render. Our peers will not come to us for services until we separate our functions further. Service is a separate concept. Why not try a new test, of training most case workers to give service, and a few to administer relief? This will help to guide us between the Scylla of niggardliness and the Charybdis of playing Lady Bountiful.

"To what purpose?" We have said to solve individual and family problems and for general social betterment. The original pitifully thin, chronological case record reported relief given. The next effort tried the classification of worthy and unworthy, revealing at the same time the barrenness of the recorder's observation. As a third step, we have tried to individualize the family and the treatment needed and we tend to become verbose. We are in the process of a fourth attempt to raise the standard of all case work. Might we not expect to find, as a result of all our record writing, some data on what are better homes? Do we have comparable pictures in our minds of what we think are better homes? It is out of our so-called "better homes" that the most reckless youths are coming. These homes are built on the breadwinning capacity of the parents, not on the attitude of the parents to each other. We must be able to justify our statement that our records contribute to the body of social data. If we do not accomplish this we shall merely justify the popular hit, "Social workers go 'round improving everybody—especially go 'round." Certainly all the things some social workers do are not social work.

Let us take another test—comparison with other fields. We are advised of publicity methods and talk of "the selling points of case work." The latest

street car signs take us through the whole gamut of life and death: a dollar down and a dollar forever. A placard bearing a Wrigley stork carrying a toothless baby informs us that every five seconds during the year is born another new customer for chewing gum. Another card tells us we can clothe the baby on credit: "Dress well and pay nothing." We turn our heads and see we can buy our lady love a diamond for nothing: "Why pay cash?" An auto is a necessity now, and a five-dollar payment will start us rolling downhill. The next card advertises a cheap funeral. We are thus helped to decide, at every turn in life, what we need, and the facilities for gratifying that need. I do not believe our profession wants any wholesale publicity methods any more than the legal and medical professions. The lawyer uses the method of trying to build up his client's confidence in his knowledge and in using that knowledge to help in a particular crisis. The teacher uses the method of imparting knowledge and of showing the pupil how to use it for his own growth. In each case the method involves the active participation of both the layman and the professional. Should the social worker not take a lesson from the methods of each of these professions, who at their best are already becoming socialized?

"Present methods": One of the committees in our American Association has been studying content. A definition of method is "a special form of procedure, especially in any branch of mental activity." Workers in eight states have been trying to analyze content. In Minnesota an analysis was applied containing four steps—what was done, objective sought, device used, and underlying philosophy. Here is an illustration applied to the record of a young couple who were separated, incompatible, they said. The little children were with the reluctant wife, and were supported partly by her and her relatives' efforts, partly by the husband's efforts. An interview was held with the rebelling man at his place of employment. The objective was to arouse a father's protecting instinct. The device used was to ask him what he thought was happening to his children. The underlying philosophy was that people should be motivated. Next he was told that his family would have to leave their present shelter with the wife's relatives. The objective sought was to force him to join in plan-making and to arouse his emotions. The device was to give the relatives' ultimatum. The underlying philosophy was "As a man thinks." Next we asked permission to write his relatives. The objective sought was to get his reaction to the request, which would give a better understanding of what led up to the family break. The device used was questioning him regarding living with his own family. The underlying philosophy—we all have something we are proud of in our past which helps us build a better future after a crisis. By this time the children were in a temporary shelter. It was suggested that the father see them at this home. The objective sought was the hope that seeing his children might re-establish the bond of affection. The device used was the offer of making necessary arrangements during his working hours. The underlying philosophy, belief in the power of a man to "come back." But the first steps are hard.

Contact had shown that a thorough understanding of the woman's character was necessary. She was, therefore, given chances for a long talk. The objective sought was to help her analyze herself and to get her reactions to the present status of a broken family. The underlying philosophy was "Know thyself," a first step in rebuilding. Next, an opportunity was given for the couple to see each other. The objective sought was to have matters talked over and joint planning begun. The underlying philosophy was that discussion hurries conflict to conclusion. Next, the children were carefully watched. The objective sought was an intelligent understanding of them during this period of parental conflict. The underlying philosophy was that children must not be made to suffer for inadequate parental care. Again, health care for all members of the family was arranged. The objective sought was that better health might improve mental outlook. The device used was making the necessary dispensary and hospital appointments and arranging transportation. The underlying philosophy was that people must be shown how to use the medical resources of a community. Later they were urged to make subsequent health arrangements themselves. The objective sought, self-dependence; the device used, keeping the volunteer from giving motor aid; the underlying philosophy, that help given must not hinder the will-power of clients. This is a typical service case as distinguished from a relief case. The father earns a real American living wage. The problem: a broken home to mend. Factors: parents caught in the present-day whirl of wanting a good time, each in his own way.

Why not each of us try some such schedule on our next hundred consecutive cases? Might it not be a searching test? I say "hundred consecutive cases," remembering that to make application to the American College of Surgeons a doctor must submit a full case history of one hundred consecutive operations. Might we not set up some such standard for those who want to qualify as case workers? We might even attempt such an analysis of some of the case histories of ten years ago, which have the well-known epitaph: "Case closed. Family uncooperative." Here we would find a veritable cemetery. Here would be the record in which every step in the theory of investigation had been followed out only to find the worker did not have the vision or the courage, the wisdom or the ability, to accomplish anything positive except meticulous recording of relief—which the bookkeeper does anyway. Or, having some of the qualities, she used no judgment as to which families gave promise of responding to service treatment. She imagined the family could be readjusted, but in reality the wish was the only fact involved. From such records we rationalize and deceive ourselves, hating to challenge our own wasteful methods. These records are the corollary of the hospital bulletin of ten years ago: "The operation was successful but the patient died." Case closed. A critical something, however, about the patient had not been discovered. All family case workers today should be eager to have their case records analyzed. We should expect, also, the same willingness in all those whose jobs call for case work processes. And records which do not show

case work method and an educationally communicable technique should not be called case work.

"The test of reality": This year we witnessed a superb eclipse. It was appreciated by us as no other human beings have ever understood it. It was a reality not to be feared. Many tests were made, but all started from the knowledge that it was our own earth's shadow which darkened the sun. It was we who moved across the face of that other system and lessened its power to give us light and heat. Yet, seeing the sun set that night, we still expressed ourselves in Lanier's lines, "Thou descending immortal, immortal to rise again." Can we say this of our method, "It is a system which can give mortals light and generating power? And is it we, perhaps, who eclipse its power?" We have the test of reality which should not be feared. We have a better opportunity than ever before to try to understand ourselves and it. Just as so many young people are challenging life's shams, so the junior visitors are coming out of our colleges and challenging their own work and our work. In some cities these junior visitors are having case competitions. They look for underlying social problems—drink, desertion, and unemployment. They try to make adjustments between the individuals and their environment. Just as these youngsters are different and do challenge the world they live in, what patterns of life are they weaving for the families they influence? And what lights and shadows do they see? Do they believe that men are still bent on enslaving one another? How do they interpret the significance of women as bread-winners? Can they picture what it means in terms of future families as the long line of fourteen- and sixteen-year-olds, undereducated and unprepared, are fed out each month in the year as productive units in the world's workshop? As they fling off old restraints in their own living, what kind of restraints (if any) do they consider necessary, and to whom do they advise the practicing these restraints? Do they sense the effacing process due to the affectionate selfishness of parents, and the perpetual surrender or rebellion to old authorities? How do they react to the sorry picture shown each day in the thwarting of personal tastes and legitimate ambitions to the so-called "head" of the family? Someone has said the notion of a head to a family is truly comic; the "comics" reflect it. These students may admit, after an undergraduate course on "the family as a social and educational institution," that the primitive family may have been the so-called educational institution, but they challenge its educational value today. They admit it is only a biologic and economic grouping. They claim that we are not able, as family workers, to deduct as we should be able from our records the elements in a successful marriage or in successful family life. Their own personal criteria are different from those of the college youth of even ten years ago, and they claim that marital happiness is not identical with the welfare of offspring. Certainly the apartment house advertisements, you may have noticed, do not urge Wrigley's stork to stop every five seconds on our American doorsteps. The ignorant mother who tried to find the baby welfare association and asked for the "baby

farewell association" really used the slogan of that powerful enemy of family life—the kitchenette architect. Those architects must believe we live to eat, but they provide the skeleton in the closet—the Murphy bed. The world of reality is the world of unstable homes right now—divorce, desertion, non-support, child marriages, childless marriages. There are new predicaments in life today, new forces to re-create us. There are new tyrannies. Our case work methods must meet the test of reality.

It has been said "a technique can be mastered." That is a first step. But there must always be those who blaze the way to still more advanced positions. "A method has indefinite possibilities of extension depending on advance in science on the one hand, and on the other, the education of human nature to demand and maintain better institutions." We put emphasis on improving our technique, and that is necessary, but after all that is only the "mode of artistic execution, or the mechanical skill in art." We need also to turn our minds and imaginations to the indefinite possibilities of extension which lie in the case work method. Method is a form of procedure. Let us proceed!

I have tried to put before you some of the challenges I have had to face as a case worker. We and our methods are being judged every day. Just as we see that the law does not always work out for the justice or happiness of the individual, so we have to face the fact that in our field adjustments will sometimes be painful, advice misunderstood. But let us be on our guard against adding to the sheer unhappiness in the world.

We started out with the familiar phrase, Once upon a time, speaking of some clients. Is it too much to ask that in the future the biggest test of case work methods should be, And did they live happily ever after?

AUTOMOBILE MIGRANTS¹

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The homeless man is as old as history. There have been times when whole nations took to tramping, from love of adventure, patriotism, or economic necessity. The same pioneer spirit settled the United States and the West.

Only after the Civil War, however, did the word "tramp" appear on the

¹ The writer acknowledges indebtedness to fifty-two agencies, representing Mississippi and all states west of that river except North and South Dakota, namely, thirty-seven family societies in Helena, Arkansas; Phoenix and Tucson, Arizona; Oakland, Pasadena, San Diego, San Francisco, and Stockton, California; Boulder, Colorado Springs, and Denver, Colorado; Cedar Rapids, Des Moines, Fort Dodge, Ottumwa, Sioux City, and Waterloo, Iowa; Wichita, Kansas; New Orleans, Louisiana; Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota; Jackson, Mississippi; Columbia, Independence, St. Louis, and Kansas City, Missouri; Lincoln and Omaha, Nebraska; Muskogee, Oklahoma; Portland, Oregon; El Paso and Fort Worth, Texas; Salt Lake City, Utah; Seattle, Spokane, and Tacoma, Washington; Casper, Wyoming; twelve Red Cross chapters in Prescott,

statute books of any of our states.¹ Now, at the end of another war, we are writing the word "auto" before the "tramp." We call them "flivver hobos," "flivver bums," "flivver Magellans," "peripatetics on wheels," "tin-can tourists," "gasoline gypsies." A recent press report says, "The hobo has merely changed his vehicle. It used to be the blind baggage or the bumpers. Today it is the flivver. And he takes his wife and kids along too." We might add, all his possessions, including cats, dogs, and canaries.

The question of the automobile migrant is part of the whole transient movement and is national in scope, but for obvious reasons this paper will be confined to western auto migration. Watching this stream of people from a highway in Arizona, Robert W. Atwood, in the *Saturday Evening Post*, September 15, 1923, calls them "a new phase of a westward-sweeping army, the successors of the ox cart and covered wagon."

It is difficult to estimate the size of this westward-moving army. Overland auto traffic began in 1912, when two hundred cars went across the continent, but the real tide of travel began in 1919. In 1922 20,000 cars went overland.² The Salt Lake Auto Association estimates 22,400 cars passed through the city in 1924.

It is still more difficult to estimate the number of those who "go broke" in their travels. Atwood says that from 30 per cent to 60 per cent of the entire traveling army ask help on the way, but the family societies do not find that these auto migrants form a large percentage of their case load, as few in proportion come to them, and then only when the generous American public fails.

Only ten out of forty agencies gave me figures on the subject, and only three of these in terms of percentage to the case load: Pueblo, 9 per cent in 1924; Seattle, 75 in 1924, or 3 per cent; Salt Lake City, 24 in 1924, or 5 per cent; Tucson, Arizona, 1 to 4 a day; Colorado Springs, 29 from October, 1923, to September, 1924; Denver, 40 in February, 1924, equal to six months in 1923; Ottumwa, Iowa, 26 in 1924; Portland, 180 in the last few months of 1924; El Paso, 60 in a year; Independence, Missouri, every week annually. Others say these people constitute a tremendous and a growing problem. Only eight agencies report very few cases, namely, San Diego and San Francisco, California; Des Moines, Fort Dodge, Waterloo, and Sioux City, Iowa; Minneapolis and South St. Paul, Minnesota; Helena, Montana.

The times of year the agencies are bothered vary according to their location. Denver and Colorado Springs have made detailed studies of the problem, having had it longest, due to the reputation of the climate. The cities that are not

Arizona; Pueblo and Trinidad, Colorado; Boise, Pocatello, and Twin Falls, Idaho; Helena, Montana; Reno, Nevada; Albuquerque and Santa Fe, New Mexico; Pendleton, Oregon; Walla Walla, Washington; three public departments in Los Angeles, California; Steamboat Springs, Colorado; Missoula, Montana.

¹ Solenburger, *One Thousand Homeless Men*, pp. 1, 2.

² Robert W. Atwood.

troubled are not on the main lines of travel from east to west or east to south or vice versa. The general movement seems to be from the Middle West to the West and South and back, as well as up and down the coast, following the fruit seasons. We have intimations, however, that travel starts from all sections of the eastern states and from Canada. Denver so reports, also Oakland.

What kind of people travel? Atwood tells us that a small number are tourists, business and professional men seeking new opportunities, and regular tramps with a sprinkling of sportsmen and college boys. A moderate number are health seekers and a large number are drifters, small farmers, skilled and unskilled workmen, seeking jobs or new homes. The Denver Social Service Bureau, which has attempted to analyze this question, says these family men have a variety of occupations, unskilled labor leading the rest. My own experience would verify that statement. They travel in different kinds of cars, the Ford, perhaps, predominating, although Oakland reports the Chevrolet as the favorite. All agree that a large number are rattletaps, the kind available for from \$50 to \$300. Generally they are not paid for.

All organizations agree on the problems presented. To quote Missoula, the usual story is, "They started from any place for the coast, where they heard they could get work. The outfit consisted of a car—good, bad, or indifferent—pa, ma, and from four to ten little angels, a camping outfit, and an infinitesimal amount of cash. They expected to pick up work along the road to pay their expenses, but they had so much repair work and so much bad luck, they have run out of money, and would we please buy them groceries and gas and oil so they could go on?"

These families are always in a hurry, very seldom have a destination or legal residence. Their greatest need is gas and oil. They would "rather part with their lives than their cars," and they prefer sleeping in the open to coming inside. The only places that report a preference for houses is Pendleton, Oregon, in very cold weather, and Phoenix, Arizona, in rainy weather.

A family reached Salt Lake in October, 1924—man, wife, and daughter of eleven, woman's parents, her brother-in-law, his wife, and two children. They claimed to have started from the state of Washington eight months previously because of the illness of their little girl. They came down the coast, working in California, and across to Salt Lake, where none of the men could secure work. The man was a meat-cutter, his brother-in-law a mechanic, and his father-in-law an ordinary laborer. Groceries were given, and the weather being snowy and inclement, they were brought into town and made comfortable at a rooming-house. As they gave their destination as Colorado, their relatives were wired to and replied promising a home to the family if sent. How send them? They wanted \$70.74 in cash for food, gas, oil, and repairs. We suggested that the car be sold, the women and children be sent on by train, the men getting rides in other machines. This would cost much less than the \$70.74. They responded by returning to their life in the auto camp in spite of the snow (the room rent was

paid for a week), and were reported by the Salvation Army as trying to sell sheets for gas. A few days later they met a family in the camp with \$50, who staked them to Las Vegas, Nevada. Reason for going to Nevada, none; a good winter home in Colorado turned down.

The men in these families appear to loathe work. If they work at all it is only until they make sufficient to go elsewhere. Denver reports twenty out of forty men refused work in return for help asked. Likewise, they frequently refuse help if that means investigation, and many will not answer any questions. Experiences of this kind seem to be quite general with all the agencies, and have certainly been common in Salt Lake City.

Some of these families wander indefinitely. Oakland reports a man and wife who started twenty-five years ago with a team and have been going ever since. Walla Walla reports a family who said they rented their home and had been traveling for years—it was cheaper. In the summer they could just help themselves to all kinds of eatables from gardens and fields on the way. They borrowed gasoline whenever anybody was kind enough to believe their story of need. When they stayed the limit of time in one auto camp they went to another, and then came back to the same ones, over and over again, until they decided to go on.

These families resort to all sorts of expedients and frauds to keep traveling. Boise reports an ex-service man who arrived last summer from Chicago in an old Mercedes car, with wife and two children, en route to his parents in Nevada. He appeared badly crippled, could not walk straight, and used two canes. He first appealed to the American Legion, having letters from prominent Legion officers in other states urging others to help. In other places this had produced support, and he was quite surprised when the agency explained their method of giving aid. About six months later the man called at a garage in a small town near Boise to have his car repaired. When he said he could not pay the bill, the owner told him he would keep the car till the money was paid. The man pulled out a roll of bills of large denominations and paid up like a millionaire. He had saved all the money given him and begged his expenses. He had not been to Nevada.

These families have a decided tendency, also, to get along by exploiting their children. Los Angeles says: "If a family stays long enough for the compulsory education department to get after them, they move on. The children develop a wanderlust and restlessness . . . ; are much excited at the prospect of moving on to a new place, and plainly show the love of adventure which a roving life . . . presents. They work along with their parents in the fields, gathering cotton, walnuts, picking berries and fruit. They are considered an asset. . . . It is not infrequently that the parents tell us they could not 'make a go of it' without the help of their children."

The health and education of the children of these auto families are often seriously impaired, and there is frequently a moral phase involved which is

very difficult to get hold of, much less control. Independence, Missouri, reports: "We have been morally certain that couples were not married, that some of the children did not belong to the group, but had been picked up in some unexplainable manner and were being used to provide meal tickets." Oakland reports: "This winter we have had to care for forty families quarantined with smallpox in one of the local automobile camps." Boulder reports the case of a man who sold his farm at a good price and for seven years practically lived in the car, spending an average of two months in one place, three nice little girls getting no satisfactory schooling. "One child needed glasses, which served as an excuse to keep her out of school. We told the mother she had to go to school or get out of our jurisdiction. The glasses were purchased, and the child entered. The father sells honey or something that gives him the whole country to scour, and the family seem too willing to tell their troubles when his remittances do not come."

In the coast cities and sometimes in the South the situation differs slightly. The autoists go there to settle, the auto camps sometimes housing as many as a city. These camps usually consist of one-room tent houses, providing practically no privacy nor opportunity for cleanliness. Los Angeles reports that some families, after establishing a residence, continue to live in the camps, although many come to hibernate and some come for the seasonal work. Pasadena and Tacoma both report that families come there with the idea of staying. They arrive penniless and are dependent upon the communities until they find work.

What are we doing about it? Tourists take up collections for needy autoists, public departments give them gas and oil and pass them on, the public generally becomes much excited and does the same thing, even family agencies halfheartedly follow suit. Of thirty-nine agencies, six make a practice of giving gas and oil, one even repairing cars; four do sometimes, if they establish a residence for the family and have some guaranty that they are going home; one gives gas and oil if the family leaves a deposit for security. As a result, they have collected watches, jewelry, and various articles which remain unredeemed. Two have given gas and oil formerly but have stopped this beggar-producing method. Twenty agencies do case work, and five try. A few attach the cars before relief is given, or insist upon their not being used.

As an excuse for passing on, they say that somebody will anyhow; that it is cheaper; that it is useless to do case work when the families are here today and gone tomorrow; and that their funds are given for local dependents. Wichita thinks they make a snap judgment 90 per cent of the time, and call it a "holdup game." Other terms are: "veritable pests," "*bête noir* of our lives," "dangerous citizens," "menace to national life." Sante Fe decided "to let the auto fiends sell their cars or push them out." One agency says, "Let's annihilate the breed"; another suggests that Ford open up a loan department where every indigent purchaser who cannot pay to run his car can apply for repairs. All find the auto migrants very trying and difficult problems to handle, out of all proportion to

their number. All feel they make little progress, even with case work methods. A few feel the need of constructive work. Tucson has written to other places in Arizona and Texas in an endeavor to formulate a united policy of treatment. Pueblo and Reno suggest clearing-houses for their states. Fort Dodge reports a clearing system by which all agencies report transients to Des Moines and notify possible places of contact.

Reasons for wandering point the way to remedies. Undoubtedly the movement is partly due to race restlessness since the world-war, to the increased ownership of the automobile, to the improved highways, to railroad and commercial club propaganda, "See your own country first," and to the lure and romantic urge of the West, which has always been held up as the place where fortunes are made. Auto migrants journey also for health, for work, both permanent and seasonal, for new homes, and sometimes they are "just traveling."

We can do nothing about the race restlessness, nor the automobiles, nor the highways. Probably we can do nothing in the matter of traveling for health, unless the medical profession would institute an educational campaign among its own members. It is possible, however, to do something about advertising. Salt Lake agencies, like other western cities, have felt that the railroad and commercial club advertising is not wholly beneficial to their sections. We can still advertise our beautiful country and climate, but warn the people that a prospective job or sufficient capital is necessary before a move is made. We might even have a national educational campaign on foresight.

On the subject of work we can do much to change our wasteful and idiotic methods of letting people wander aimlessly in search of it. During the world-war we had a system of state employment bureaus. We moved labor about the country as needed. Now many of these have been discontinued. In Utah there is neither state nor city employment bureau. Let us labor for their re-establishment and efficiency.

A movement started in Portland might well be copied by other sections. A seasonal employment commission was appointed, following a survey conducted by the office of the labor commissioner covering several seasons' inquiry into the seasonal employment periods. They collect and broadcast employment information, establishing connections in each section of their state with other agencies, and thus anticipate the needs of growers and provide suitable help for the handling of crops as they rotate. Portland also tried an interesting experiment in 1923, and claims it has saved thousands of dollars through a few hundred invested in a health and recreation service on a ranch during the hop harvest time. Through this means they held more than one thousand workers until the end of the harvest, in contrast to an experience in 1922, when the force dropped from one thousand to three hundred at the end of the first ten days. This was followed by six similar projects in 1924.

We can educate our own communities. It is difficult, but possible, to teach them not to give to the auto migrants. We have taught cities to pass up tramps

on the street. We can teach them through the newspapers and other avenues of publicity to pass up auto tramps on the road.

In spite of the difficulties presented by the auto migrants, it seems to me the family agencies should handle them individually by case work methods. State clearing-houses for transients would help. National organizations might assist in their establishment. The transportation agreement may have to be modified, but should be followed.

Certainly an effort should be made to stabilize and settle the wandering family or else return them to their residence. Atwood tells us that this automobile migration has developed the country, improved the roads, and reduced sectionalism; that it provides an outlet for the gypsy complex, that it is the boiling process of the melting pot of America, that it shifts the population and shakes it down so that it finds its proper grooves.

Nevertheless to us family agencies it seems that part of this wandering is due to a pioneer spirit gone to seed, and that in truth it may prove a national menace unless controlled. From our experience we have the vision to see the end from the beginning, and it is up to us to start the ball rolling to curb and guide this restless groping so that through case work and the education of the community, the state and the nation, and an efficient system of moving labor about the country as needed, the auto tramp will settle down and find a place of usefulness instead of degenerating into a traveling parasite. We may say the transient problem has never been solved, but these transients differ from our old homeless men in that they are families and should take root more easily. And in our effort to stabilize them, let us keep in mind that, to quote Atwood again, "A gypsy temperament, having found its proper environment, takes a very keen interest in civic duties and creative work."

GOALS FOR WANDERERS

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The history of mankind is one of spiritual and physical travelings over the face of the earth. In early times, when whole tribes migrated because there was need for new pasturage, better water, or richer hunting grounds, no doubt grave complications arose among the people. I trust there were on hand on such occasions a few appointed travelers' aid workers to answer questions. But the plan was clear and life depended upon the moving. The goal was definite, if not located, and the trip but a means to that realization. It is well to pause and consider the great quests of the ages and what they have brought beside another problem of the homeless. Think of the Crusades, of the coming of the Pilgrims to these shores, and of the American pioneer as he pushed westward. Was the spirit of adventure the greatest of the gifts these travelers brought? Each sought

in his own way to find the place in which his soul could live most fully. And yet this spirit of adventure is a great gift too, and may be used to lighten paths at any time. Deep in the heart of everyone is the love of change. The unknown beckons ceaselessly. We are most of us explorers, and enjoy keenly taking journeys—even to the National Conference. A winding road in the country, far on and over the hills, can set our imagination dancing with the dreams of traveling new highways, finding new experiences, meeting new friends, and being on our own.

So it is that we view with a degree of sympathetic camaraderie the boy who has run away from home seeking the hidden treasure his ambition or day-dream has conjured up before his eyes, the patient trying to beg his way to a distant section because a "change of air" he believes will do him good, or the family which has packed its pathetically few belongings in a trailer and is "touring" westward or southward to try its luck in some unknown place. The very romance of the desires of such travelers proves a strain on the nerves of the plodding and earnest social worker appealed to for help. What a temptation it is to join this faring forth, to throw in a few dollars of relief by way of being in the game ourselves, as it were, and to say goodbye gaily to anyone so adventurous. A sharp reaction comes whenever a worker or agency has had much experience with transportation relief, has caught these errant journeyers, and has observed the devastating effect upon the character of the person thus continually passing or being passed on. One's enthusiasm over such wildcat investing soon wanes.

Three little children and their feeble-minded mother were once suddenly deposited in my office. This small family had traveled far and wide, the mother said, no poor official being willing to refuse a simple request for fare to the neighboring county to any mother so evidently handicapped by the youngsters from regular work. The children showed at first a shrewdness away beyond their years, and when left alone fell asleep upon their chairs, worn-out waifs who had served their mother valiantly, and now quite consciously, whenever she begged for food, shelter, or a railroad ticket.

A revulsion against thoughtless transportation aid finds practical expression in a unique case-work practice covenant called "The Transportation Agreement." Back in 1902 a committee on transportation was appointed by the National Conference of Social Work, two years after the National Conference of Jewish Charities, as it was then called, had a working agreement among its members as to responsibility and procedure in cases having to do with migrants. The chief purpose of this committee was to stop the then prevalent habit of "passing on" clients into the neighboring communities, which meant "passing on" your responsibility when it became troublesome to you. Some rules were drawn up about when to give, and when not to give, relief for travel, and the committee endeavored to secure signers who would pledge themselves to be governed accordingly. This committee functioned until 1921, was vigorous in building up a

constituency of agencies, and in rendering decisions when cases of misunderstanding or disagreement between signers were submitted. Mr. Fred S. Hall, of the Russell Sage Foundation, acted as agent. By 1921 it was thought this obligation or promote good case work principles in one certain group of problems rightly belonged to the case work agencies themselves. So there came into existence the present Committee on Transportation of Allied National Agencies. This committee was, and still is, organized under a constitution which calls for organization members who are delegates from national agencies wishing to subscribe to the duties set forth, and four members at large selected by these organization members. The group is chiefly concerned with securing signers from among local agencies, revising the rules from time to time so they will be in accord with the highest ideals of social case work practice, explaining the principles to interested agencies, printing and circulating literature about the agreement, and keeping record of all local agencies which sign annually. Occasionally there is a formal complaint against a signer, where it is claimed he has not kept the pledge and has disregarded some rule. These requests for interpretation or decision are referred to a subcommittee on decisions.

I think I can take it for granted that most of you are familiar with the articles of the rules governing signers. You have seen the committee literature from your own national office, if your agency is a member of any of the following, which now constitute the Committee on Transportation: the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, the Child Welfare League of America, the National Association of Travelers' Aid Societies, the National Council Church Mission of Help, and the National Tuberculosis Association. While not joining the Committee as yet, the American Red Cross has this year printed the rules, with explanatory articles, in its *Handbook of Information*, urging observance by its local chapters. Thus six national agencies recognize the strength of standing for the best case work principles in transportation problems. It is not strange that there has been this fine example of association when one recalls how inevitably bound together different cities are in any case of transportation.

Let us consider our obligation, as case workers who have signed the Transportation Agreement, toward some of those travelers who cannot journey without financial assistance. The Charles family, that is, Mrs. Charles and her children and her mother, wished to travel across the continent to relatives able and willing to care for them permanently. So the family society arranged to furnish the transportation, including a stop-over at a sanatorium where Mr. Charles had long been a patient. Mrs. Charles' mother became ill when the family reached the sanatorium, and the family halted. The society in this sanatorium city felt it unwise for the Charleses to continue the journey, as Mrs. Charles too, was ill. After three months the plan for the trip to the relatives was proposed by the initial society and again advised against by this intermediary society. The rest of the fare was refunded by the railroad to the sending society which had started them off. In eight months after the start this first society

notified the family that the money for the trip would no longer be offered, but three months later still the sanatorium society requested transportation. This was refused by the first society on the grounds that the relatives no longer could provide for the family, and that the society no longer would assume responsibility for carrying out the original plan. The Decisions Committee of the Committee on Transportation was appealed to and sustained the initial society in its contention, saying in its findings that a sending society "should not be responsible indefinitely for continued transportation. A mere time limit for all cases would be mechanical. The fundamental object of the Transportation Agreement and its rules is like the object of the societies which sign it, to improve the conditions of needy families. So a sending society cannot be held responsible when another agency en route is dealing with the family under new conditions arising without the control of the sending agency, unless it specifically agrees to the change of plan."

From the South, in a society only recently used widely by its own community, there comes a sudden increase in intake. A study of these new cases shows a large number of non-resident families from the neighboring hills; many of whom have serious health problems, and most of whom are quite helpless in accommodating themselves to city life. What shall be the policy toward this influx of new arrivals? The society cannot maintain its standards of work in the face of this increasing load. These families are not resident ones, but come from other sections of the state. There is no settlement law in that state. The communities from which these families come have no social case work agencies and no hospitals. Shall the family be returned to the place of residence? Rule I of the Transportation Agreement says:

Before any transportation shall be provided, the agency having the matter under consideration must be satisfied, by adequate and reliable evidence (1) that the applicant (a) will have such resources for maintenance at the point of destination as will save him from becoming dependent on relief from a social agency, or (b) that he is a proper charge upon the private agencies there, or (c) that he has legal residence there, and (2) that his prospects for restoration to normal life are not decreased by sending him to the proposed destination.

But if this southern society took in all these neighboring poor families, on the theory that their chances for restoration to normal life would be decreased by returning, it would sink its ship. Its case work would soon deteriorate in the face of such overloading. Here, as in other times of strain when our very life as case work agencies is threatened, we must take a long view. Except in those cases of serious illness, the non-resident families are not to be accepted as this society's responsibility if such a critical situation in a society develops, but to be sent back and put in touch with the official representative there. In some ways the opportunities for these families to adjust themselves is better in the rural settlements because of natural affiliations. We are resorting to the limitation of intake principle. In such cases, the good of the few or their restoration to normal life through a case worker's efforts is to be sacrificed for the good of the many in the city.

The new emphasis, however, in the rules governing Transportation Agreement signers as revised in 1922 is upon observing the welfare of the client, rather than necessarily returning to the place of legal residence, although public officials signing are not bound to anything which would be contrary to their state settlement laws. May we not forget that what we are looking for is the best opportunity for normal living, and that when a family or a single man or woman has come to a social agency to ask advice and help, the social worker endeavors to acquire sufficient understanding about that client to help him find a place in which to live and express himself adequately. Sometimes a sharp difference of opinion arises as to which is the best place for a family to become self-supporting.

A society in A had as a client a non-resident family which has moved about considerably in the past few years, mostly between counties in a suburban community near A. They never established a residence of one year in any county. The family proposed to the society in A returning to that section again. In fact, the man had a promise of work and had paid down on a tiny place. The society in A tried to gain approval from the suburban community through its nearest family agency, but failed. So the A society took a chance, counting upon the good influence of out-of-door work, rural setting, and territory familiar to the family and provided transportation. The A society notified the second, which we may call B, that should the family need help during its period of adjusting, A will take care of that and will also visit from time to time. The plan for getting the family on its feet in this case involves a change of residence, and as long as the plan is A's it should be assumed by A. Rule VI, from the rules binding signers of the Agreement, is here brought into use. It reads, you see:

A report should be obtained from an appropriate agency in the place to which transportation is contemplated before an applicant is sent thither and, if possible, approval of the proposed transportation should be obtained from such an agency—particularly when a signer of these rules is listed at the destination. If transportation is furnished by a signer of these rules without obtaining the approval of such an agency, if one exists, or without reasonable effort to obtain a reply to an inquiry addressed to it, and if the person to whom transportation is furnished becomes dependent at the destination within a year after his departure from the point of origin, then the agency at the destination to which application is made for assistance should make request for reimbursement, as provided for in Rule V. If this request is refused on the ground that no violation of Rule VI has occurred, the case should be presented to the Transportation Committee for decision.

You see there is no limit set as to the length of time in which reimbursement may be asked, should dependence continue. The only stipulation is as to the one year in which the first request for reimbursement may be submitted. The plan of the sending society for the family is the important deciding factor. It was A's plan in the instance given, and A's responsibility lasts as long as the plan is being given its initial tryout.

Rule VI is most difficult of interpretation and may be modified soon by the committee. The first part of the rule, which is permissive only, suggests ap-

proval from the destination city in transportation questions. The second half of the rule, which has to do with the collecting of reimbursement in case the family becomes dependent within a year (or three, in tuberculosis cases), suggests the possibility of the Decision Committee's insisting on reimbursement, thus presuming the rule is mandatory. This section of the rules has been the most often-debated one. How effectively to enforce reimbursement when the approval of the destination city is not required, but only urged, is a real problem for the committee. Who would want to drop from the list of signers—and that is the severest penalty possible—a signing agency because it did not pay a reimbursement request? (This was done in just one instance.) The greatest difference in opinion over the responsibility for such reimbursement is possible. It is an interpretive question rather than an easily sensed question of right or wrong.

Many cases are not formally submitted as violations, but questions that show need for further discussion are constantly put to the committee. The most common of these informal references is the one about securing charity rates from the railroads. Never has the committee considered this its province. No mention is made of this in the constitution. Difficulties which are presented in securing reduced transportation come evidently in the following way: first, railroad associations vary in their policies toward granting reductions in fare; then, the different railroad associations do not come together to arrive at a joint policy, so that uniform procedure would be impossible. Thus far the advice to inquiring signers has been to urge taking up any such inquiry with the railroad association in his part of the country. The committee tentatively discussed this whole question as one allied with any transportation relief. Some members heartily disapproved of the principle of securing rates for social service clients, considering it unethical, and one to be discouraged therefore. It was compared with special favors like political passes of long ago. The indignity of riding on a ticket marked with red pencil "charity," as some railroads designate these reduced fares, was agreed to be a bad social influence on the traveler.

Often the agency signing the rules of the Transportation Agreement tries to defend some hasty, thoughtless violation of the agreement on the ground that this was a case where he acted as agent for some other organization in the community which had made the plan and asked him to supply the funds. The committee has vigorously come out with the statement that there is no such thing as lesser responsibility by a signer where transportation is concerned. Even where the signer feels himself an agent or where he is merely an advisor in the plan, he is normally bound to the strictest observance of the rules. When the rules are next revised it is likely that this statement will be included, as so many agencies do not understand their full obligation in these instances.

The extent of the transportation problem today has gained significant proportions; first, how significant we will not know until each agency keeps a separate account of all homeless, whether men or families. The Committee on Transportation has definitely considered that the agreement, while not specifically

mentioning auto touring, covers any item of travel, whether it be by boat, automobile, or train. Secondhand Fords and free automobile camps for tourists add new temptation to the restless souls seeking adventures. One family worker has cleverly offered to assist any auto-tramp family to establish itself in her city stipulating that her organization hold the car during that period. As yet not one such transient has accepted. One agency writes the Committee on Transportation that it would sign the Agreement if its city was not so conspicuously situated on a national highway, where it received so many transients! One is tempted to inquire just how many transients they can afford to pass on to the new community. Can they afford to be a case work agency that does not investigate before closing a case? For "passing on" is a drastic way of closing a case. Two societies naïvely state that a few gallons of gasoline are cheaper than a bill for hotel and telegrams while investigating a transient's story, and so they hesitate to sign the Transportation Agreement. Shall we not have to take a firm stand that case work principles apply universally and that these "casuals of the highway" need peculiarly the close scrutiny into their situation which we give resident problems? Special problems with automobile migrants arise in observing the Transportation Agreement which will have to be worked out as we pool our experiences with the Committee on Transportation.

The many problems of continuing transportation which come to a junction-point city require careful scrutiny and point toward the need of a more generally similar understanding between these intermediary cities and the railroad. In one such city where a group of such cases was studied it was found that the railroad officials were much more particular about satisfying themselves as to the wisdom of the journey than the sending societies now appealing to the intermediary city. A plan for transportation relief as covered in the Agreement includes arranging for travel through to destination, and that means full data to the intermediary city where such help with ticket-buying is relied upon.

Early in this paper we have tried to show that the kernel of the Agreement and its rules is an affirmation that case work is required in any situation. The whole Agreement is bound up in that portion of the rules which says: "The applicant's prospects for return to normal living shall not be decreased by sending him to the proposed destination." This statement, "return to normal living," is the purpose of modern social work and the guiding factor in all questions of treatment, whether or not they involve change in environment, which is what all transportation signifies. And normal living includes in its meaning a spark of adventure, whether the journey taken be one of the imagination or real. The important things are the purpose and joy of the pilgrimage.

For living is one long journey, whether we move about much or not. Our purpose in life is often too indefinite to urge us on. Good guideposts and intelligent fellow-journeymen are needed. The very indefiniteness of our desires may be all that keeps us back. We may be like the Chinese shopkeeper whom Thomas Burke describes:

Fluent as his road had been, it had a sharp corner.
His shop is there, his lantern is there, maybe his spirit is there.

I knew his road had many corners and I could see he was fumbling after them.

To sort out the impediments of travel and mark the road and destination plainly for some of life's tourists, that is the task social workers have chosen. But one studies the map each time a traveler asks for help, and takes into account the strength of each on the way. May we again recall the great historic journeys of the tribes of old, with their strong and definite purposes. Thus may we see all our case work as concerned with plans of spiritual travel. May we search always for the soul of adventure in everyone we serve, not forgetting we need ever the guidance of a keen heart, because our motives make our turnings and the distant stars of our desires our goal.

THE ART OF HELPING THROUGH THE INTERVIEW: A STUDY OF TWO INTERVIEWS

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To a person going through a large group of records, both new and old, in search for material on successful treatment, several changes in emphasis are apparent. The early records have nothing except treatment interviews: "Man looked healthy, so agent advised that he get to work at once." There was no time for investigation, for consultation with experts, for anything beyond the meeting and treating of each problem as it arose, although because of the meager records it is hard to judge of the workers' objectives or of the results obtained. While thoughtfulness and consideration certainly went into the planning, treatment was somewhat on an intuitive basis.

Then, in the development of the technique of diagnosis, in the search for facts and more facts, the ultimate use of those facts was sometimes obscured or pushed indefinitely ahead. Diagnostic and prognostic summaries were couched in vague and general terms. Or again, the visitor sat in solemn conclave with her superintendent or with the district committee and decided what was to be done with the family, "that these were the facts of the case," only to visit afterward to find an altered situation demanding an entirely new plan to be worked out extemporaneously with the family. Frequently, in spite of the stressing of the need for further facts, when a plan did not grow out of diagnosis the visitor found herself with long, typewritten pages of information from collateral sources which she did not know how to use, or which she occasionally interpreted to show the need for some panacea, birth control, prohibition, minimum wage, etc.

Our emphasis is now swinging back to the treatment phase again. We are accepting, of course, a forward-looking diagnosis as a foundation, utilizing, too,

the stimulating but objective help of the case conference and bringing to the client's doorstep all the available resources of the community. Yet we are realizing also that the success of any except a fool-proof plan (and of such, how many are there?) may be made or marred by the relationship between client and visitor, and that more and more in the medium of this interplay the plans for the family evolve.

This has given a new significance to the interview. "Well, but what do you say to a family on such and such an occasion?" is the query of not only the visitor-in-training. However, we are still far from formulating definite principles of how the interview may be used as a tool in treatment, although the psychiatric field has given, and is giving, incalculable help with this problem. But must not all of us repeatedly turn back to specific interviews for further material?

The following two interviews are presented for discussion, not at all in the spirit of charting a new field, but as illustrations of how two rather typical situations were met in two certain families.

Mr. Grant was referred to the family agency by a court worker to whom he had complained about the care given by his wife to their two children, eight and six. At the time of the application the children were still in the home with Mr. Grant, being partially cared for by a relative who lived in the same building. Mrs. Grant had been gone a few days, was at the home of a friend who was said to be influencing Mrs. Grant to divorce her husband. After the visitor had had a long interview with Mr. Grant she made several attempts to talk with Mrs. Grant, who answered the questions put to her, but who gave information guardedly and insisted that she would proceed with her divorce because of Mr. Grant's nonsupport and cruelty, that Mr. Grant should support the children in an institution. Several collateral sources seen led the visitor to feel that the points of contention were not insurmountable, that if Mrs. Grant could only be persuaded to return before the break became established, an adjustment might be made. Even Mrs. Grant's attorney was willing to assist in a reconciliation. Mrs. Grant continued obdurate, however, and Mr. Grant, growing impatient, applied to a Catholic agency for placement of the children. Mrs. Grant was seen again, both by the visitor and by the priest, but she reiterated her refusal to return to Mr. Grant, although halfheartedly stating that she would like the custody of the children. At no time was there any success in getting any spontaneous reaction from her. In another attempt to formulate a plan a conference of the interested persons was arranged.

Father X, Mr. and Mrs. Grant, the latter's attorney, and the visitor were present. Mr. Grant had in his hand a copy of the divorce proceedings which had been served on him the previous day and over which he was very much excited, vehemently declaring that he would counterclaim all such accusations. Mr. Grant, on the other hand, seemed not to consider Mrs. Grant, only the welfare of his two children. Mrs. Grant blamed Mr. Grant for everything she had ever done; she had not gone out with other men, but even if she had, it would have been his fault, because he once told her that if she wanted kind words she would have to go to the street to get them. Mr. Grant brushed these things aside as not worth consideration, and asked about the care of the children, going over much of the ground already discussed with him before. Mrs. Grant insisted that Mr. Grant had struck her; he insisted he had only pushed her away. Mr. Grant insisted that many times Mrs. Grant had stayed out all night, that she arrived home one morning at 5 A.M. Mrs. Grant retorted that he knew perfectly well he had locked her out of the house, so that she was forced to sit on the porch. During this argument the visitor listened quietly and Father X acted as mediator. Finally, when the neglect of the children was stressed, Mrs. Grant began to cry, sobbing that everyone was against her. She got up as if to leave the room, but the visitor went to her to calm her. Mrs. Grant stood by the window undecidedly. Mr. Grant spoke up, "What's the matter? If you need air, why don't you raise the window?"

The visitor suggested that Mr. Grant do this for her, but when he made no move the courtesy was performed by Father X. As the conference seemed to be getting nowhere it was adjourned. The visitor suggested that Mrs. Grant accompany her to lunch.

As they left the building Mrs. Grant was asked where she might like to go. The question was put quite casually, as the visitor was anxious to know what familiarity Mrs. Grant had with downtown restaurants, these having played a prominent part in Mr. Grant's accusations. Mrs. Grant's reply was hesitating, and it was hard to tell whether she did not know eating places or whether she did not wish to appear to know. The choice of lunchroom was finally made by the visitor, and a secluded table chosen and a nourishing lunch ordered. Mrs. Grant seemed to enjoy her meal, but she showed little experience with restaurant service, and watched the visitor closely in the use of her silver. With the casual preliminaries of the ordering of the meal out of the way, a barren spot in the conversation was avoided by talking of clothes. Mrs. Grant was trimly dressed, and it was possible sincerely to compliment her about her appearance. "Oh, but he says I lost all my good looks by going out with men." To this the visitor replied, avoiding temporarily the possible discussion of the present difficulty, "But he hasn't always said such things to you, has he?" With this as an opening wedge it was easy to turn the conversation back to Mrs. Grant's early married life. With great pride and in detail she told of her wedding in St. Margaret's, the finest one the church had ever had up to that time. With only a question here and there a long story followed of her early home with Mr. Grant's parents, of her troubles with him, of several illnesses, including a period of extreme nervousness a year before when she had not been able to sleep. She spoke particularly of a certain doctor who had treated her kindly at that time. Then, somewhat abruptly, the conversation stopped, and after a pause uninterrupted by further questions and in which Mrs. Grant seemed to be thinking over the situation, she said slowly that she thought Mr. Grant was looking thinner, that she wondered if he got enough to eat, that when she was at home she always tried to feed the family well, even taking the children with her to the store so that they could pick out what they wanted.

The visitor replied, "But don't you think that Mr. Grant is really worried over all this trouble?" Mrs. Grant admitted that he might be. She had wanted to surprise him, to make him think, so she applied for a divorce. He had thought she would come back as she had before when she went away. But she hated to see him looking so poorly. Then the visitor, risking everything she had gained, but feeling even surer than before with the new insight gained from Mrs. Grant's story that if Mrs. Grant could only return home and Mr. Grant be made to see her point of view that the home might be saved, asked Mrs. Grant if she would not put aside some of her own troubles, consider the children, go back to Father X, and tell him that if Mr. Grant would move to another house (this had been one of the points of contention) she would return to live under the same roof. Mrs. Grant was hesitant, but further details as to the probable arrangement were brought to the support of the plan. These, in turn, brought out additional facts from Mrs. Grant. She spoke particularly of Mr. Grant's discourtesy to her in the preceding conference; this argument was met by asking her if she did not think that both she and Mr. Grant were worried and had said things they each regretted. It was agreed finally, however, that after seeing Father X, Mrs. Grant was to go to her lawyer to discuss with him her return, so that all should be done legally in case she wished to reopen divorce proceedings if the reconciliation failed. Mrs. Grant was then accompanied to Father X's office and left to carry out the rest of her plan alone. Her actual return to the home took place a few days later.

Now of course this interview by itself could not be fruitful of results unless Mr. Grant could be reached and unless the visitor's diagnosis of the probably solvable sources of friction was correct. Yet the three objectives of the worker for this interview were accomplished. Mrs. Grant told freely of her side of the trouble, a contact was established, and the first step in a reconciliation was taken.

The key points in the interview might be listed as follows: first, a setting

favorable to the securing of confidence was created. In the sharing of food it is hard to maintain a barrier; second, the main issue was avoided until a sympathetic understanding had been established; third, the previous high-water mark in the client's life, namely, her wedding and early married life, were utilized to balance against the present low-water mark of the threatening divorce; fourth, only a tentative plan was offered, with definite loopholes of escape; fifth, the definite next steps were left to the client, so that the plan would be of her own making as much as possible; sixth, the visitor's personality without doubt was a deciding factor; she was a married woman, older than the client, with children of her own. She was punctilious about small courtesies, and was quiet-spoken. Unconsciously her wider experience must have been a recommendation for the wisdom of her suggestions.

In the Reilly family was a very different situation. All the possibilities of a new contact were gone. Mr. and Mrs. Reilly and their five children had been known to social agencies and public outdoor relief departments in various communities in two states. An accidental near-asphyxiation of the children brought newspaper publicity, which was far from helpful. The family society in A knew of at least three occasions when the family had been returned as public charges. In one community they had been given tickets to leave town, as they were considered undesirable. There was a history of irregular work, of residence in cheap rooming-houses; they were always going to move on to something better, but were also endowed with a faculty for achieving a return to A at 5:00 P.M. with no place to go. Both Mr. and Mrs. Reilly had come from homes which had been broken when the children were small.

One cold day in December a call came in to the district office. The Reillys were needing food. The visitor making the call had seen the Reillys only a few times, but had recently had physical and mental tests of Mr. Reilly which had been productive of no particular findings. There seemed no tangible reason why Mr. Reilly should work so irregularly. He had given up his last job, when jobs were not plentiful, to have cash on hand. His failure to find other work had elicited some rather positive remarks from the department of outdoor relief. Upon the occasion of this particular visit, a school nurse was leaving the house and Mrs. Reilly was concluding her argument against some much-needed medical attention for the children. When Mrs. Reilly and the visitor were alone, the visitor's first comment was that she was surprised to hear Mrs. Reilly talking in such a way to a person who came to be of help to the family. *Mrs. Reilly*—"But of what help has anyone been to the family?" and she launched volubly into her grievances. A refusal to Mr. Reilly's recent request for aid was uppermost. The visitor listened quietly without arguing back as Mrs. Reilly had evidently expected her to do. Mrs. Reilly straightened herself with a visible physical effort and put the baby down out of her arms. She had been talked to by social workers all over the state, and she had made up her mind that this time she would do the talking, that what she was going to say took courage. After all, why weren't the Reillys as good as some of the other families that got help; Mr. Reilly did not drink or gamble, he had never been untrue to her, or she to him; they were both fond of their children; when Mr. Reilly quit his job, he had had a better place in view or he had needed immediate cash. She told in detail of some of the hardships in the early lives of herself and Mr. Reilly. In further support of her position she mentioned also that she had two "very respectable" brothers, to quote her own words, in another city. The visitor listened until Mrs. Reilly had completely spent her anger; then said that what Mrs. Reilly told her interested her very much. Now that Mrs.

Reilly had explained how the situation seemed to her, would Mrs. Reilly like to know how the situation seemed to the agency? Mrs. Reilly would. In very simple language the visitor explained the community point of view, the transportation agreement, the community fund, the society's budget, and the expensiveness of social work. The visitor would like to think over what Mrs. Reilly had told; perhaps present some of the facts to the advisory committee; she respected Mrs. Reilly's point of view, and was glad Mrs. Reilly had taken her into her confidence. In the meantime would Mrs. Reilly think over what she, the visitor, had said? It was significant to note that hardly a day later Mrs. Reilly, with Mr. Reilly in tow, appeared at the district office. Her courage had flagged a little, but she still spoke firmly. She felt that perhaps she had not told the whole truth. She wanted the visitor to know that Mr. Reilly was easily influenced, that he picked up bad associates, that if he didn't drink or gamble now, he soon would if he kept on in his present fashion. Mr. Reilly weakly assented to Mrs. Reilly's statements. The visitor was able to talk over a tentative plan of establishing the family in its own rooms, and Mrs. Reilly was told that any plans worked out with her were based on the visitor's confidence in Mrs. Reilly's opinion of the situation. There is not time to tell of the next processes, of the development of responsibility and self-respect in both Mr. and Mrs. Reilly, largely through the method of interviews with both of them and putting the responsibilities for decisions upon them. Which clinic would Mrs. Reilly have the children attend? Here were the addresses and clinic hours of the available dispensaries. Was Mr. Reilly going to vote if he could establish his residence? If Mary was having a poor report card, hadn't Mrs. Reilly better talk to the teacher?

The key points in the preceding interview might be listed as follows: first, the chance opportunity was seized and utilized for getting at Mrs. Reilly's point of view and for giving her a full and patient hearing. It is not always possible or desirable to set the stage; second, what might be called a second first interview took place; that is, there was a retelling, with more elaboration, of the material considered important in a first interview. Many times this second first interview contains more significant material than the first first interview, which may have touched in only a perfunctory way on deep-rooted problems; third, the client's point of view was not only secured, but respected, and an appeal to her on her honor for telling the truth, her truthfulness was stimulated; fourth, the visitor's strong interest in community organization problems was undoubtedly a factor, although superficially it might appear to be incompatible with the client's sense of individual grievance. The visitor comments that the explanations given Mrs. Reilly were almost verbatim quotations from a talk she had given to a church group.

In the analysis of any treatment interviews, we are still handicapped by the lack of proper terminology, in spite of our continuous efforts to record behavior. We are even farther away from recording in definite terms any of the worker's objectives or processes, which are necessary to the study of the use of the interview. For example, how much more effective the interview with a certain feeble-minded man might have been if the student visitor had known the previous visitor's method of conducting her home visits. As it was, the client came into the office asking to see the previous visitor. The superintendent, to whom he was referred, asked him why he felt he must talk to Miss Brown instead of to Miss Smith. "Oh, we like Miss Smith all right, but Miss Brown, when she came to see us, she just talked about one thing at a time. We got that

thing all decided before we talked about something else. Now Miss Smith, she talks to us about everything all at once." Some form of subjective recording would have shown "how to talk about one thing at a time."

In conclusion, may I just make one more plea for the further study of the interview as a tool in the art of helping?

THE ART OF HELPING BY CHANGING HABIT

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Since my college days, habit has walked out of the groove of repetition it occupied in the textbooks of those days. More recently it has stepped forth from the laboratory, and its latest excursion is into the market place—the symbol of the interweaving of the activities of life. Parents, educators, psychiatrists, and social workers are all on terms of familiarity with this new dynamic habit. Even clinics have incorporated it into their names.

For obvious reasons, the greatest interest in the development of socially useful habits and in changing those that dwarf personality has been in the habits of children. So much has been written already on this problem, and more doubtless will be forthcoming, that I feel justified in omitting the habits of children from this discussion, and in concentrating on the change of habits in adults. And after all this is not unrelated to the problem of habit formation in children, when we recall how important a factor environment is in the development of habit, and what a significant part of the social environment of the child are the attitudes and habits of its parents.

Perhaps some of you are questioning, as another social worker did recently, "Do we ever succeed in helping adults change their habits?" It would not be a shock to me to discover that our successes are few and far between. It might be that we would concede more of them if change of habit did not imply to some of us a completeness of right-about-face, a finality and foreverness that we, no doubt, inherit from the old concept of habit as the repetition of a particular act.

While I am not able to speak with any authority on the frequency of our success in changing habits of adults, I do feel reasonably certain that family case workers are daily attacking the problem with enthusiasm and optimism. How many husbands and fathers in our families we characterize as men who have lost the habit of work or who suffer from the drink habit. What faith we have in our ability to help them become breadwinners again or to be sober husbands and home-lovers.

At conferences we are accustomed to learn from each other through the recital of our successful experiences. I hope we are not so used, both here and elsewhere, to the happy ending that an analysis of a case history in the process

of becoming either a success or a failure will be too great a bore. Our interest in this discussion, I assume, is in process. Sometimes processes are more easily got at on the way than after arrival. It is for this reason that I have selected the Seldon family for discussion.

The Seldons' was a youthful marriage. They were married twenty years ago, when he was seventeen and she was sixteen. From early childhood Mrs. Seldon had had to take responsibility and had begun to help with the family's support when she was only eleven years old. Mr. Seldon's childhood and early life were very different. His family was English and always in comfortable circumstances, although his father died when he was five years old. Shortly after Mr. Seldon's marriage, his brother placed him with a corporation where he was employed. There was an excellent opportunity for advancement, but Mr. Seldon kept this position less than a year. He then secured work through friends with the X Company, where he was employed for sixteen years. Eight years ago, when he was twenty-nine, and twelve years after their marriage, he had to go to the hospital for a minor operation. It was then that the family agency first knew the Seldons. The problem was seen as one of financial need, resulting from a brief illness of Mr. Seldon, and the case was closed as soon as he was able to go back to work. Three years later he had another minor operation. Shortly after that, while at work, he was in an accident which resulted in the death of a child. He was exonerated, but was very much upset nervously. However, he went back to his work after a few days and all was well until a few months later, when he was discharged for insubordination. Since then he has gone from job to job, with frequent intervals of unemployment in between.

During the eight years that the family society has known them, the case has been opened and closed many times, and always the immediate situation has been dealt with. The picture of Mr. Seldon had gradually changed from a sick breadwinner to a somewhat "shiftless" man, drifting from job to job.

Six months ago a new visitor was introduced to the family. She was interested in more than the immediate situation, and was not satisfied with such generalized descriptions of his personality as shiftless or even manic-depressive, the diagnosis made two months later. She discovered that Mr. Seldon was the youngest of four children, and had always been much petted by his widowed mother. While never having any serious illness, he was always considered delicate and was allowed to stay home on the slightest pretext and to leave school entirely when he was in the lower grammar grades. He had never worked regularly, as he stayed home whenever he felt like it, just as he had in his school days. Mrs. Seldon told the visitor that for years she had telephoned to his employer that he was ill when apparently there was nothing the trouble with him, and that she had done this because she was afraid he would lose his job. His mother, until her death, had always been ready to pay a month's rent for them when he had "made a short week," and after her death one of his sisters had come to the rescue. Mrs. Seldon had helped out from time to time by doing

day work and gradually drifted into working part of every day, contributing \$35 a month to the family budget.

His work record, except for irregularity, was good. He was a skilled workman and his position with the X Company, where he had been employed for sixteen years, was one of responsibility. The charge of insubordination was made against him because he boasted in the presence of some fellow-workmen that he did not intend to comply with a minor order that had been issued. This was passed on to his supervisor, and he was discharged. The same supervisor had spoken of him not many months before as one of the best workmen in his division, and seemed not at all critical of his irregularity, which was attributed to illness. From any facts that could be secured, the dismissal seemed hardly justified. In the three years since he was discharged he had drifted from job to job, with recurrent but always unsuccessful efforts at reinstatement.

Two of these jobs were of particular significance. The year after his discharge the X Company gave him work as a watchman. He took it, hoping that it was a way back to his former position of responsibility. It was work that was given ordinarily to the old men in the service, and he was thirty-five years old. He was stationed where each day he saw scores of his former colleagues. It was not surprising that the humiliation was more than he could bear. Another job was with the corporation where he had been placed by his brother when he was first married. He took an inferior position and in a few weeks received two promotions that placed him in a position of responsibility with a good salary. A month after his promotion he left voluntarily. It was necessary for him to write weekly reports. He felt he did not have enough education to do them, and so never sent any in. He left when he thought it would soon be discovered that his reports were missing. A number of accidents happened while he was there, and while he was in no way responsible or connected with them, it is not impossible that he was a great deal disturbed through associating them with his own accident. How much he was affected by Mrs. Seldon's unwillingness to give up her work when he was earning a good salary is a matter of conjecture.

From Mrs. Seldon's point of view, and that of relatives too, Mr. Seldon's only bad habit was his irregularity as a worker. He was a kind and gentle father, adored by his four children, fond of his home, and very helpful about the house. It was evident that he had a habit of long standing, of staying at home, either from school or from work, whenever he felt like it. It was equally apparent that this habit had been encouraged, first by his mother's indulgence and later by the financial help of his relatives and his wife's earnings. It had been an unconscious conspiracy on their part, for each in his own way had tried to help him correct the habit, mostly by nagging and taunting. Mrs. Seldon's relatives considered him a shiftless ne'er-do-well who could not support a family; his oldest brother had "washed his hands of him"; increasingly his sister's help was far from a generous gift, and Mrs. Seldon's sarcasm was biting. The children alone were friendly and uncritical. The family's methods might have been un-

successful with any man, but with a sensitive, retiring person like Mr. Seldon they certainly contributed to the bad habits begun in childhood a deep sense of inferiority. He had less education than his brothers and sisters. He was unsuccessful in every way in comparison with them, and even in comparison with his wife's brothers and sisters, to whom his own relatives felt decidedly superior.

Mr. Seldon's mental depression had been noted two or three times in the early contacts with the family, but was not regarded as of any special significance. His depression may have been more marked, or perhaps it had more meaning for the new visitor. For as soon as she had a personality picture of Mr. Seldon she persuaded him to have a physical and psychiatric examination. The former revealed nothing of importance, but the psychiatrist ordered a short period of treatment in a mental hospital, which Mr. Seldon was perfectly willing to accept. He was there for two months and was much less depressed when he came home.

While he was away the visitor was working with the attitudes of the family. Her success with one of his sisters was encouraging, but Mrs. Seldon's periods of insight readily gave way to her old attitude that he was either lazy or crazy, and from her point of view both were equally reprehensible. The visitor had been a great deal absorbed in Mr. Seldon's problems, and realized that some evidence of her concern with Mrs. Seldon's difficulties might be more fruitful in changing her attitudes than further interpretation of Mr. Seldon's personality. Mrs. Seldon was working part of every day and was overwhelmed with the problem of the discipline of the children in his absence. She had no skill in managing them and knew it. While she laughed about it and pretended that she did not care that Mr. Seldon could get along with them so much better, it was quite apparent that she was sensitive about it. The visitor suggested that as soon as Mr. Seldon came home it might be a good plan for Mrs. Seldon to have two weeks' rest at a convalescent home, because she had had so much strain during the last few months. This marked the turning-point in Mrs. Seldon's attitude toward her husband. She could not enter sympathetically into Mr. Seldon's problems until she felt the visitor's real concern with her troubles and burdens.

Helpful as the hospital treatment was in clearing up the depression for the time being, the major difficulties in the way of Mr. Seldon's becoming a dependable breadwinner for his family had not been removed. His long-standing habit of irregularity was still to be reckoned with, as well as his acute sense of inferiority and his emotional interest in the old job. Where was the visitor to begin in her effort to change his habits? Dewey tells us that "until one takes intermediate acts seriously enough to treat them as ends, one wastes one's time in any effort to change habits. Of the intermediate acts, the most important is the next one."¹ What was the next step? Would he stay any length of time in a new job, to say nothing about daily regularities, while he was still wishing and

¹ John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct*.

hoping to return to his old job with the X Company? Was it wise for him to go back to the old job, considering his nervous condition and the accident which might easily happen again? What influence could be brought to bear to get him reinstated, if that were desirable? How could he be helped to take himself emotionally out of the old job? If returning to the X Company had to be given up both by the visitor and by Mr. Seldon, what kind of work ought he to have? Would any job meet the situation, or would the kind of job he succeeded in getting have some effect on his feeling of inferiority in relation to his wife and their relatives? How much could be done about his bad habits from childhood until these other obstacles were removed?

The visitor was convinced that he could not return to the X Company in the old position. There was too much risk for him on account of his nervous condition, and it was unfair from the point of view of the public safety. Any inferior position with the company was not to be considered. A careful analysis of his work record for the last three years confirmed her in her feeling that just a job would have little if any therapeutic value, but that the right job might help considerably in relieving his feeling of inferiority.

We are not accustomed to think very much about the kind of work a person is doing in relation to his personality. Because family societies have had to be so much concerned with the economic aspects of family life, it is not surprising that any job that yielded an income has been accepted at its money value. For the man or woman who has no marked personality difficulties, any job that pays a reasonable wage may do very well. But for a great many people who have no appetite for their work, we may find as we give more consideration to it that the right job is the best of appetizers and that it is more significant than we have realized in the development of personality.

It was a question whether even a position that he considered as important as the one he had held with the X Company would help take him emotionally out of the old job. The visitor thought she would probably fail if she tried now to get him to face what his emotional bondage to the X Company had done to him in every job that he had held in the last three years. Until she could see some better way of handling this she decided that she would take a chance on its clearing up if the right job could be found for him.

If work of any kind had not been so difficult to find on account of the industrial depression, the visitor might have set, as her first goal on the way to his becoming a steady, dependable breadwinner, finding just the right job that would meet the needs of his personality. She faced the fact that it might be some time before it could be found, and turned to more immediate goals, of keeping him from becoming discouraged and depressed in the meantime. She accepted the fact that there might be another period of job-drifting, but considered this better than no work at all. If not any job, almost any job became the next step. Should she find it for him or expect him to find it for himself? Analysis of his work history revealed that someone had always found his jobs

for him. His brother placed him in the first position he had after his marriage. Through a friend he had been able to get work with the X Company; his sister had found one of his recent jobs for him; one of his brothers-in-law, another; and there had always been someone to "speak for him" in each place where he had been employed since leaving the X Company. "He always thinks someone else is a better man than he is," one of his former fellow-workmen remarked about him. The visitor knew that if he were at home without a job for very long, the strain would be too great on his wife's new understanding and techniques. In the past she had often said that one reason she nagged him so much was that it got on her nerves to see him sitting around the house while she supported the family. The visitor encouraged him to believe that he could make a good impression on a prospective employer, and suggested that he apply at the W Company, where she had been told there was a vacancy. He did make his own application, and secured the position. She was not surprised when he gave it up after working about a month. But she was not prepared for the seed of "speaking for yourself" that she had sown bearing fruit in quite the way it did so shortly after its planting. The minute he gave up his job he began to talk once more about getting back with the X Company. All his past efforts at reinstatement had been made through other people. A few days after he left his last job, he told the visitor he had written a letter to the president of the X Company. This was his own idea, and if he had any help in carrying it out, it was only the assistance in writing the letter given by his eldest son, who had gone through two years of the high school. In a few days he received a reply stating that he could not be re-employed because he had passed the age limit. It was a great blow to him, and his wife said he wept practically all day after the letter came. Mrs. Seldon's skill in helping him over this crisis was evidence of her new understanding of his problem. As soon as he had recovered from the first shock, he was calm and philosophical about it. The age limit, which applied to everyone alike, seemed to be sufficiently objective for him to accept the decision, and the visitor believes that one big stride, if not the final one, has been made in his giving up the possibility of returning to the X Company.

Among other intermediate steps the visitor had been considering the possibility of helping Mr. Seldon develop some other interests, and also the desirability of their moving to a new neighborhood. For the twenty years of their married life they have lived in the same neighborhood, where Mrs. Seldon spent her childhood and where her brothers and sisters have settled with their families. It meant not only that Mr. Seldon was constantly under the critical eye of his relatives-in-law, but also that they were near enough to be a daily stimulus to Mrs. Seldon's all-too-ready tendency to nag. Even the insurance collector, who had been coming to the house for years, joined them in characterizing him as a "lazy bum," and in urging her to have him arrested so he would be forced to work. The visitor's feeling that a new neighborhood would have many advantages became a conviction when Mr. Seldon confided to her a chapter in his

relations with Mrs. Seldon which occurred eight years ago when he was in the hospital. Mrs. Seldon had an affair with his sister's husband. Two or three years later the sister's husband died. Not enough time has elapsed since the telling of the story for the visitor to know how disturbing a factor this is in the relations of Mr. and Mrs. Seldon, but judging by Mr. Seldon's emotion in relating the experience it still has a great deal of meaning for him. Certainly here is one more component of his sense of inferiority. Mr. Seldon had never talked with anyone about it before except in the family group, and it plainly was a relief to tell it to someone whose response to it was not an emotional one. Like everything else in the Seldon family, this seemed to have been well known by all the relatives on both sides of the family.

Now the visitor was determined to try to persuade them to move from the scene of so many things that meant failure to Mr. Seldon. But how could this be accomplished? Mrs. Seldon's work, which adds a substantial amount to the family budget, is only a few blocks from their house. This factor and the associations of years were some of the obstacles in the way. On the other hand, it takes the oldest boy, who has never been very strong, over an hour to get to his work, and then there is the long trip home after a hard day's work. As he is still in the first year of a four years' apprenticeship there was reasonable assurance that he would be employed in the same place for the next three years. Here was the visitor's main motivation, for both the father and mother are devoted to him. From time to time she had talked with them about moving, but had never pressed the point. A recent physical examination of the boy provided her with a convincing argument and an emotional appeal. At the time of writing she believes that the family will move as soon as a suitable house can be found near enough to the boy's work.

Now that it seems to be settled that the family is to move, some of the plans for developing new interests for Mr. Seldon will have to be postponed. The children are a great deal interested in their Sunday school, and the visitor hopes that she can capitalize this in some way. His one success in life has been with his children. More than once the visitor has used this to arouse him from a depression, but she has always been careful not to overdo this motivation, remembering Mrs. Seldon's sensitiveness about her own failure with them, and fearing it might prove to be a boomerang. The visitor is watching for an opportunity to get him interested in other children, and when they are settled in a new neighborhood, she hopes this can be found for him in some of the group activities in the church.

This brings us to the end of the visitor's first six months' acquaintance with the Seldons. If she were asked what she hoped for the future, I think she would prophesy no miraculous transformation, but would say that she believes if the right job is found for Mr. Seldon, she can count on Mrs. Seldon giving up her work; on the real affection of Mr. and Mrs. Seldon for each other, in spite of the episode of eight years ago; on the interest of both of them in providing oppor-

tunities for the children, especially the oldest boy; on the changing attitudes of the family; and on the response of both Mr. and Mrs. Seldon to her interest in them, as factors in a slowly but progressively developing situation. There are too many intermediate goals still to be reached for her even to formulate the steps on the way to the more distant goal of regularity of work.

However, the visitor recognizes that this habit of irregularity of work is bound up with Mr. Seldon's dependency on his mother, which he carried into his adult life and transferred to his sister at his mother's death. She is also aware of his present dependency on her, and how important a factor her use of this will be in the treatment of this habit. In these four months she has made wiser use of it than his mother and sister did in a lifetime, as indicated by her successful attempt to get him to make his own application for work. And the visitor has carried Mrs. Seldon and the sister along with her in the understanding of the significance of Mr. Seldon's dependency.

The cornerstone of the treatment in this family was the careful personality study which the visitor made of Mr. Seldon, revealing the shadow his childhood habits had cast on his adult life, the effect on him of the attitudes of his wife and all their relatives, and the emotional significance of his work. The foundation of this cornerstone was the good contacts the visitor made with Mr. and Mrs. Seldon and their relatives. The treatment thus far has been for the most part indirect. The visitor's efforts to change Mr. Seldon's habits have been made through attacks on his social environment—changing the attitudes of his wife and relatives; trying to find work that would give him as much prestige as he had in his former position, and that would compare favorably with the occupations of his relatives; moving from the old neighborhood with all its associations with his failures and looking forward to the possibility of new interests for him in the group activities of the children in the church. The visitor herself and her attitude toward his problems are not to be overlooked as new factors in his social environment, to which Mr. Seldon and all the others are responding. The nearest approach to a direct method of modifying his attitudes was the visitor's encouragement of Mr. Seldon to apply for his own work, and the germination of this idea of initiative, which was manifested in his writing the letter to the president of the X Company. Here it was a suggestion from a person in whom he had confidence and whose good opinion he cared about more than a facing of the facts, as we ordinarily think of it.

Can we evaluate the treatment in this case in terms of success or failure? When we have worked out even some crude measures of growth, it will be a simpler task to make such evaluations. Mr. Seldon is far from being a steady, dependable breadwinner, but is he traveling in the right direction, though over a roundabout road, to that goal? In geometry a straight line has been proved the shortest distance between two points, but it seems to be otherwise in the change of habit. If we are trying to make people conform to fixed behavior patterns we shall probably pronounce the treatment in the Seldon family a

failure. If we conceive of life as a developing experience we may feel that it has been, so far, a success.

It is a truism that the changing of habit is a long, slow process. Even in children it is not an overnight process; much less in adults. The behaviorists who have been making laboratory experiments with habit as a repetition of a particular act have found that it takes an adult at least a third longer to set up a habit than it does a child. Habit in the market place is a complexity indeed in contrast to habit in the laboratory. It is not unlikely that case workers, when they have made more experiments with this new dynamic habit, will discover that the difference in time between adults and children is much greater when social behavior is being modified than when an habitual performance of a particular act is being set up. The hopeful thing for the future is that case workers are experimenting with the change of habit. From the analysis and comparison of their experiences we may look for light on the process as well as the time element in the change of habit.

WHEN PEOPLE APPLY AT A MARRIAGE LICENSE BUREAU

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The increase in the divorce rate which is being much heralded in the newspapers and current periodicals is viewed with more indifference by social workers than by the lay public. In the first place, to the social worker it is "old stuff." Even the worker in training is so submerged in the wreckage of human marriage that the most glaring newspaper headlines on divorce fail to shock her. In the second place, she is skeptical of the solution which is usually suggested, namely, some change in the divorce laws of her own state or of the country as a whole. Adjustment of divorce laws comes pretty nearly to being a case "of locking the barn after the horse is stolen"; or, to be more modern, installing a burglar alarm in the garage after the Ford is gone! The real tragedy has occurred long before the couple reaches the divorce court, and for that reason social workers are turning their attention more and more to a consideration of marriage reform.

The method used by social workers in the attempts to solve the problem of divorce is really similar to the technique employed by the public health authorities in handling a typhoid epidemic. As soon as the victims of the epidemic have been given remedial treatment, the search for possible sources of pollution begins. Until these sources have all been discovered and removed the community is not free from possibility of a recurrence of the epidemic. In handling divorce problems our first step has been to establish family courts, or courts of domestic relations, to care for the families which have already gone to pieces, but we have all realized that these were merely remedial measures. We have

accomplished very little in finding out the real causes of divorce, and still less in removing them.

To continue the analogy of the typhoid epidemic, let us suppose for a moment that all other possible sources of the pollution have been eliminated except the water supply, and the epidemiologists of the community have gone outside the town and into the hills to examine each little stream as it enters the main river. To purify and to keep pure each of the thousand tributaries would be a stupendous task, so they recommend that a reservoir be built, through which the water supply shall pass. A process of purification is established, the unfit streams are diverted from the water supply of the community, and the danger of future epidemics is removed.

We have attempted to do the same thing in handling our marriage problem. We have tried to build reservoirs, in the form of marriage license bureaus, and have sought to have all applicants pass through them, but we have not been very successful. In the first place, many of the tributaries have failed to enter the reservoir and have run off down the hillside as independent streams. These are our common-law marriages. Then, we have not been very successful in discovering the polluted streams before they entered the reservoir. These are the marriages of the unfit. Some of the streams which come to the reservoir may be all right, but before they enter, their content needs to be analyzed, and such analysis means that a period of time must elapse before they are admitted. We have not been very careful to introduce this waiting period in our marriage license bureaus, and to make the investigation it is designed to facilitate, and consequently we have the problem of hasty marriages, largely recruited from the ranks of youth. Is it any wonder that the community suffers from epidemics of marital typhoid, and homes are broken up by divorce?

Minnesota has just passed through an unsuccessful campaign to remedy some of the defects in its present marriage law, of the type just mentioned, and in addition certain details of the administration of the law. Because our experience is probably not unique, I should like to consider some of the reasons for failure, and possibly to suggest the next steps in the program.

Early in the campaign we discovered that opposition to the proposed marriage bill might center upon the first section, which would make marriage valid only when a license had been secured and a ceremony performed, thus abolishing common-law marriages. Minnesota statute law says that a marriage shall be recognized as such when a license has been obtained and a celebration held, but is silent as to common-law unions. The latter, however, can be, and have been, recognized by judicial decision. The popular protest against abolishing common-law marriage was somewhat of a surprise to proponents of the new bill, because the opposition came from conservative, law-abiding citizens whose own marriages are undoubtedly recorded properly with some marriage license bureau. The rigorous plea for the preservation of common-law marriage was found to be based on a total misapprehension of the subject. The argument was

constantly put forth that common-law marriage afforded some protection to the woman and children involved. Members of the legislature and interested individuals in the lay public were amazed to learn that the children of a common-law union in Minnesota were illegitimate until there had been a court decision giving such a union the status of marriage. In the light of this situation, the usual methods of legitimizing children by civil marriage or by court procedure is just as easy as to secure the consent of the court to the common-law arrangement. After the bill reached the legislature the time was too short either to educate the members of the legislature or to create the popular demand for this much-needed change in statute.

While Minnesota's standard regarding youthful marriages is not as low as that of some states, there are thirteen states ahead of us prohibiting the marriage of any girl under sixteen, even though she has the consent of her parents. The proposed bill would have raised the present age at which marriage may be contracted by a girl, with her parent's consent, from fifteen to sixteen, and would have required that the consent be given in writing and under oath. People had not realized that our compulsory education laws had outrun our marriage laws in the protection afforded children, and that it is entirely possible for a fifteen-year-old girl to be legally married and also be compelled to attend school for another year. We certainly needed Miss Richmond's book on *Child Marriages* to enlighten people on this subject. One representative in the legislature was quite appalled to learn that several girls had, through the perjury of their parents, been married at the age of twelve or thirteen. In the light of this information it was easy to convince this legislator of the value of having both applicants appear at the license bureau. There were many members of the legislature, however, who were not reached with definite concrete illustrations of the failure of our present statute in the protection of very young girls.

Probably the most-needed change in the marriage laws of forty of our states is provision for a waiting period of at least five days between the application for and the issuance of the license. Without such delay, the clerk of the marriage license bureau is helpless in determining the eligibility of the applicants. A conflict in rural and urban viewpoints as to the length of the waiting period appeared in the Minnesota campaign. In order to have names of applicants printed in rural newspapers, a delay of ten days would be necessary, while urban residents feel this would be a real hardship when the bridegroom comes from outside the state.

The bill also carried a proviso which would make the license valid for one year only. Eight states have already legislated in a similar manner. Such a limitation on the life of the license might help to protect our immigrant brides who are often told that in America a license is the sole prerequisite for a legal marriage.

The need for such changes in our marriage statutes as the last two mentioned is not obvious to the average citizen because he has not yet begun to

think of marriage as a social institution. It seems rather to him to be a very personal relationship which is no one else's business, and consequently any attempt to make marriage more difficult is likely to be vigorously resented until we can change at least one social attitude.

The present Minnesota law specifies as unfit for marriage the feeble-minded, insane, and epileptic. The proposed bill added persons infected with venereal disease, but did not provide for a medical examination. The requirement of a medical examination can scarcely be really successful until the state is willing to employ specialists in venereal disease who will examine all applicants for a marriage license. At the present time in Minnesota the only way by which such a law could be even partially enforced would be to have the division of venereal disease of the state board of health furnish to the clerks of the license bureaus lists of individuals who should be refused a license. This procedure is being followed by the state board of control with reference to the feeble-minded, but of course only a very small proportion of either the feeble-minded or venereally diseased would be prevented from marriage in this way. Such a provision, however, might be an opening wedge for more efficient legislation later, and should prove easier to pass than a law requiring a physical examination. The mere mention of the term "venereal disease" was sufficient, though, to prevent consideration of this section of the bill.

These suggested changes in the laws concerning applicants are the ones most vitally needed in the present statutes, but those involving changes in administration are equally difficult to pass. The cooperation of marriage license officials in this portion of the bill was secured by providing for an increased fee to compensate for additional clerical services such as are involved in state registration.

The present fee of \$2.25 for a marriage license was in the bill raised to \$3.00; and after the legislature was in session a proposal was adopted by the proponents of the bill, after a conference with the clerks of the bureau, to raise the fee to \$4.00. The discussion of this administrative detail occupied an entire afternoon of the committee in charge of the bill, and in deference to the announced economy program of the ruling administration was again reduced to \$2.25. This discussion clouded the real issues in the bill and undoubtedly helped to defeat it.

As long as the clerks of the license bureaus are on a fee basis rather than a salary basis such scenes are likely to occur. The clerks are constantly tempted to increase the number of licenses issued, when such an increase means more money for them, instead of scrutinizing carefully each application for possible violations of the law.

We have had already at least one demonstration in this country of a transfer of the position of clerk of the license bureau from a fee to a salary basis, with the result that the money received from fees proved to be sufficient not only for the salary of the clerk, but to buy fireproof filing cases for the marriage records!

When the position is controlled by civil service, as it may sometime be,

perhaps some professional case workers will enthusiastically seize the opportunity to make a new application of case work technique. Then our marriage license bureaus will become matrimonial advice bureaus like the one in Vienna described by Miss Colcord. Until Utopia arrives we can expend our efforts in strengthening the present laws along the lines already indicated!

A few other changes were included in the defeated Minnesota bill, such as penalties for the violation of the act, in which the present law is quite defective, and, in the question of voidable marriages, a provision that mere defects in jurisdiction or form will not invalidate a marriage if the contract was entered into in good faith by both parties concerned. This point was stressed by one opponent of the bill who tried to prove that common-law marriages were necessary to take care of situations in which the celebrant was really disqualified from performing the ceremony.

After such a brief survey of some of the most obvious marriage reforms we are confronted with the far more difficult problem of accomplishment. Shall our efforts be directed toward federal legislation or state legislation, or both simultaneously? Most people who have followed closely the history of legislation in another field—namely, child labor—are inclined to feel that federal legislation can never be secured until the local standards have reached minimum requirements in at least two-thirds of the states. Such a method seems painfully slow, but even a little legislative experience has a sobering effect. We are forced back to the position, not of what we want or what is needed, but of what we can get.

Some of us go even one step farther back and question whether it is advisable to attempt all the reforms needed in a state in a single bill. Perhaps several different bills, each covering one specific reform, will stand a better chance of survival than the blanket form of bill which was so badly mutilated in Minnesota.

Since the close of the legislature a uniform marriage act has been proposed by the League of Women Voters which has several features on which there is likely to be a divergence of opinion. The act would require physicians' statements that the applicants for a license are free from venereal diseases, but does not require a specialist's report or a diagnosis based on laboratory findings except in the case of an individual who has previously had a venereal disease. Such a person may not marry if the disease is in a communicable stage.

The act would be unable to do much toward preventing child marriages, since parties are not required to appear at the license bureau. Moreover, the consent of the parents of girls under sixteen or boys under eighteen does not need to be in writing or under oath.

The statement regarding common-law marriages is vague, and by the very use of the term would precipitate opposition, whereas the bill proposed in Minnesota this year did not use the term "common law," but merely stated that

in order to be valid any marriage must be consummated with a license and a ceremony.

The celebrant is not required to file with the license official any credentials as to his right to perform marriage ceremonies, and does not receive any certificate of his eligibility.

The celebrant is permitted to return the certificate of marriage to the bureau at any time within thirty days, instead of three days. Such a delay is especially unfortunate when evidence is found that a license has been issued illegally and it is necessary to find the couple as quickly as possible.

State registration of marriages is provided for in this bill, but the local clerk of the marriage license bureau is required to make the returns to the state only once a year, instead of monthly. This method does not permit the state department to check as closely on the licenses and the returns in the different counties as a monthly report would.

One serious omission in the bill is no statement regarding the legal status of illegitimate children, whose parents marry later, or regarding the status of the children of a marriage which proved to be voidable. Other provisions regarding void or voidable marriages are equally incomplete or totally lacking.

Among the people who are qualified to act as celebrants appears the superintendent of the state school for the deaf and dumb. Why such discrimination! Certainly the superintendents of other state institutions should have the same privilege. This brief comment on this proposed bill, which will probably be widely circulated, should make social workers on the watch for its appearance and ready to participate in discussions of it.

Before questions as to the form of the bill, or even state or federal legislation, are determined, there is a more immediate program which should challenge the interest of every case worker, that is, the enlightenment of the general public on the need for reform in the field of marriage legislation. Family case workers, especially, have more first-hand information than anyone else in the country, and yet comparatively little of this telling evidence is being utilized. The directors of every social agency should assume the responsibility not only of permitting, but of urging or even requiring, the members of the staff to help in an educational campaign on this subject. The assistance must be a quadruple one: first, in forming the policies of the campaign; second, in furnishing leaders for study groups; third, in providing speakers for larger meetings; and fourth, in making local studies. Such a program must be put into effect in non-legislative years in the states where the legislature does not meet annually.

The local chapters of the American Association of Social Workers might profitably initiate such a plan through its committee on social legislation or, through affiliation with some organization like the League of Women Voters, it may contribute the technical knowledge which must be popularized and broadcasted.

As usual, it is far easier to advocate a campaign than to execute one. In a non-legislative year it is extremely difficult to arouse sufficient interest (in the general public) to secure a discussion of legislative proposals. The attempt must be made, however, because the enlightenment of more people on the evils of our present marriage laws is the only sound basis for reform. Perhaps women's organizations might be appealed to with the argument that women must become better informed on such a vital matter in order to perform their duties of citizenship.

The fourth part of the program is by no means the least. Each state and each community must study the operation of its present marriage laws, because such study is the only sound basis for further legislation, and secondly, because only illustrations of what is happening now in your own state will really influence your legislature.

THE FAMILY AND THE LAW

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The great range of subject-matter and of interest indicated by the subject of this paper requires a limitation of the discussion either by way of selecting certain aspects of the subject or by way of dealing with many aspects in a rather general way. The latter process of elimination has been chosen because it seemed that perhaps a comprehensive view might have its special value for a group of workers necessarily so absorbed in the particulars of family case work that they are not often tempted into the intricate and often forbidden pathways of the law.

The following paper will therefore assume the form of general and, on the whole, categorical statement, with the understanding that multiplication in data and elaboration in detail would serve to substantiate or to interpret, but are not necessary to secure correctness of impression.

The first point to be made is that within the fairly recent past a radical change has been brought about in the legal relationships existing within the family group, that is, between husband and wife on the one hand, and parent and child on the other, and in the relationship between the group as a whole and the community of which it is a part.

The change has been far greater than has generally been recognized. This is partly because an attempt has been made to bring the law into accord with moral and ethical judgments of the community, and even great legal commentators have often alleged that the two were always identical and have so given an erroneous impression of the actual legal situation.

For example, the legal nonentity of the married woman was veiled by the gracious suggestion that she was under "coverture." Lord Bryce characterizes Blackstone's references to her status as "sleek optimism," not to be justified!

And the commentator spoke elaborately of the duty of the father to "maintain, educate, and protect" his child, when as a matter of fact he could not educate, there being no schools; his duty to protect gave him simply a defense in case of certain action against him; and his duty to maintain consisted chiefly in an obligation not to let his child come on the poor rate. Kent, for example, the great American commentator, who saw that only by the provision of ample school facilities could the parental duty be performed, speaks of the duty "as of imperfect obligation in the eye of the municipal law, but of very great importance to the welfare of the state."

As a matter of fact, the relations of husband and wife, of father and child, were in the earlier law those of power without corresponding legal responsibility. The principle that power held by one individual over another is to be exercised as a trust is a modern principle. And just as the warden of the prison took his fees, so in earlier times the guardian of the minor and the husband who had his wife "under coverture" took the gains incident to the relationship.

The common law of the family group can be briefly stated. Marriage suspended the legal existence of the wife and gave to the husband rights in relation first, to her person, so that he could determine the domicile; second, to fix the standard of life; third, to discipline her; and fourth, to command her services, marital and domestic, or if she rendered services for pay to another, to claim her earnings.

In the matter of property he took, first, her personal goods in ownership, and second, her real property for use and control. When children came, he was entitled to their custody, to determine their education and care, while she, entitled, in the words of Blackstone, "to reverence and respect," lacked all authority. In return, he was under a duty to supply her with necessities, that is, those things suitable to the station in which he placed her, and to keep the children off the poor rates. This was the law of a very rough and rude community, and became nothing less than unendurable when the intricacies of family relationships multiplied.

"Well, she's my wife, aint she? . . . It is no matter what I done to her. . . . Look 'ere, 'as a man a right to his own wife an' children, you tell me that!" In these words Galsworthy sets out the amazement of the young husband and father who is astonished at a social worker's suggestion that he owes any duty, "I know what the law says. A man owns 'is wife, an' 'e owns 'is children."

In this terrible story *Demos*, Galsworthy reveals some of the ugliness and brutality of that law in its effect on the conditions of women's lives and on the habits of men's thoughts. Escape was found by the well-to-do through appeal to equity, theoretically the keeper of the king's conscience, in behalf of the weak and helpless, but in fact often the refuge of the rich and powerful. Through equity, a scheme was worked out for protecting a married woman who came into the matrimonial relationship with property "settled upon her" for her separate

use, or acquiring such goods after marriage by will or deed. In the same way, equity maintained the ultimate right of the state to discipline fathers; but, in general, the courts could and did enforce the rights of fathers rather than their duties.

From this summary it is perhaps clear that the statement of the law of status created by marriage requires considerable elaboration, involving as it does reference to two systems of courts. The same thing was true with reference to the termination of the relationship. While the law of marriage was all too simple, perhaps, since doubts were resolved in favor of legitimacy, divorce required the action of the ecclesiastical courts and, if absolute, of parliament itself. Here again the position of the rich was far more favorable than that of the poor.

In the United States it was impossible that a legal situation like that should last, and from 1847-48 on there was a steady stream of legislation in the various states giving to married women their so-called "property rights" and continuing in them with reference to that property the acting capacity enjoyed by the unmarried woman, the *fême sole*, as she was known at law. Along with these acts went also acts giving to mothers some rights in relation to their children, the so-called "equal guardianship" laws, though in relatively few states are they really equal in terms, and in fewer probably are they equal in the interpretation given them by the courts. These acts bestow new rights on the wife and mother and to that extent limit powers hitherto exercised by the husband and father. They do not, however, in themselves lay new affirmative duties on him toward either his wife or child. Nor do the married woman's property-rights laws generally lay duties on her toward her husband, or recognize the unity of the family and lay on the wife other obligations than those related to her new rights. The direction in which this development occurred is undoubtedly due to the fact that the escape from the restrictions of the common law was found by the way of ingenious devices of the lawyers who had in mind the difficulties of the well-to-do, and to the fact that, while in general the same court exercised its extraordinary jurisdiction in behalf both of married women and of children, it did this by an appeal to two different sources of authority: one to an ancient general right claimed by the king to right the wrong of certain groups who had elsewhere no remedy, and the other in part at least to powers exercised over land and in certain specific ways generally described as of equitable character; so that the interests of the mother and of the child were never consolidated, as it were, into one body of equitable family law.

And yet, any attempt to bring to all children the benefits of modern social organization, to secure for them some share in the surplus resulting from the reorganization of industry, to get them into school, or bring about for them the possibility of decent urban life, could only reveal both the necessity of securing the cooperation of parents and the impossibility of securing that cooperation from all parents as a voluntary expression of parental, and especially paternal,

responsibility. And so legislation enabling interested persons, with the authority of the public agency, to enforce that moral parental responsibility which the commentators treat as so obvious and so universal, is embodied in the acts authorizing the separation from their families of neglected and vagrant children, and providing for the establishment or recognition of industrial and reformatory schools, allowing the court to order payments by the father for the support of his child, even when deprived of his child's companionship, and in the so-called "abandonment, non-support, and contributing to dependency and delinquency" laws, which turn failure to maintain a home at a level making for independence and good conduct into an offense against the criminal law.

The most universal and conspicuous attempt at bringing to bear on the home these modern standards of family relationship is found, of course, in the juvenile court legislation. For laws recognizing the principle of specialized treatment of certain groups of children have been enacted in every state, and courts have been authorized to become, through their probation staffs, public assistant parents, as it were, dealing with delinquent children and those about whose lives are found factors of demoralization, as a wise parent would wish to deal and as a competent parent would be able to deal.

But these are not the only points at which the older situation has been changed. There are the factory acts that, from the first, placed restrictions on the rights of parents to utilize the labor power of their young children; and the compulsory attendance laws place on the parents positive duties involving a considerable expense and setting for many families a new standard of comfort and of physical and mental well-being. And there are three other bodies of legislation to which attention must be briefly directed before the tale is ended.

The common law did not know the process of adoption, but in all the commonwealth the right of the natural parents to surrender and the right of foster parents to acquire by appropriate and formal action the rights of a parent in a young child have been recognized by statute.

So far, reference has been made only to family groups already established, without asking, When is a family a family? But in that connection it should be noticed that the law with reference to marriage is one of the subjects in which extensive revision has been found necessary. The commissioners on uniform laws drafted a model act, and securing its enactment is one of the important objects of the women's clubs and other social and civic groups who have become alarmed at the increasing lightness with which the matrimonial bonds are assumed and broken, while Lord Bryce says of the divorce legislation of the United States that it is "the largest, strangest, and perhaps the saddest body of legislative experiments in the sphere of family law which free self-governing communities have ever tried." The importance of the laws governing marriage and divorce has, of course, been especially called to the attention of family welfare workers through the research and publications of Miss Richmond and Mr. Hall, and their appeal for recognition of the essential brutality of the law now

operative in many states is fresh in the consciousness of all members of this division.

And finally, for this review, reference of the briefest kind must be made to the legislation directed toward the improvement of the status and condition of the child born out of wedlock. Of the barbarity of the old law and of the difficulties and intricacies of the undertaking to modify and amend it, none knows better than the members of the Family Welfare Division. There has obviously been expended an enormous volume of energy in securing the enactment of these laws, which must be obtained in each commonwealth, and by Congress for territory under the jurisdiction of the United States. The interest has been stimulated from various sources, e.g., the feminists, the legal reformers, social workers, etc., and the effort has therefore often been characterized by an accidental and haphazard aspect. The laws have often not been fitted into each other, and this, together with the differences that have characterized the attitude of the courts toward the original law and its varied amendments, has led to the establishment in many states of children's code commissions, looking to the codification of the law so that at least that portion affecting child care might take on unity, sequence, and comprehensiveness.

From this cursory enumeration it is clear that a very complicated and difficult task is in process of being worked out, namely, that of revolutionizing the legal character of an institution peculiarly delicate and difficult to alter, offering the resistance of conservatism, and subject to the inhibitions generally characterizing those in possession of power and authority which others are seeking to limit or abolish.

It is also probably obvious that the changes desired involve not only statutory enactment altering rights and duties, but the development of fine social and administrative devices to supplement parental effort or replace deficient parental care. In the great Wellesley case to which the student turns, the court pointed out that although there might be in the court the authority to interfere between parent and child, the court lacked agencies through which he could learn what was the right course to pursue (provision for what we should call the initial or antecedent investigation), and there were no such resources for treatment as, for example, the supervising probation service or provision for placing in foster homes or in appropriate institutions the children of neglecting parents. The development of those agencies, then, is a task essential to the fulfilment of the new legal purpose. What is involved in bringing this about can be realized only by those who have attempted to obtain first the private, and then the public, support for an adequate probation service. And yet neither the juvenile nor the domestic relations court can fully accomplish its work without such an agency to assist in the two ways indicated by the court in the Wellesley case referred to. The probation service, too, is probably more fully developed than the agencies for psychiatric diagnosis and treatment gradually becoming recognized as equally important, and suitable institutional provision lags behind both.

And so far as these agencies have been set up, they are available usually only in restricted areas, the large cities, and only in the cases of the poor. For in a way the situation has been reversed; and whereas equity in the older days dealt only with the children who had special forms of property, today the most important modification and extension of equity—the juvenile court—is substantially available only in behalf of the children of the poor. This is due, however, to the limitations, not of the jurisdiction, but of the personality and courage, and often of time and energy of the court's agents. There is no inherent difficulty preventing the juvenile court through its probation officers from offering care and supervision to the child from the home rich in material goods but poor in the essential factors of sound child care.

But the difficulties of obtaining support and provision for such agencies are not the only difficulties. There is the fact that the personnel is not yet available. If one asks how far are the probation officers to whom is intrusted the supervision of the husbands on whom the hand of the law has fallen, husbands and fathers sometimes characterized as felons for doing things or leaving undone things that would have brought no obloquy on their fathers or grandfathers, adequate for these tasks, one would have to admit the frequent inadequacy of the group to interpret to the family the new obligations or to interpret to the community the results of the new treatment.

In the case of the juvenile court, it is certainly often true that the officer who is representative of the court in the readjustment of the family life is far from capable of that delicate dealing with domestic relationships and family situations that would alone justify the implications of compulsory interference.

Nor would the survey be in any wise complete without reference to some of the strange alignments against the effort. The old struggle between church and state seems renewed in some of the sectarian resistance offered to this legislation. With the enmity to this development shown by all the agencies organized for the exploitation of youth and recreation the family welfare worker is familiar.

And with all this effort, as yet slight attempt has been made to provide with even such resources as the juvenile courts and courts of domestic relations enjoy, the courts before which divorce actions come and those who make the decisions in adoption cases. In fact, in several states adoption can still be accomplished by deed, and the rights of a child transferred and accepted exactly as interests in land are dealt with. It is obvious that the problem is an essentially difficult and challenging problem. And when we recall the necessity of working it out with forty-eight legislatures in relation to forty-eight judicial systems, the possibility of a truly national minimum seems very remote.

It is true that a committee of judges has been formed by the United States Children's Bureau at the suggestion of the National Probation Association and has recommended certain procedures to be adopted everywhere. For example, they recommend the creation of a court with very wide powers in dealing with questions of family breakdown. To many their proposal seems to risk too many

eggs in one basket, so that it seems to some as yet too hazardous. Synthesis, it seems to some, should come only after more complete analysis, and combination again only after more perfect specialization has been obtained.

And when reference is made to the court, it is only fair to admit that it is an institution that for a number of years has been the subject of uninterrupted and widespread criticism. These attacks on the courts and on the administration of justice have come not only from radicals and class-conscious groups. That justice has to a great extent been "put beyond the reach of the poor" is deplored in the introduction of Hon. Elihu Root to Mr. Reginald Heber Smith's *Justice and the Poor* (p. x). As early as 1906 Professor Pound, now dean of the Harvard Law School, called the attention of the American Bar Association (XXIX, Part I, 395) to the general dissatisfaction with the administration of justice. In 1912 Mr. Roosevelt, and in 1924 Mr. LaFollette, were attacking the exercise by the court of the power to declare laws unconstitutional on the ground that they protected the special and selfish interests in the community, and were demanding that these powers of the court be limited; while from the year 1890 the inadequacy of the courts to deal with juvenile offenders and the gross miscarriage of justice throughout the entire administration of criminal law has engaged the attention of all concerned for the protection of life and property and above all of youthful morals.

As the result of this multiplicity and unanimity of complaint, many changes in the system as well as in the law are in process of introduction. Some of these contemplate a change in the structure of the courts; some, the development of new devices.

In the field of industrial accident and industrial disease there has taken place an almost revolutionary change in the substitution of the administrative for the judicial tribunal under the old employer's liability doctrine.

Thus a stream of criticism of the courts is constantly gathering force, and the current of scepticism of the law as administered by them increases in volume at the very time when there is likewise an increasing consciousness that from the law alone can come protection from extreme cases of departure from the general code of practice and from the common modes of thought.

These are a great many kinds of very difficult undertakings to carry on at once. If the progress seems often incredibly unendurably slow, the social worker must pray that prayer of the poet, to be filled with a "passion of patience," and again recall the words of the prophet that "he that believeth will not make haste." What the social worker is attempting to do through the new formulation of the law is what the Master did when "he set a child in the midst of them," and if the father asks, as in Galsworthy's tale, paraphrasing the words of the parable, Can a man not do what he will with his own? to point out through the new devices that he was never more than trustee holding title for the equitable owner, the true beneficiary—the community—who is now in a position to demand an accounting.

But while these public agencies are being developed and new compulsions are formulated, the social worker will recall the words of the apostle, "The law was our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ." He will not need to be reminded that processes of compulsion are abhorrent to him. The procedure he desires to follow is that of diagnosis and treatment grounded in the intelligence of the worker and on the cooperation of the client. To the extent to which an appeal must be made to the rule of law, embodying as it does the idea of force, to that extent is often revealed, as has been shown, a break in the organization of community resources. But sometimes there is also a failure in our case work. That the latter should never be condoned or overlooked because of the former is a high obligation, resting peculiarly on The Family Division of the Conference.

V. INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

EMPLOYEES' REPRESENTATION AND WORKERS' INITIATIVE

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The philosophy of social work has long emphasized the importance of those social processes and those methods which enable men to become through their own initiative self-reliant, useful, and happy members of the community. I need not repeat for this audience that the emphasis is on the phrase "through their own initiative." For in a last analysis social workers seek primarily not to solve the problems confronting individuals or groups with whom they work, but rather so to awaken the initiative and resources within them that they themselves will solve their own problems.

I should like, as my part of the discussion this morning, to examine the employees' representation movement from this particular vantage point of social work. For employees' representation plans, or company unions, as they are sometimes called seek to devise a method by which employees in a given establishment may participate in determining conditions of work through representatives elected from fellow-workers in the shop. I should like to ask, therefore, Does employees' representation enable wage-earners to exercise their own initiative in securing for themselves and their families those rewards which they expect from industry in return for their labor investment—namely, wholesome community conditions, high standards of safety and sanitation, reasonable hours of work, security of employment, and adequate wages?

Satisfactory answer to this question, as well as to the whole problem of workers' initiative in industry tied up with it, must of course await the results of far more experiment and research than has thus far been made. And indeed such experiment and research has become increasingly necessary. For the employees' representation movement has grown rapidly to significant proportions. Although hardly more than ten years old, over one million wage-earners, according to some estimates, are engaged in establishments operating under employees' representation plans. So many conflicting statements have been made about this movement, which has obviously come to play an important rôle in the industrial life of the nation, that the facts about its working are badly needed.

Some light upon the question just raised, of workers' initiative under

employees' representation, may be thrown by the intensive studies of three specific experiments recently published by the Department of Industrial Studies of the Russell Sage Foundation. One of these deals with the operation, since 1918, of the Partnership Plan at the Dutchess Bleachery, Inc. The other two deal with the experience of the Industrial Representation Plan, the so-called Rockefeller Plan, in the coal mines and steel works of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. Thus we have a record of the operation of employees' representation plans in three basic industries—coal, steel, and textiles.

The Partnership Plan in the Dutchess Bleachery, as its name suggests, aims to make the workers partners in the business. It turns over entirely to a board of operatives elected by the employees the administration of the company's houses, assigns to a board of managers, composed equally of stockholders' and workers' representatives, the responsibility for shop management; admits to the board of directors a representative of the operatives and of the community; provides employees with information concerning the financial conditions of the business; creates two sinking funds, one to pay part-time wages to the workers when unemployed or ill, and the other to pay dividends to stockholders during business depression; fixes dividends at the maximum rate of 6 per cent, dividing all the residual profits between stockholders and employees. The board of operatives retains a paid official—its executive secretary—to administer the functions conferred upon it by the Partnership Plan.

The aim of the Rockefeller Plan, as stated in the preamble of its latest revision, is that "of maintaining and further developing harmony and right understanding within the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company through 'joint representation.'" Under this method of joint representation, employees elect annually "from among their own number representatives to act in their behalf." The subjects upon which these representatives are to act for the employees pertain, in the words of the plan, to their "employment, living, and working conditions, the adjustment of differences, and other matters of mutual concern and interest." The machinery of joint representation consists of four committees composed of equal numbers of employees' representatives and company officials. These committees "have to do with any matters pertaining to" first, cooperation, conciliation, and wages; second, safety and accidents; third, sanitation, health, and housing; fourth, recreation and education. In addition, joint conferences of all the employees' representatives within defined districts and an equal number of company officials are held periodically "to discuss freely matters of mutual interest and concern embracing a consideration of suggestions to promote increased efficiency and production, to improve living and working conditions, to enforce discipline, avoid friction, and to strengthen friendly and cordial relations between management and employees." Annual joint meetings are also held. Time does not permit me to describe here the other features of the plan, but I shall touch upon some of these in the discussion that follows.

The list of improvements in working conditions effected in the companies operating under these plans is impressive. At the Dutchess Bleachery, housing, recreational, and factory conditions have been improved. The coal camps of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company stand out now as model communities, with attractive homes, well-drained streets, and recreational facilities. Bath-houses have been built for the comfort of the miners. Safety work in its mines ranks among the highest in the state. Personnel relations between workmen and foremen and superintendents have been placed upon a much friendlier plane. Grievances have been voiced to management with a greater degree of freedom. Outstanding gains have been achieved at the Pueblo Steel Works. Here the employees secured the eight-hour day in the fall of 1918, five years before it was introduced by the United States Steel Corporation, the dominant producer in the industry, with which the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, a much smaller concern, competes for business.

Many other achievements of this kind could be enumerated, but this list is already impressive enough to give some indication of the possibility for progressive changes in industrial conditions through employees' representation plans. However, it must not be taken for granted that all of these improvements have been secured through the initiative of the workers. Some of them were; others were not. For instance, such an important change as the introduction of the eight-hour day in the Minnequa Steel Works was the direct result of the workers' use of the machinery provided by the Rockefeller Plan. And at the Dutchess Bleachery the management turned over to the workers entire responsibility for the supervision and maintenance of the company's houses. In the coal mines of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, on the other hand, practically all of the improvements in housing, living, and working conditions were initiated and carried out by the management. Thus at the outset three fundamental questions are raised. First, What degree of participation do employees' representation plans actually aim to give the workers? For instance, is their aim merely to improve living and working conditions, or is it primarily to afford workers a method by which they can voice their desires for and secure such improvements themselves? If it is the latter, we come to the second question: How can we train both management officials and employees in a going concern in those new processes of cooperation involved in any plan of employees' representation? Third, Can representatives, elected from the working force of an establishment and dependent upon the management both for promotion and the ultimate security of their jobs, be generally expected to handle shop grievances for fellow-employees with sufficient force and persistence? While the answer to this last question may depend in some measure upon the character of the individual representative, it must be admitted that a real problem does exist here.

It will be noted that the list of accomplishments just discussed did not

include the subject of wages. Yet wages is the issue of paramount importance to wage-earners. The two plans studied by the Russell Sage Foundation make in essence the same provisions for wage determination. Under them the companies undertake to pay market wages, that is, the wage rates paid by their competitors. Both companies, the Dutchess Bleachery and the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, in both steel and coal, state that they are relatively small concerns in their fields and to be able to compete at all they cannot pay wages appreciably higher than those paid by competitors who dominate the market. This is not the place to discuss the complex problem of wage determination involving the question as to whether a single company must always follow competitors' rates. But what does this practice mean in terms of income to the workers? Take the Partnership Plan of the Dutchess Bleachery, Inc.—a plan offering an extremely wide range of powers to the workers. Even under this plan with its provisions for the payment of wages during illness and unemployment and for sharing in profits, a majority of the operatives do not obtain an annual income of as much as the so-called "minimum of comfort and decency budget" which has been calculated for wage-earners' families.

In the steel industry the United States Steel Corporation determines the rates of pay. In practice, the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, in accordance with the provision of the Rockefeller Plan that it maintain a "similarity of rates" with competing companies, really follows the rates of the United States Steel Corporation.

This corporation determines its rates of pay without consulting any of its employees. The wages of the steel workers employed by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company are thus determined without any participation of these or any other employees. In its coal mines the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company again accepts, under the Rockefeller Plan, the wage rates paid by its competitors as a basis for determining wages paid its own employees. In actual practice this policy means that the company usually follows the union schedule established through negotiation by the operators and the United Mine Workers of America in the central competitive coal field.

I must pass over, because of limitations of time, the difficulties of procedure involved in this practice of setting wage rates by reference to the standards prevailing in competing concerns. How can any company overcome the obstacles of distance and secrecy in determining what wage rates are paid by its competitors? How, in the absence of an agreed terminology based on job analyses, can any company be certain that the jobs listed in its schedules entail the same quantity and quality of labor as those listed in its competitors' schedules?

But the fundamental problem in this method of wage determination may be stated as follows: Since wages under all of these plans are determined by reference to a market-wide or national standard, can a plan limited to one company give the workers a really adequate method of exercising their initiative in

wage determination? Must not the scope of organization of the workers include all plants which compete in the market, if the workers are to have an effective voice in determining wages, as the theory of employees' representation proposes?

Thus this brief survey of these three studies, from the viewpoint of workers' initiative under employees' representation, reveals two groups of factors—one, local in scope; the other, industry or market-wide. The local group involves problems of aim, procedure, and training. The market-wide group involves problems of wage determination under a plan limited to one company which has to compete in the entire market of its industry.

Just how these problems will be met must again await further research. The Department of Industrial Studies of the Russell Sage Foundation has initiated a series of investigations which may contribute to this end. These investigations are planned to consider new experiments in industrial relations—experiments which include those worked out by and with trade unions as well as those worked out under employees' representation. The study of the activities of trade unions may throw light, among other things, upon the large question of wage determination which I have just discussed. For it has long been an objective of trade unions, as expressed in their programs, to secure for their members a standard basic wage to be applied to all concerns competing within an industry. Whether they have achieved this objective, how, and with what results will be shown, it is hoped, as a result of these investigations.

That research of this type may contribute to the clarification of the problems involved is evident from the reception accorded the three studies already published by the Sage Foundation. Both employers' and trade union journals quoted the reports widely and made them the basis for editorial discussions and feature articles. The general press throughout the country devoted an amount of space to them, both in editorial and news columns, not usually granted reports of this nature. All of which would seem to indicate, perhaps, that the part that social workers may play best in industrial problems of the type which I have just outlined is that of carrying on thorough, disinterested research which will make facts and not prejudices the basis for discussion of that most controversial of subjects—human relations in industry.

STABILIZING SEATTLE'S LONGSHORE LABOR

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Longshore labor on the Seattle waterfront for many years had a history of uncertain jobs, sought for by many more men than the industry could support, with disorder the common state of affairs; a condition resulting in frequent, severe conflicts between longshoremen and waterfront employers. Cargo-handling in this port was carried on under hectic efforts to organize the beach, leading

up to a union agreement, always followed by a closed shop resulting in abuse of power and intolerable conditions; a strike would follow with its bitter feeling, flooding the beach with men, and outright industrial war, and although the employers always won the strikes, the net result was a dead loss for both men and management. The breaking of a strike brought open shop conditions, with each man dealing with the many foremen on the waterfront for his job, a fundamentally unstable situation. The vicious circle would then become complete with a return to a union agreement leading to a closed shop—strike—open shop, all over again. This swing of power continued for a dozen years, each group dictating conditions of employment during its period of control.

Out of this welter of human suffering and industrial loss was born the two-fold experiment, now five years old: first, an orderly plan for joint control by men and management of wages, hours, and working conditions; second, a method for regularizing longshore work.

The lead was taken by the Pacific Steamship Company, through organizing a dock council of men and management, and through the plan of full-time employment for as many steady men as the company's business could support, thereby regularizing the work of such men, assuring them of high monthly earnings, and a voice in determining their conditions of work. The quick success of this one company in stabilizing its longshore labor served as an example to the rest of the waterfront.

The decision to apply this experience to the entire waterfront was strengthened by the opportune report of President Wilson's second industrial conference, which recommended as the best means for preventing disputes the policy of "joint organization through employee representation." The recommendations in that statement of industrial policy as applied to the waterfront meant abandoning the fight for control by either group in favor of sharing control equally by means of democratic organization of the relations of employers and employees; restoring in a measure the lost personal contact of employer and employee through an organized representation system, with consequent better knowledge of one another's problems; mutual endeavor to widen the area of common interest of men and management and reduce the field of conflict; increasing the interest of the workman in production and making more effective the employers' interest in the human side of business. Employee representation has not been viewed by either longshoremen or waterfront employers as a "solution" or an end in itself, but only a means whereby sincerity of purpose, frank dealing, and the growth of common interests might make for progress and bring mutual advantage.

In order to make the foregoing policy effective, the constitution was made simple and broad:

Purpose.—The employees and employers engaged in the loading and unloading of vessels and the handling of cargoes on the waterfront of Seattle, in a common desire for peace and stability and with the further purpose of improving conditions for each other by cooperation in the

solution of problems arising out of the work, do undertake by the adoption of the policy of joint organization through employee representation to establish relations upon a durable basis of growing understanding and confidence.

Scope.—Whatever subjects the representatives may come to feel as having a relation to their work, particularly wages, hours, and working conditions, are within the field of consideration.

Representation.—Employees shall elect their representatives with absolute freedom and by secret ballot; the employers shall appoint their representatives.

Freedom of speech.—Representatives shall have the right of freedom of speech and activity and are hereby assured that no discrimination shall be exercised against them for such.

Non-Discrimination.—Neither employee nor employer shall be discriminated against for race, creed, or color, union or non-union affiliations.

Meetings.—Regular and frequent meetings shall be held to guarantee ample discussion of all policies arising, to develop acquaintance, and to further promote the common understanding.

Voting power.—This joint organization is based upon equal voting power of employees and of employers, as success must rest upon mutual agreement.

Decisions.—It is mutually agreed that all available facts shall be secured and considered with patience and tolerance before any conclusions are reached or actions taken. Such decisions and actions shall be binding on both employers and employees.

Arbitration.—In the event of disagreement, the matter shall be referred to arbitration.

Conclusion.—This joint effort is an experiment; therefore it is useless to provide means of termination. Whether it shall grow or decay will be determined by the measure of its usefulness.

The governing machinery consists of committees of equal numbers of employee and employer representatives, comprising a joint executive committee with fifteen representatives of each group, and three joint standing committees of four representatives each, as follows: an employment committee, having to do with the policies of central registration and central hiring, and with the conduct of the dispatching hall; a standard-practice committee, covering the field of working conditions; a safety committee, working, through education, to prevent accidents. The men's representatives, when working, are relieved from the job on pay to attend committee meetings, and the employers are faithful in their attendance. The committees are concerned primarily with the shaping of policies; once such policies have been determined upon, their execution remains with the management, though the manner of such execution may at any time be a subject for the consideration of the committees, and in practice frequently is, with reversals for management quite common.

With all the good will and understanding that have resulted from the direct contact of employee and employer representatives meeting "round the table," nevertheless even greater progress has been made through decasualizing the waterfront. An incident of the mass meeting at which the employers proposed the plan and the men adopted it points the moral: a he-longshoreman claimed the floor and shouted: "What you say about this joint organization business may be all right. But what we want to know here tonight is when do we eat."

Longshoring is perhaps the most casual of industries, and the adage that "casual work makes casual workers" seems to apply particularly to waterfront work. It is characteristic of waterfronts to have a great surplus of men, many of them floaters who believe the world owes them a living, and expect to collect

from any waterfront they happen to drift to. Many ports operate as free labor markets, serving as dumping grounds for the fluctuations of other industries at the expense of those regular, skilled men who follow longshoring as their trade.

The first step taken to regularize the work was to adopt the policy of "enough men but no surplus." To make this principle effective, the existing surplus of men in 1921 was eliminated, largely by preventing floaters from returning to the beach once they left it, and through a system of deliberate examination into the qualifications and claim of every waterfront worker.

A second policy adopted is that of equalized earnings. Most waterfronts operate on a day-by-day picking system, with the definite policy of survival of the fittest, resulting in a favored few making excessively high wages, the body of the men doing moderately well, and a considerable fringe being forced to supplement their meager earnings on the waterfront by other casual work or through relief sources in order to exist.

The mechanism devised to carry out these policies calls for each company employing as many registered men as it can attract through promise of reasonably steady work as its nucleus of company men, with all companies drawing upon a single pool of men held in reserve at the central dispatching hall to meet peak needs. And the men are further divided into ship workers and dock workers, a definite trade skill dividing the two.

The system of dispatching men begins with the collection of information by steamship companies through wireless reports of ships' arrivals and receipt by mail of stowage plans of kinds and quantities of cargo, its distribution by hatches, ships' gear, time and place of docking, and consequent number of men needed.

The stevedore company gives preference to its company men who are organized into fixed gangs; then calls upon a body of reserve or "hall gangs" to meet extra demands, these being usually dispatched in the order of low-earnings gang first, thereby automatically equalizing earnings. An extra list of longshoremen is drawn upon for replacements and additions to gangs, and from which to organize extra gangs as peak work requires. Then there is a "casual list" of men applying for registration who are tried out and, as need for more registered men arises, are taken on the waterfront.

Dock workers or truckers are dispatched in similar method; company truckers are given first call; the trucker extra list is dispatched in rotation, thereby equalizing earnings, and a casual list of applicants are furnished peak work and advanced to registration as opportunity offers.

Of utmost importance is the statistical information on earnings, personnel, demand for men, personal injury accidents classified by causes, etc., which is open to men and management, probably unique among the ports of the world. The result is that decisions between the longshoremen and employers are now based on fact and reason instead of opinion and emotion.

The most striking and beneficial result from decasualizing the waterfront

by eliminating the surplus and distributing the work has been greatly to increase the average monthly earnings of the men (without increased cost to the ships) from a monthly average of \$59 for the longshoreman and \$40 for the truckers in January, 1921—the point of greatest surplus of men—to a steady, maintained average of \$140 to \$175 per month for the former and \$100 to \$135 for the latter.

On the other hand, there are still two serious weaknesses. The first is a tendency, among a considerable minority of the men, to abuse their job security by failing to "hit the ball."

The second weakness is the frequency and severity of personal injuries, aggravated by the evils of "sue or settle," because longshoremen on board ships can't be covered under state compensation laws, by decision of the federal Supreme Court, thrice repeated.

Though abuse of job security and "sue or settle" have not been successfully overcome, certain other minor weaknesses have been met effectively; for example, the human tendency in time of conflicting issues to resort to expedients instead of holding to principles to accomplish ends has been stemmed by both men and management; a growing habit of a few representatives of the men to take over details of management was met by reiterating the principle that the joint committees shape policies and review management's operations of them, but management must carry on; necessary, though tempered, discipline has been applied, employers and men being subject to penalty for violations of standard practice. As yet there has been no resort to arbitration; the use of espionage is unthinkable under the present plan of direct dealing, both men and management being convinced that "the best one ever gets from resorting to such tactics is the worst of it." A weakness which was feared, but has proven groundless, was the possible abuse of the very considerable new-found power among the employee representatives; the men have fully measured up to their responsibilities.

Though this twofold experiment has been carried on for nearly five years, it must still be considered in the light of an experiment, for employment conditions here favored the employer, and it will be necessary to pass through a period of shortage of labor to determine the measure of stability and reasonableness of longshore labor on this waterfront. When that test comes, as it must, the proportion of the men who have learned to use the economic power which is theirs in time of shortage of labor wisely and moderately, as the employers have done, will be the measure of success of this plan.

By this experiment, Seattle's waterfront is stabilized. In that stability is the promise that there will come steadily increasing efficiency, which in the best sense means the maximum benefits to employees, employers, and the community alike through the elimination of waste. For the same spirit of cooperation which made possible stability will inevitably bring about better management and more efficient operation.

Whatever intrinsic merit or lack the plan may have, the facts are that leadership was required to launch it, and also leadership has grown apace under it. The employers took the lead under the wise guidance of one of their number who occupies the unique position of standing at least as high in the esteem of the longshoremen as any of their own leaders. The men have responded to that leadership and also have made distinct contributions of their own.

Evidence of the growth in the number and quality of leaders, both employers and employees, is found in the gradual realization of an industrial philosophy on this waterfront, that coercive control (fear of the loss of the job) must steadily make way for educative control, which is enlisting the interest of men in production and of management in human well-being, thereby dwarfing conflicts between the two and enlarging their common interests.

ORGANIZED LABOR'S COOPERATION WITH RAILROAD MANAGEMENT

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There has come into being on certain large railroad systems of the United States and Canada a new and important development in the relation between management and the organized shop employees. The significance of this development arises chiefly from the benefits it promises to the railroads in question in more efficient and economical operation, to the people using these railroads in improved service, and to the shopmen in better working conditions, steadier employment, greater wage income, and more harmonious relations with management. This new relationship is based upon the recognition of the standard voluntary unions of the shopmen, namely, those affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, as helpful and constructive in the maintenance and manufacturing operations of these railroads. In other words, the shopmen's standard unions, consisting of the International Association of Machinists, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America, Sheet Metal Workers' International Association, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers enjoy a new status within the government of the railroads in question. Instead of simply limiting the activities of these unions to the negotiation of wage-rates and working rules they are assuming responsibility for shop production, quality of work, elimination of waste, safety, output, and service. They are doing this through well-organized methods of cooperation with management locally by shops, roundhouses, and car yards, and nationally for their railroads as a whole.

Briefly, I might point out that this important step forward in the relationship between these shop unions and railroads results from the following circumstances: first, the shop employees enjoy the right to select the particular labor organizations which shall represent them in their dealings with management, and management entertains no reservation about dealing with the shopmen's standard unions and their representatives; second, the unions so chosen by the men have gradually worked out with management an orderly system for the adjustment of all disputes, the handling of grievances, the determination of working conditions and wage-rates; third, as a result, a general state of peace and harmony in shop labor matters has been brought about over the various railroads under consideration.

When a demand for increased wages is made by a labor organization under the usual conditions of collective bargaining, and granted, it becomes the task of management to find the wherewithal to provide for this increase. The machinery of collective bargaining, as perfected to date, is really only partially complete, and this for the simple reason that it does not provide the labor unions the opportunity to help out along constructive lines so that a railroad will be the better able to provide such increases in wage income to which the employees may be entitled.

The proposal of the organized shop crafts of the Baltimore & Ohio; Canadian National, Chicago & Northwestern, and the Chesapeake & Ohio—the railroads where the union-management cooperative program is now in effect—is, therefore, to be of definite help in the economical, efficient, and safe operation of these railroads. The program of systematic cooperation which has been worked out to accomplish this is based on four principles. They are: first, acceptance by management of the standard shopcraft unions as constructive and helpful in running of the railroad; second, systematic cooperation with these unions for improved service to the patrons of the railroad; third, stabilization of employment; fourth, sharing fairly the gains of cooperation between the railroad, its employees, and the public which they both serve.

Cooperation between the unions of the men and management must be economically sound before the men will feel properly encouraged to do the best they can for their railroad. It is obvious that any help from the shopmen to increase production must not work so that they will be out of a job so much the sooner. Their contributions toward greater output and better service must be made to count in the direction of stabilizing shop employment and increasing their yearly wage income. This is really the keystone to the program of organized labor's cooperation with management.

Fortunately, as far as our railroads are concerned, there are many things which both the unions and management can do to stabilize conditions in the shops. Management, for instance, can apportion its expenditures for equipment maintenance more evenly throughout the year. This will prevent fluctuation in employment. The employees can help save materials so that more money

will be available in the end wherewith to meet the wage requirements of the railroad. They can also improve the quality of their work, and so enable the railroad to give better service. The result will be that new business will come to the railroads fortunate enough to enjoy the benefits of such cooperative effort. In fact, on the new basis the men themselves, through their union machinery, are enabled to participate *en masse* in the securing of additional traffic for the railroad.

It is interesting to note how potent an influence in the securing of additional business a program of cooperation and service really is. The following simple figures (Table I) compare on an index number basis the gross revenues during the last four years of all railroads in the eastern district, excluding the Baltimore & Ohio, and the gross revenues of the latter road:

TABLE I

Year	Eastern District	Baltimore & Ohio	Eastern District (Ratio to 1921)	Baltimore & Ohio (Index)
1921	\$2,297,968,028	\$198,622,373	100.00	100.00
1922	2,357,028,846	200,843,170	102.57	101.12
1923	2,734,560,662	255,594,435	119.00	128.68
1924	2,485,085,501	224,318,795	108.14	112.94
1925*	393,134,805	35,187,532	106.10	107.56

* January and February, 1925.

It is really surprising how many things can be done by the management and employees working together for the purpose of providing steadier work, and fortunately the benefits resulting therefrom are mutual. In fact, they reach right out into the communities where railroad men live. They are not confined alone to the employees themselves, or to the railroad company. Hence the success of the shopmen in securing traffic for their railroad from the business men in their community with whom they are in relatively close contact as purchasers.

As the program of union-management cooperation continues to develop, it is becoming more and more apparent that some form of more accurately measuring the gains of cooperation than has yet been devised is necessary. The advantages to the shopmen from stabilized employment, together with better working conditions, fewer grievances, and so on have been so obvious there has been no pressing necessity to date for devising a system of measurement. The program upon which cooperation is based, however, has, inherent in its machinery, the capacity for working out this detail.

Above all else, I would like to point out that organized labor's program of intensive cooperation with management has proven eminently practical from the viewpoint of sound railway operation. A piece of evidence testifying to the vitality and usefulness to both men and management of the cooperative program

is revealed by the record of the meetings held during the first year, March, 1924 to March, 1925, when the new labor policy was in effect over the entire Baltimore & Ohio Railroad system. The number of meetings held were 1,218, the average attendance was twelve, and the average length of meeting was an hour and a half. The total number of specific matters presented and discussed was 9,277, of which 7,225, or 78 per cent, were acted upon and put into practical operation; 1,155 are still under consideration (March 4, 1925), 249 were postponed because of expense involved, and 648 were dropped as impracticable. Thus in a year's time an organization of approximately 23,000 men, ranging from common laborers to skilled mechanics, supervisors, engineers, and officers was encouraged, inspired, and enabled, by the program of cooperation described, to bring forth in round numbers 10,000 ideas, plans, and proposals of one kind or another, of which approximately 80 per cent were almost immediately put into practice, 17 per cent were held in abeyance until funds could be secured to proceed, and only 7 per cent were dropped because they were impractical.

Only from two sources is hostility to the policy of the shopcrafts' cooperation with management being experienced. One is those railroad officers who still deny the right of workers to organize, whose slogans are, "Make no contract with organized labor," "Do not recognize representatives of absentee organizations," etc., but who, nevertheless, seek to imitate genuine collective bargaining with "employee-representation schemes," and "company unions." Their arguments today sound much like the arguments of those who saw, in dealing with legitimate labor organizations, the end of all orderly government of industry.

The other source of hostility springs from the Communists, the Workers' Party, the I.W.W., and the self-styled trade-union "educationalists." This group of opponents hold that there is absolutely no identity of interest between worker and manager. What in substance amounts to constructive collective bargaining and the enlargement of the function of the standard labor movement in industry, this group terms "class collaboration."

Between these two hostile forces must the policy of genuine cooperation in industry proceed. It must be shaped to the economic realities of the situation. It must recognize the right of workers to organize as they see fit, and to select their own representatives. It must recognize the great importance of collective bargaining as the first step in cooperation. It must then enable the voluntary and affiliated bodies of workers, through their representatives, to join with management in improving the general performance of industry.

THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

Albert F. Coyle, Executive Secretary, All-American Cooperative Commission, and Editor, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Journal, Cleveland

Cooperation and social reconstruction.—Every right-motived professional man and woman is ardently striving to work himself or herself out of a job. The good physician is concerned not merely with curative medicine but with preventive measures that will build up a human race so sane in mind and body that doctors will no longer be needed. The clergyman is consecrated to the mission of creating the Kingdom of God on earth, where individuals will not need to be saved because the whole community will be saintly; the honest lawyer—whom some sage has called “the noblest work of God”—is laboring to devise rules of human conduct so just and equitable that all men will conform to them, thereby eliminating the social friction which requires lawyers and courts for its adjustment. Similarly, the social worker worthy of his trust is seeking to reconstruct the social order so that his services will no longer be essential for the alleviation of human misery.

Let me put it more plainly still: if the leaders of the nation's social work gathered in this conference are to shun the sin of quackery in tinkering only with superficial remedies, if they really want to minister to human need in a great-hearted and statesman-like way by removing the greatest cause of social distress, no other question before this conference should be of such urgent import to you as that of cooperation.

The primary purpose of the cooperative movement is to make charitable relief unnecessary. Cooperation removes the cause for relief by enabling people to provide themselves with a decent living. It accomplishes this not by autocratic paternalism which crushes out initiative nor by philanthropic benevolence which weakens moral fiber, but by means of democratic self-help which develops leadership and self-reliance and that economic independence which is the best bulwark of the liberties of a free people.

I have sometimes heard social workers remark that the twin evils of society are ignorance and poverty, and that they swing around in a vicious and inescapable circle, ignorance producing poverty, and poverty perpetuating ignorance. There is an apparent hopelessness about such an analysis. We shall never be able to eliminate social wretchedness so long as we accept the validity of such a philosophy of despair. It is squirrel-cage philosophy, with human beings condemned forever to tread the mill inside the cage, and forever getting nowhere.

When you stop to think about it, poverty and ignorance are not primary causes. Back of them both lies a *causa causans*. Show me a society in which economic justice prevails, in which the men and women who do useful and con-

structive work actually get a rightful reward for their labors, and I will show you a society in which both ignorance and poverty are unknown.

I believe that social workers too often lose sight of the fact that economic exploitation is the primary cause of social distress. If you would remain true to your professional ideals, if you are really intent on reconstructing society so that social work will no longer be necessary, your first concern must be to get down to first causes and eradicate the root of poverty and ignorance and all their attendant evils by striking squarely at economic injustice. To be satisfied merely with salving over the sores on the social body is pure professional quackery. To hide behind a philosophy of despair is simply a confession of professional incompetence.

Into this situation the cooperative movement comes with a sound philosophy of hope and a realizable program of fundamental social reconstruction. It strikes at both poverty and ignorance by stopping economic exploitation of both the consumer and the producer. It eliminates monopoly by democratic control of credit and the machinery of production and distribution. It makes unselfish service in supplying human needs, and not greed for private gain, the goal of commerce and industry. And finally, it promotes brotherhood and peace by teaching men the great spiritual truth that mutual aid is the first principle of social morality, that cooperative collective effort, and not competitive conflict, is the keystone of social progress.

The world-wide cooperative movement now embraces forty million heads of families in fifty-eight civilized lands. It is less developed in the United States than in any other modern nation, because our prodigal wealth of natural resources has relieved us from the economic stress which virtually compelled other people to adopt cooperation in order to obtain the bare necessities of existence. As our natural resources are becoming gutted by exploitation or strangled by monopoly, this same economic stress is forwarding the growth of the cooperative movement in America. We have reached a point where the standard of living of the great mass of our people is falling rather than rising, and where chronic poverty is becoming the lot of an increasing number of unskilled workers.

Recent research by such authorities as Paul H. Douglas, Abraham Epstein, and Basil Manly shows that the purchasing power of an hour's wages is over 20 per cent less now than in the decade 1890-99, while the deficit in full-time weekly earnings is 29.6 per cent. Even the best-organized workers find their comparative standard of living falling, because living costs have advanced faster than wages. Thus the engineers are worse off by \$162 per year, and the conductors by \$95, than they were in 1900, valuing their wages by the actual purchasing power of the dollar. As Dr. Sherwood Eddy says, "Ten million people, or one tenth of our population, are in poverty in normal times." And this number is increasing rather than decreasing, because of the tremendous power exerted by large business units in controlling the cost of the necessities of life.

Trade unionism and collective bargaining are powerless to stop this drift of the American worker toward economic serfdom. The trade union can only increase the number of dollars in the pay envelope. It cannot control the price that the worker has to pay for bread and shoes. As the foregoing figures prove, the real wages of even skilled workers are decreasing, even though they are temporarily deceived by an increase in the number of depreciated dollars on pay day. Trade unionism and collective bargaining are essential, but they alone are not enough. The only way that the worker can maintain his standard of living and increase his real wage is by controlling the cost of the necessities of life through cooperation.

The word "cooperation" comes from the two Latin words *co* and *opere*, meaning "to work together," and that is exactly what cooperation is. Modern economic cooperation has three main forms: consumers' cooperation, whereby the people provide themselves with food and clothing and shelter at cost; producers' cooperation, under which a group of workers unites to produce goods and share the reward of their labor cooperatively; and cooperative banking and credit, which unite cooperative production and distribution by supplying both with the capital necessary for sound expansion, besides rendering other services to the entire community.

If the social worker is to strive toward the elimination of poverty and the worst forms of human distress, he must take an active and intelligent interest in the promotion of cooperative self-help. The only other way out is by the autocratic and unstable road of paternalism. Economic cooperation must be the foundation stone of any sound plan for social reconstruction that will assure economic independence to the individual and democratic control to society.

The elimination of poverty by consumers' cooperation.—We have already learned that the purpose of the cooperative movement is to make charitable relief unnecessary by removing the primary cause for social distress—exploitation of both producers and consumers for the sake of private profit.

At the outset, it would be well to state the fundamental principles of consumers' cooperation. While cooperative effort always has existed, ever since our ancestors learned that six men could move a fallen log easier than one, modern consumers' cooperation goes back only a little over eighty years, to the formulation of certain definite principles of merchandising by a little band of wage-earning cooperators at Rochdale, England. The principles they enunciated were so sound and successful that today nearly forty million heads of families in fifty-eight civilized lands prosper by what is known as "Rochdale cooperation." These principles in brief are: first, production and distribution of the necessities of life for service instead of profit; second, goods sold at current market prices, with any surplus earnings either rebated to the consumers in proportion to the amount of their patronage, or used for socially constructive purposes benefiting the whole community; third, pure quality and honest weights and measures in all dealings; fourth, democratic control—one man, one vote—regardless of

number of shares held; fifth, decent wages and working conditions for all employees.

Since the fundamental cause for social misery is the curse of poverty, consumers' cooperation seeks first to decrease the cost of living by adding to the purchasing power of the cooperator's dollar. Thus a cooperative coal company in an American city of a million people saved over \$300,000 for coal consumers in one year by means of superior efficiency of operation, the elimination of expensive overhead costs, and the abolition of private profit in handling this necessity of life. Not only those who purchased coal from this company, but also the whole community were benefited, since other coal dealers were compelled by cooperative competition to reduce their prices accordingly. Take bread, for instance, the article of greatest importance in the food supply of poor people. By means of cooperation the British worker buys his bread, made from American wheat, for actually one-half less than the American worker pays for it in this country. This amazing statement is borne out by recent figures of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, which show the average pound loaf in the largest American cities to cost approximately 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ cents, whereas in Britain the average cost is but 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ cents per pound, due to the fact that the largest flour mills and bakeries are owned by the cooperative societies, and no element of private profit enters into the cost of bread.

Not only does the cooperative movement raise standards of living by lowering food costs, but it also lengthens the pay envelope of the consumer by periodic cooperative dividends, representing the profits of the society rebated back to its customers in proportion to their patronage. Thus the poor coal miner and his wife with ten children would receive twelve times the patronage dividend of the wealthy bachelor, even though the bachelor had twenty times as much capital loaned to the company. For in a cooperative society the people hire the capital and pay it a fixed and limited wage, rather than capital hiring the people.

The dividends of some of the consumers' cooperative societies are truly surprising. In Britain approximately \$350,000,000 a year is returned to the consumers. In this country the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Cooperative National Bank of Cleveland has distributed more than \$100,000 in cooperative dividends, mostly to small depositors. A large cooperative creamery in Minneapolis, with earnings from \$125,000 to \$180,000 a year, at first distributed approximately one-half its earnings to the consumers, and now is using its entire earnings for cooperative education and promotion of community welfare. In the city of Cleveland we have a chain of six Bohemian cooperative stores which do a business of a quarter of a million dollars a year on a capital investment of but \$25,000. In one year the savings returned on this investment were \$8,000, or a return of over 30 per cent on the investment.

A unique form of distributing the surplus earnings of cooperative societies is employed by the prosperous employees' society at the Endicott-Johnston

shoe factory, where all profits are returned to the members by selling the staple articles in largest demand below the actual cost.

In the third place, the cooperative movement prevents social distress by rendering free service to the destitute whenever possible. Mutual aid is a fundamental principle of cooperation. In time of strikes or acute industrial depression you will find cooperative stores all over the world actually giving their surplus earnings away in free food to the needy or by the extension of credit to members. The Franklin Cooperative Creamery of Minneapolis last year allocated over \$30,000 for a milk clinic to provide the babies of poor parents with the best milk obtainable, and without cost whenever necessary. In Belgium the cooperative societies provide any member who is out of work or temporarily incapacitated from earning a living with free bread for three months. In addition, these societies employ a corps of the best doctors in the city to keep their members well by providing free medical and hospital service. Furthermore, many cooperative societies run free education classes, free concerts, free fresh-air homes in the country, and any number of other community services. The British cooperatives have lately undertaken to insure the lives of their members without cost, through their own cooperative insurance company, basing the amount of the insurance on the amount of patronage at the cooperative store.

By lowering the cost of the necessities of life, by increasing the family income with cooperative dividends, and by providing free services to members and to the whole community whenever possible, the cooperative movement has become the most potent preventive of social distress.

But the cooperative movement renders a much greater service than the negative prevention of social ills. As a constructive force it is actively at work building up a better social order. Because cooperative institutions provide for the employees decent wages and working conditions, security of employment, and a voice in the conduct of the business, they set a high industrial standard, which private employers are compelled to follow. Five years ago the dairy workers in one of our largest cities were ground down to the limit by their employers. Today they possess the best working conditions of any similar workers in the country, thanks to a prosperous cooperative dairy in that community.

In the second place, cooperation promotes good health by providing the best quality of food and clothing for even the poorest customer; no adulteration, flimsy goods, or dishonest weight are tolerated. Thus in the city of Minneapolis, the decrease in the infantile death-rate is directly attributed to the vast improvement of the milk supply by cooperation. In Cleveland the Cooperative Coal Company has made it possible for thousands of poor people to keep warm and comfortable during the winter, who otherwise could not have afforded enough coal costing two or three dollars more per ton.

In the third place, cooperation enables the people to provide themselves with decent homes at cost. I am sometimes wearied by all this talk about

Americanization, when we compel our foreign-born workers to live in hovels that a respectable pig would reject. In some sections of Europe the cooperative societies are actually providing houses for their members on the basis of a year's rent for a week's wages. They have absolutely eliminated graft and speculation in furnishing the people with good homes.

Cooperation also promotes social welfare by distributing the national income more equitably. Where the people have sufficient money to get the decencies and necessities of life, social relief is not only unnecessary, but social progress becomes possible.

Finally, cooperation trains the common people for intelligent civic leadership and service in a democratic state. I have been amazed time and again by the hidden capacity and ability of ordinary workingpeople, who have never had a chance to use their talents for their fellowmen because of an autocratic industrial system. By implanting in hundreds of thousands of people the ideal that the good of each is inseparable from the welfare of all, cooperation has proved itself a vital social force in constructing the way toward a better tomorrow.

Producers' cooperation: the way to industrial democracy.—Industrial unrest is world-wide. The workers are no longer satisfied to be mere cogs in the economic machine. They are demanding something to say about the constitution of industry—the conditions and continuity of their employment. They want a voice in directing the destiny of the industry in which they have invested all that they are and have—their labor and their lives. They are no longer content with the mere husks of hours and wages. They are not satisfied with an economic system in which millions of little children and overburdened mothers are compelled to work in order to eke out an existence; a world in which millions more of able-bodied men are starving because they are unemployed; a world in which the captains of industry and politics are already talking glibly about producing materials for the next war while one-fourth of the human race is weltering in misery and poverty as a result of the last war.

Cooperative production simply means democracy applied to industry. It is the ownership and operation of an industry by the workers actually engaged in it, who distribute its earnings cooperatively among themselves in proportion to each man's contribution.

The socialist would endeavor to abolish autocratic and monopolistic industry from above, by authority of the state; the cooperator accomplishes it from below, by voluntary action, building up, bit by bit, the experience and efficiency necessary to run industry cooperatively better than it is now run competitively. For this reason cooperation satisfies both the violent revolutionary and the staid conservative; on the one hand, it destroys the root of private-profit capitalism by producing goods primarily for service instead of for profit; and on the other hand, cooperation proceeds slowly and orderly, taking control only so far and so fast as it can perform industrial services better and more efficiently than existing private-profit institutions.

The social justification for cooperative production and the growing trend toward industrial democracy is that the man who invests his life and his labor in an industry takes a greater social risk and should have a greater voice in it than the man who merely invests his money. When you stop to think about it, the man who only invests his money always keeps something back for a rainy day. The capitalist never risks poverty and starvation by placing his entire fortune in one industry. The worker, on the other hand, invests all that he has in an industry when he ties himself down to its routine. If the industry fails, he may find himself thrown out on the street in his old age, utterly unable to gain a livelihood in any other occupation. Gradually society has abolished autocratic control over political government, education, and religion. The last remaining citadel of autocracy is in industry. With cooperative production providing a safe and efficient road toward democracy in industry, there can be no social justification for the continuance of autocracy here.

The moral basis for cooperative production is the dictum of Paul to his fellow-Christians at Corinth—"He who does not work, neither let him eat." Or, in the words of Abraham Lincoln, "No man has any right to eat his bread in the sweat of another man's brow." The cooperator believes there is only one valid moral claim to the right to consume goods, and that is to have produced goods for the satisfaction of the wants of one's fellow-men.

The practical foundation for cooperative production is the hard-headed matter of industrial efficiency. Absentee ownership of industry is criminally wasteful and inefficient. You will recall that three years ago Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, as president of the Associated Engineering Societies of America, appointed his famous commission on waste in industry. The report of this commission shows that the average American industry is only about 20 per cent efficient. That brilliant electrical and human engineer, Mr. Walter Polakoff, asserts that this estimate is entirely too high—that if the latent productive capacity of the worker were further taken into consideration, modern industry is scarcely more than 7 per cent efficient.

We talk about securing a higher level of comfort for the people, but this can never be brought about until we produce more goods and those goods are distributed with economic justice. Producers' cooperation fulfils both of these ends. It is a practical success because the worker will not release his best creative energies merely for money wages. He will not throw his soul into his job until he has a responsible interest in it. The most criminal thing about the modern industrial system is the way it has dehumanized the worker, making a mere routine machine out of him, and destroying that God-given creative instinct which makes labor a joy instead of a drudge. We talk about the superb craftsmanship of the workers of the Middle Ages, which is lost to modern industry. It can only be replaced when the worker again owns and controls his own employment, as did those guildsmen of the Middle Ages. And this in turn can only be brought about by cooperative production.

The average person in America is unaware that cooperative production has already made tremendous headway in this country. Cooperative producers' societies among farmers now number over 10,000 according to the 1920 census, handling the products of more than 500,000 farms, valued in excess of a billion dollars annually. In manufacturing industry and in coal mining there are also a number of successful producers' cooperatives in this country. A group of cigar workers were locked out in Tampa in order to beat down their wages, and they replied by establishing their own cigar factory, with remarkable success. Milk-wagon drivers and dairy employees in Cleveland and Minneapolis faced a similar situation with the same remedy, and today we have cooperative dairies in these two cities doing a business of from a half million to four million dollars per year, respectively. In Chicago and St. Louis cooperative glove factories have also secured union wages and working conditions for a considerable group of workers.

Perhaps the outstanding industrial achievement of cooperative production during the past year is in coal mining, where several groups of workers have taken over mines which could not be operated profitably by private owners because of high overhead costs and the inefficiency of absentee ownership, and have thereby secured for themselves good employment at union wages.

In Europe cooperative production has often gone hand in hand with consumers' cooperation, the producers actually running the factories, but taking the consumers' societies into partnership on the distributing end. In England and Wales there are ninety-one successful producers' cooperatives, with over 25,000 workers and an annual business of \$26,000,000,000. These societies, after paying a good wage to all workers, contribute hundreds of thousands of dollars to education, charities, and social improvement, besides dividing any surplus among themselves. In France there are over two hundred workers' cooperative societies, centering largely in the printing industry, where they surpass privately owned shops in successful operation.

In Italy cooperation has enabled the producers to own farms and ships and factories, to construct and operate a successful railroad, to build a great canal connecting Milan with the river Po and the Adriatic Sea, and actually to take over the control of a large part of the metal-work industry throughout the nation. Perhaps the greatest success of all has been achieved in Russia, long prior to the revolution. For a generation the peasant cooperators have produced their handicraft for the outside world, and this movement has been rapidly extended through city industries since the revolution.

Producers' cooperation will not gain control of our industrial system overnight. There are first such difficult problems to be solved as the acquisition of sufficient capital through labor cooperative banks, the industrial education of the workers, and the development of technical experts in sympathy with the cooperative ideal.

Yet the producer is going to be the cornerstone of any industrial democracy worth while. He will not be content merely with hours and wages. He is going

to demand a larger and larger voice in even private industrial enterprises. The railway workers want the Plumb Plan, which will make them partners with the public in the transportation industry. The progressive mine workers ask for public ownership with cooperative production, along the lines of the "American plan" urged by John Brophy. And so for the other industries. There will not and should not be industrial peace, let alone industrial efficiency, until the men who do the hard, heavy work of the world secure democratic control over their lives and livelihood through some form of cooperative production.

Cooperative banking the key to economic progress.—A highly educated business man recently asked me, "Do you think cooperative banking will succeed? Isn't it dangerous to experiment with anything so untried in the financial field?" This man had never heard that cooperative banking had been successfully practiced ever since the Middle Ages and that there are now over 65,000 thriving people's banks in operation throughout the world. He expressed great amazement and interest over these facts, and frankly admitted that his university training had contained not one hint of the existence of the cooperative movement.

It is not a significant comment on the superficiality of popular education, both in the schools and by the press, that they teach and report next to nothing about cooperative banking, which may well bring about greater freedom and happiness for mankind, through economic liberation, than the Declaration of Independence conferred politically? Perhaps this seems an overstatement. Consider for a moment the importance of credit in the industrial civilization amid which we live. Credit is the monarch of our whole economic organization. It determines what men shall work and what men shall starve; what industries shall prosper and what industries shall fail; what nations shall be free and what nations shall be enslaved. In some cities, I am told, money power even determines what social agencies shall exist and what agencies shall be suppressed. For credit is power, and no other power in our age possesses such a control over the lives and happiness of men. As Major Douglas, the British economist, has truly said: "The hand that writes the bank draft rules the world."

The important question is whether this tremendous power of credit and banking is to be used for the benefit of a small class or for the welfare of the people as a whole; whether it is to be under monopoly control or democratic control; whether it is to be employed to exploit the people or to enable them to produce a greater prosperity and abundance of life for themselves.

When the first cooperative labor bank in America, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Cooperative National Bank of Cleveland, opened its doors four and one-half years ago, many of the learned editors of the country, including such oracles of wisdom as the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*, warned against the dangers of such an "untried experiment" and "financial fad." They did not seem to know that cooperative banking and community banking antedate the National Bank Act by several thousand years;

that long before Columbus discovered America, community and public banks were the only banks in existence, since the issue and control of currency were regarded as an inalienable right of sovereignty. Thus, the free cities of the Middle Ages operated their own banks for the welfare of all their citizens. The great Bank of Naples, dating back to the thirteenth century, is essentially a cooperative institution. It is one of the three banks of modern Italy empowered to issue its own currency. Its profits do not go to private individuals, but must be used for the benefit of the people of the province of Naples. Its officers are public servants, responsible to the people for the faithful discharge of their trust.

These free banking institutions, publicly owned and operated for the prosperity of all the people, prevented exploitation and usury and financial imperialism in Europe for many centuries. Europe's financial troubles and great public indebtedness began when unscrupulous monarchs wanted to raise more money for foreign wars, and surrendered over into the hands of the Rothschilds, the Fuggers, the Lombards, and other wealthy individuals the sovereign power of the state to issue and control currency. Thus, the Bank of England is not a public institution, but was organized in 1691 by private parties under a special charter from the King of England in return for a loan of one million pounds to prosecute a war against France.

Similarly, in the United States the first banks were community banks, managed by trustees who served without compensation, as school trustees now do. Several hundred of these mutual savings banks are still in existence. They have no stockholders, their profits are shared cooperatively with the depositors, and they use their resources for the development of the community. In consequence, the failure of one of these mutual banks is practically unknown. They show a record of far greater safety and soundness than do the private-profit banks of America.

About eighty years ago the movement for small cooperative credit institutions to benefit workers and farmers was started in Central Europe. Today there are over 65,000 of these little people's banks, with resources actually reaching into billions of dollars, and run so soundly that their losses are less than one dollar in a million. A few years ago the United States government sent a commission to investigate rural credits in Europe, and the commission reported that these cooperative credit unions had actually solved the farmers' financial problems. These little people's banks naturally unite in district cooperative banks, and the district banks form a national central cooperative bank with tremendous resources. Among these great national cooperative banks are the powerful Narodnie Bank of Moscow, with branches throughout Russia long before the revolution; the Dansk Andelsbank of Copenhagen; the Central Agricultural Loan Bank of Germany, with a credit balance of several hundred million dollars; the 1,450 Kampelicky cooperative banks of Czechoslovakia, with a reserve fund alone in excess of 100,000,000 kronen; to say nothing of the great Cooperative Wholesale Society Bank of England, with its business of \$2,500,-

000,000 a year, the Commonwealth Bank of Australia, the Irish Land Bank, the Credit Agricole of France, the labor and cooperative banks of Italy, and similar institutions throughout the world which are building up a new social order by dedicating the money and credit of the people to the service of all.

In America the initiative in cooperative banking came from a great international labor union, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, which opened our first cooperative labor bank in Cleveland, November 1, 1920. The bank grew at the rate of a million dollars a month for the first year, breaking all national banking records, and now has resources in excess of \$28,000,000. Its marked success in this bank led the Brotherhood to establish eleven other such banks, and the end is not yet. Other labor unions followed its example, in most cases with its direct assistance, so that today there are over thirty workers' and farmers' cooperative banks, with combined resources in excess of \$150,000,000. At this moment there are no less than six other such banks in process of organization, in addition to nine auxiliary investment institutions, such as the Brotherhood Investment Company, with its capital of \$10,000,000.

America surpasses the world in the rapid growth of cooperative banking. Our greatest need for the future is not so much the founding of large cooperative banks in the big cities, but rather the development of little credit unions to supply the small credit needs of the average worker and farmer. These little people's banks can readily serve as feeders for the big city cooperative banks, thereby strengthening the whole cooperative financial system. Much of this surprising growth has been made possible by the educative campaign for cooperative banking carried on among labor unions and the general public by the All-American Cooperative Commission, with headquarters in Cleveland.

Doubtless you are wondering how it is possible for workers and farmers and small business people to conduct the banking business successfully. You have believed that there is something mysterious and occult about banking. As a matter of fact, straight banking is a simpler and safer business than running a corner grocery store. There are far fewer failures in banking than in any other kind of business.

The banker is really a bookkeeper, whose two functions are to receive deposits and to make loans. A deposit is a credit item, and a loan is a debit item, and that is all there is to it. The exchange of checks and drafts with other banks and the process of international exchange are simply cancellations of credit and debit items. Even the investment of the bank's surplus funds in mortgages, bonds, and trade bills is just a method of making loans on these securities.

The actual work of the banking business is largely done by young men and women without special training, but who are careful and accurate with figures. Nor are the directors of the great majority of our 30,000 banks expert bankers. Over 90 per cent of these banks are in country towns, with farmers and small business men as directors. These men may know nothing about manipulating international exchange, but they run their banks successfully because they know

the character and reliability of their neighbors, and therefore can determine how much credit they should safely loan them far better than can a distant big-city banker. For the same reason, the workers' and farmers' cooperative banks of Europe and Asia practically never have a loss.

In the last analysis, the carefulness with which money is loaned is the heart of the banking business. And here the banker is protected as is no other business man. The grocers and butchers of the country make literally millions of loans to their customers every day by extending them credit on charge accounts, but they do not demand collateral security for these loans, nor do they compel their customers to get the indorsement of their neighbors to assure that the account will be paid. The banker does both of these things, and in addition, has access to confidential information regarding the financial standing of his customer which the small business man cannot obtain. The banker also has another advantage over the grocer: the money which is his stock in trade is not his own money, but approximately thirteen-fourteenths of it is capital contributed by his depositors, for which he pays not more than 3 or 4 per cent, and often nothing at all. Moreover, the law permits the banker to loan his capital over and over again, so that, according to the United States Comptroller of the currency, \$1,076,378,000 of actual cash in our banks supported a banking credit structure of \$53,079,108,000. In plain English, the bankers took a dollar of cash capital, of which their depositors had contributed about 93 per cent, and made \$50 of credit out of it, and collected interest on this sum.

This is why the banking business is easier to conduct than the grocery business. It is also safer. A report made by the United States Comptroller of the Currency in 1911 shows that during the preceding fifteen years, less than $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent of the eight thousand national banks of the country had failed, only $\frac{1}{6}$ of 1 per cent of the state banks, and $\frac{1}{6}$ of 1 per cent of the trust companies. Even these few failures were not due to legitimate banking. The Comptroller's report shows that 60 per cent of the failures of national banks have been caused by violations of the National Bank Act, about two-thirds of which were criminal violations; 23 per cent were caused by "injudicious" banking; 13 per cent by unwise ventures in stocks and bonds and other investments, while only 4 per cent resulted from failure of large debtors and other minor causes. Because co-operative banks strictly limit the profits of shareholders, they are not tempted to take the risks which large profits require. Furthermore, they make no loans to favored insiders or for speculative purposes, and distribute their lendings among thousands of small debtors, rather than a few big ones. For these reasons, co-operative banking is essentially safer and sounder than private-profit banking can ever be.

Are there not enough banks in the country? Why should we not use existing institutions, instead of founding a new kind of bank? Because banking power in America has fallen into the control of a small class, which often uses it to exploit the producing classes and to promote monopoly control of industry

and commerce. This may sound demagogic. If so, I refer you to that brilliant book, *Other People's Money*, by Louis D. Brandeis, now justice of the United States Supreme Court, and to the findings of the Pujo Committee appointed by Congress. I know of many fine small-town bankers to whom these serious charges do not apply—men who are earnestly striving to promote the welfare of their entire community. And yet, as Justice Brandeis clearly shows, the small banker is at the mercy of the big bankers, headed by a half-dozen huge banking houses, who can determine the policy to be followed by the small banker, whether he likes it or not.

We have already seen that about 93 per cent of all the banking capital of the country is contributed by the depositors, who are largely workers and farmers and small business people. Yet these are the very persons who can get very little banking credit, and often none at all. When the average worker needs a loan, he usually has to go to a loan shark and pay interest at the rate of from 100 to 300 per cent per year. Probably the main reason for the rapid growth of labor cooperative banks in this country is the fact that the big bankers are almost universally opposed to labor unions and to the interests of the working class. As one labor leader put it, "We are tired of having our own money, deposited in trust with the bankers, used by them time after time to cut our own throats."

A remarkable fact about the rapid growth of labor cooperative banks in this country is the support they have received from small business and manufacturing concerns having no connection with the organized labor movement. Banks existing to make profits have too often used credit power to stifle economic progress by exploiting productive industry and promoting speculative enterprises. Time and again legitimate businesses have found it impossible to borrow money from the bankers at 8 per cent, while stock speculators could readily secure all the money they wanted at from 2 per cent to 3 per cent. As Dr. Frederic C. House has remarked, "Credit is the most important tool in production, and the class that does not own and control this essential tool will find itself enslaved to those who do control it."

We have already suggested some of the services performed by the cooperative bank which the ordinary private-profit bank either cannot or does not render. The cooperative bank mobilizes the credit of the people for productive, and not for exploitative, purposes. It provides credit for workers and farmers and people of small means. Its aim is service to the community, and not the mere making of money. Even when organized by some particular group, such as a labor union, it is not a class bank, since it serves the public as a whole and returns its earnings to its depositors, no matter who they may be. In the great Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Cooperative National Bank of Cleveland, for instance, only 14 per cent of the depositors are known to be connected with the Brotherhood or any other labor union.

Cooperative banking also provides democratic control of credit, so that banking power can no longer be perverted to the profit of a small class. And

financial democracy is as essential to industrial democracy as the latter is to political democracy. There is a vital sequence here which deserves the thoughtful consideration of those who want to preserve American democracy.

Cooperative banks regard the banking business as a public trust. They enable the people to mobilize their money for increasing the production of wealth, and thus enhance the prosperity of the whole community. They make it possible for thousands of poor men and women with talent and ability to have an opportunity for greater social usefulness. They enable helpless immigrants to get honest foreign exchange, serve as trustees for the widows and orphans of workingpeople, protect the wage-earner against fraudulent stock schemes, and help him provide for his old age and the future education of his children by systematic saving and wise investment.

What of the future of cooperative banking? Its amazing possibilities become apparent when one finds that the total wage bill of the country is about one-half the fifty-billion dollar total resources of our 31,000 banks, and that the farmers' annual crops equal in value about two-thirds of the remainder. When a majority of the workers and farmers of America once undertake to concentrate their savings and credit power in their own banks, they can control the banking resources of the world's richest nation within one generation. In the words of the French financier, Jules Simon, "The greatest banker in the world is he who controls the pennies of the working class."

THE HANDICAPPED

REACTION ON PERSONALITY CAUSED BY PHYSICAL HANDICAP

(ABSTRACT)

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There are two ways in which physical handicaps operate, direct and indirect.

Personality is the sum total of individual characteristics that makes one person distinct from another.

We include the whole individual, mental, physical, social, all things which go to make a complete whole human being. Physical handicap means a direct loss of total personality, and is apt to express itself in some form of diminished efficiency in social relationships. It may be in the form of work, or other types of social relationships. The most interesting is the indirect effect upon behavior.

We have an instinct for self-assertion, the attempt to set ourselves up as complete individuals. We have a certain conflict between our drive for independent expression of our own individuality and the instinctive drive to conform to the standards of the group. Sometimes these drives reinforce one another and

we get socially acceptable behavior; otherwise it is unacceptable. There are several types of reaction for the handicapped individual. First, he may succumb to the handicap—the self-pity type—seeing the difference between himself and other people. Second, there is over-compensation—the urge or drive to overcome handicap that keeps one going ahead. Compensation of the handicapped is apt to make over-compensation in ways that are socially unacceptable. Physical handicap itself interferes with types of compensation which would be socially acceptable. A boy of seventeen was in the juvenile court on charge of stealing ten dollars. He had had infantile paralysis at six years of age. He did not rate high in intelligence, came from a family constantly in economic distress. He wanted to be like other boys, but could not, and said that as he could not, they would go and leave him, but that if he had money he could always have companions. He could then purchase something the others were interested in. His handicap brought him directly to stealing, though his drive was a thoroughly normal one. We must help the individual to help himself in spite of handicaps and in this way make him an acceptable member of society, even though it may be on a low level.

CORRELATION OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE WORK FOR THE HANDICAPPED

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The rehabilitation of the handicapped may for practical purposes be divided into two phases, namely, physical correction and vocational rehabilitation.

Physical correction may be effected through medical treatment, surgical operation, the use of prosthetic appliances, and the restoration of function through therapeutic treatment and occupation.

The second phase of the rehabilitation of the handicapped we have called vocational rehabilitation. By this we mean not correction of an individual physically, but the development of his remaining powers so that he may, with retraining and placement, be enabled to engage in remunerative employment. It is at this point that federal and state services for the rehabilitation of the handicapped take up the problem. Although federal and state legislation enacted during the past few years generally defines rehabilitation as "the rendering of persons disabled fit to engage in remunerative occupation," the official services begin not with physical correction, reconstruction, or restoration of function, but with training for occupation and placement. It is important to note that even in this restricted field of vocational rehabilitation of adults it is estimated that 84,000 individuals are so handicapped each year as to need, and still be able to profit by, vocational training and placement service of the states. There is written into the law granting federal aid to the states a clause requiring

a plan of cooperation between the rehabilitation departments and industrial accident boards of the states as one of the conditions under which aid is granted.

One of the results of this plan of cooperation is that industrial accident cases are automatically referred to the rehabilitation officials for service. There is, and of course can be, no law governing cooperation between the state departments and private agencies whose activities bring them into contact with the disabled. Hence there is no automatic reference of other than industrial cases to the state officials.

Public education and, I might say, the education of social and health agencies as to the type of services the state is prepared to render, is essential. It is important also that a similar campaign of education be waged among employers. This can best be done through trade, commercial, and civic organizations.

The state rehabilitation departments reported as rehabilitated last year only about 7 per cent of the total estimated to be in need of the service. This record, as compared with the number of individuals or families served by some local agencies, seems relatively small. As we analyze the problem a little more closely, however, it is apparent that the amount of effort expended in dealing with these cases is tremendous. Unlike the hospital to which patients are referred for institutional treatment, the state rehabilitation agency is a field organization whose services must reach out into the smallest town and into the very homes of the handicapped. It serves persons disabled by various causes who are found in practically every community.

Intelligent decision in each case presupposes a survey covering the individual's previous training, social and economic status, his aptitudes and desires, as well as his physical condition. In many cases, before the program of the vocational rehabilitation worker may be undertaken, a disabled person must be referred to the proper authorities for further medical, surgical, or therapeutic treatment. In numerous cases problems involving compensations must be adjusted, and in some cases arrangements must be made for maintenance of the individual and of his family during the period of training. Frequently a prosthetic appliance is required, and in those states whose laws do not permit the purchase of such appliances from state funds, arrangements must be made to secure financial assistance from relatives, friends, or voluntary agencies. Once these steps have been taken and the way is clear for vocational rehabilitation, the decision must be made as to the type of service the individual requires.

It is frequently possible to effect rehabilitation through direct placement on a job. There are, on the other hand, a vast number of severely disabled persons who cannot be placed directly, but must first be trained in a new line of work. Of the total rehabilitated by thirty-six states in the year ending June 30, 1924, 3,068 were placed without training, 2,093 after school training, and 483 after training on the job (employment training).

Not infrequently the type of training and the type of job selected must

depend not only upon the individual's permanent physical handicap, but likewise upon complicating physical weaknesses which make favorable working conditions necessary. Industries throughout the territory must be carefully surveyed with the handicapped person in mind. It is readily seen, therefore, that the problem involves intensive case work on behalf of individuals scattered over an extensive area. Every case may entail contact with the man's family, his friends, physician, hospital, previous employer, prospective employers, social service agencies, training schools, civic bodies, and various state departments.

In addition to supplementing the official state work in training the handicapped and providing for their placement in regular industry, it is important that private agencies continue to operate and develop services for individuals so disabled that they cannot be absorbed in regular industry. Among these services are the operation of sheltered workshops and the provision of employment in their own homes for the "homebound."

When the problem is reviewed in this way and it is noted that the service staffs of the thirty-six states cooperating with the federal board during 1924 did not exceed a total of 150 persons, it is obvious that the burden of responsibility for rehabilitation service must rest upon social service agencies, medical agencies, civic bodies, and employers, with the state rehabilitation agency as a coordinating force. This was early recognized by the Ohio state department, which developed a plan providing supplementary service in all counties of the state. An analysis of the distribution of the cases served during 1923 disclosed that they were widely distributed and were found in practically every county of the state.

The Ohio plan calls for the establishment in each community of a clearing agency, representative of the various groups concerned, with an advisory committee including in its membership leading educators, a physician, a nurse, a home visitor, and employment managers thoroughly acquainted with local industrial conditions and employment possibilities. It is important to note that Mr. M. B. Perrin, supervisor of civilian rehabilitation service in that state, believes that their progress is almost wholly due to the splendid relations which have existed between the state officials and the local people.

Another type of development has recently taken place in Minnesota. A state-wide conference on the welfare of the handicapped was held in Minneapolis May 13 and 14 of this year. Out of these sessions grew a permanent organization known as the Minnesota State Conference for the Disabled. Two meetings will be held each year, one in the spring and one at the time of the state conference of social work in the fall. A board of fifteen directors acts throughout the year to carry out the purposes of the conference. These purposes are broadly stated in the constitution as: first, to promote suitable rehabilitation services for the physically handicapped; second, to further correlation of activities for disabled persons; third, to create a suitable agency to receive and administer special funds for disabled persons whenever such shall be forthcoming.

The National Committee for the Disabled has as its special purpose the development of nation-wide interest in the welfare of orthopedic cases. It supplements the activities of the federal and state departments, and as one of its chief objectives aims to arouse public interest in the work which state officials are doing, thereby increasing the recognition and support they are now receiving. It makes studies of special problems, acts as a clearing house for the dissemination of information, works with state officials in the development of state conferences and other methods of cooperation with private agencies, endeavors to arouse interest in states where no action as yet has been taken, and counsels with local agencies concerning the problems of the disabled and the development of adequate facilities for their care.

THE CHALLENGE OF THE AGED POOR

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With the increased industrial development, the hardships encountered by the aged have become increasingly more numerous and perplexing. The very rise in the percentage of the people over sixty-five years of age, from 3.4 of the total population in 1880 to 4.7 in 1920, while the span of life, by our improvement in sanitation and medical science, has been steadily increased, has made the problem stand out pre-eminently as one demanding immediate and constructive solution. For while the number of aged people has increased and their lives lengthened, their opportunities for earning a living have diminished. It is needless to point out at length that as industry is becoming more specialized and standardized, and speed of production the most vital industrial economic factor, the dead line of employment is being pushed steadily down. Not infrequently the age of forty-five is already a bar to industrial employment. The continuous rise in farm tenancy of those sixty-five years of age and over would seem to make life in old age exceedingly precarious, even for the agricultural workers.

As the inadequacy of the present means of care of the aged began to dawn upon the public mind, a number of states were forced to appoint official bodies to investigate the subject. Although the state that first set out to investigate this subject—Massachusetts, in 1907—is still studying the problem, a number of other states have made somewhat better progress. At least, the findings of the commissions appointed to investigate the problem have proved invaluable in their shedding a new light upon the entire subject. These studies have at last effectively shattered the myth that dependency in old age is largely the result of thriftlessness and individual maladjustment. Instead, they revealed conclusively that among the leading causes of dependency in old age are the lack of family connections and impaired physical conditions.

The precarious economic status of wage-earners was also revealed by these investigations. In Hamilton, Ohio, 36.5 per cent of the aged persons investigated owned their homes free of debt, while in Cincinnati only 23.6 per cent owned such homes. In Pennsylvania 38 per cent of those past fifty years of age were found to have property possessions of one kind or another. That these few possessed remarkable fortitude is evident from the low wages they were earning. According to the disclosures of the Pennsylvania commission, the earnings of the aged during the high-wage period of 1918 were as follows: 29 per cent earned from \$14 to \$20 per week; 14 per cent earned less than \$12 per week; while 37 per cent were not earning anything.

That our superannuated wage-earners are not relieved to any considerable extent by the existing pensions provided for this purpose by industrial concerns and railroads, states, and municipalities, or fraternal associations and trade unions have also been disclosed by the studies of these commissions.

The state reports also showed that although practically everywhere some adequate plan to take care of worn-out aged toilers has been devised, and though approximately one out of every three persons reaching the age of sixty-five years becomes dependent either upon charity or relatives, the poorhouse still remains the only place of refuge for the great majority of the destitute in the United States; and this in spite of the fact that the poor laws in our states are practically modeled after the old British poor-law system, which England has since modified greatly. Indeed, many of our state laws are still almost identical with the Elizabethan poor law of 1601. Our poorhouses are "catch-all" institutions. Rarely are there strict regulations as to admissions and discharges of inmates. There is always a heterogeneous collection in these institutions, the inmates including the young and the old, the feeble-minded and epileptics, prostitutes and abandoned babes, inebriates and worn-out toilers. They are the "homes" of both the veterans of labor and the "veterans of dissipation."

The commissions which have been studying the subject are unanimous that our poorhouses are inadequate, antiquated, and exceedingly costly, considering the returns. A recent commission studying the subject in Indiana disclosed that:

The costs of maintaining these inmates of the poorhouses in the fashion that they are maintained runs from \$17 a month per inmate in such an institution as that in Marion County, where conditions are revolting, to \$44 per month in such an institution as that of Wayne County, where the poor farm represents a public investment of \$200,000. The average monthly cost in the average institution that is well managed is approximately \$35.

In 1923 five hundred of the 3,000 folks who were in the state's poorhouses died. That is an appalling death-rate. It is significant of the conditions of life in a poorhouse. It means that no old man or woman who has the strength to beg turns his steps to the poorhouse until, through want, he is tottering on the edge of the grave; and it means that life in the poorhouse is so depressing that once confined there the old men and women rapidly pine away.

A commission appointed by the United Mine Workers of America, after a personal visit to eighty of the county homes in Illinois, also declares: "we have found conditions varying from the very best to the most horrible," but "even

in the very best of the county institutions," the commission goes on to state, "it was a touching sight to see how their old faces would light up with joy and hope at the mere suggestion of a pension that would enable them to go home, however humble it might be, and live and die among friends, familiar scenes, and happy associations now lost to them forever."

The result of the above findings was that a new era in the care of the dependent aged began in the year 1923. (A law enacted in Arizona in 1914 was declared unconstitutional before it was put in operation.) Exactly two years ago two states in the west—Montana and Nevada—and the leading industrial state in the country—Pennsylvania—enacted laws which, if not in reality, in principle at least, recognized a new standard of care for the dependent aged. This was support of the dependent old in their own homes through old age pensions rather than herding them in the antiquated and degrading poorhouses which were condemned as outworn and expensive by all state commissions studying the subject. True, neither one of these three laws could in reality be termed a proper old age pension law; the Montana law provided for the payment of old age pensions by the regular county poor relief officials; while neither in Nevada nor in Pennsylvania did the legislatures grant adequate appropriations to make these laws effective. Nevertheless, the friends of this legislation felt sufficiently gratified with the early results achieved in placing three American states on record in favor of this legislation, and it was hoped to improve these laws in the succeeding legislatures.

Briefly, the old age pension laws adopted in 1923 were as follows: both the Pennsylvania and Montana laws provided for the payment of pensions to all men and women who had attained the age of seventy or upward, and who had been residents of the respective states for fifteen years continuously before the application for pension was made; in Nevada the pensionable age was set at sixty, while the state residence required was but ten years; the Pennsylvania and Nevada laws provided for a pension which, when added to the income of the applicant, should not exceed one dollar per day; in Montana the maximum amount of the pension was limited to twenty-five dollars a month; in Pennsylvania the funds for the payment of old age pensions were to be furnished entirely by the state; in Montana the pension funds were to come from the respective counties; while the Nevada law provided for the raising of the pension fund by a special levy of two and one-half mills on each one hundred dollars of taxable property.

Although pensions were paid during the last two years only in Montana, the facts disclosed anew from the statements of the applicants in Nevada and Pennsylvania have contributed significantly to the entire problem.

The commissioner of pensions in Nevada, after two years' study, reached the conclusion in his legislative report that an effective old age pension system should be put in operation in that state because:

It is cheaper and in every way more satisfactory than the ordinary poorhouse system. Because fear of old age and pauperism tends to despondency and often insanity and suicide. Because old age pensioning makes for righteous living and better social and economic conditions. Because it is abnormal for industry to throw back upon the community the human wreckage due to its wear and tear, sickness, accident, and to involuntary unemployment. Because pensioning keeps intact the home which is the foundation on which our country is reared. Because many prefer to starve rather than go to the poorhouse. Because pauperism causes unregeneration of children. Because a pension is the fulfilment of an acknowledged obligation, a deferred payment for services rendered. Because a workingman who has contributed health and strength, vigor and skill, to the creation of the wealth by which taxation is borne has made his contribution already to the fund which is to give him a pension. Because a state that makes it a crime to turn out an old horse to starve should be ashamed to let old men and old women starve or go to the poorhouse—which is more feared than starving. Because it prevents children from being undernourished and set to work early in life in order that they may help support the passing generation. Because the assistance of a small pension added to wages from part-time employment would allow men and women to remain producers instead of non-producers as poorhouse inmates.

He further pointed out that "70 per cent of the people in our country are too poor to own homes; they have only their clothing and a little cheap household furniture."

The Pennsylvania Old Age Assistance Commission also reported to the legislature that a study of nearly 3,000 applicants under the Pennsylvania law revealed that three of every four applicants are already without any definite remunerable occupation. Of those who still claim some earnings, more than half eke out less than \$4 per week. Three of every four applicants stated that they never earned more than an average of \$15 a week throughout their lives. Two-thirds of the applicants were made up of persons engaged in common labor occupations and of women who depended upon their husbands for a living but who are now either dead or disabled so as to be unable to support them. Only 5 per cent of the applicants claimed to have earned wages in excess of \$25 per week.

Ninety per cent of the persons who applied for old age assistance are native-born Americans; 88 per cent of the total have been married and reared families, half of them of more than four children each. These children are now married, with large families of their own, and unable to support their parents. It was found that only in rare instances do the children of these applicants rise above their parental economic status. In case after case it was disclosed that not only do the sons of a laborer or miner follow the father's occupation, but in the majority of cases even all his daughters marry people in the same lines of occupation. Where they are able, children were found to make every effort to support their parents, but one-third of the aged applicants have no children living at all. The good character of the applicants was further brought out by the fact that over 95 per cent of their former employers written to regarding the character of the applicants replied in the most praiseworthy manner.

The utter dependency of these aged applicants was brought out by the fact that 73.8 per cent of the applicants stated that, aside from what help some of

them receive from their children and relatives, they have no other means of support except what they can earn from their own labor. Only 18 per cent of the total claim to derive some income from accumulated savings. The average of these savings amounts to \$376 for the person having such, and \$6.75 for all applicants. Even in the overwhelmingly rural counties only less than one-fourth of the applicants have been able during their lifetime to save up a homestead. This against a home ownership of 44.9 per cent for the entire state, although but little over one-half of these are entirely free. The average value of the homestead amounts to \$571. The average total possessions of all applicants, including the values of the homes, savings, and various other possessions, when divided by the total number of applicants studied, amounted to but \$23.84 per person. This in the face of a per capita wealth in Pennsylvania in 1923 of \$1,931.80 for every man, woman, and child.

One would naturally assume, of course, that after all these disclosures the movement for constructive legislation for the aged would now grow by leaps and bounds all over the United States. Instead, the year 1925 opened up with bleak and dreary prospects for the advocates of old age pension legislation. The Pennsylvania law, declared unconstitutional by a county court in August, 1924, met with the same fate early this year in the state supreme court. This decision was based largely on a section in the Pennsylvania constitution which prohibits the legislature from making appropriations "for charitable, benevolent, and educational purposes." In both Montana and Nevada bills were introduced repealing the 1923 acts, with the result that the latter law was promptly repealed. At the same time strong opposition developed in every legislature where bills were introduced. Of course, the tactics of misrepresentation and prejudice used in defeating the child labor amendment were employed also in the case of old age pension bills.

The end of the legislative year, however, brought considerable progress, though not without new dangers. Bills introduced this year passed one house in Indiana and New Jersey. State commissions to study the subject were created in Colorado, Utah, and Minnesota. In Nevada a new law replaced the one repealed. In Pennsylvania the legislature created a new commission to study the subject further, and also passed a resolution providing for a constitutional amendment to permit appropriations for old age pensions. The California legislature, by a large majority, adopted a bill modeled after the Pennsylvania law. This, however, was vetoed by Governor Richardson because "it was harmful to the spirit of thrift and economy." A law passed by the legislature of Wisconsin was recently approved by Governor Blaine.

Thus, while the advocates of this legislation are undoubtedly justified in feeling gratified with these achievements, it is now meet to pause from the exhilaration for a moment and take stock of the new dangers ahead. Unfortunately these pitfalls are more menacing inasmuch as they come from the friends of this legislation. The Montana law was, perhaps, inevitable, but the wisdom

of the present laws adopted in Nevada and Wisconsin may seriously be questioned by students of the problem. A true examination of these laws may justify them as improvements in outdoor relief, but they can hardly be termed effective old age pension laws.

The Montana law sets up old age pension commissions composed of the boards of county commissioners, who are generally also in charge of county poor relief, with no central state supervision whatsoever. That this, in practice, is merely an extension of the principle of outdoor relief, and fails even to remove one of the main objectionable features—the stigma of pauperism—is evident from the fact that the state auditor's report for 1924 shows an average allowance per applicant of \$151.74, as against the maximum of \$300 allowed under the law. Obviously, these grants are not based on the principle of adequate pensions and are hardly more than the accustomed poor relief given prior to the enactment of the so-called pension law. A canvass recently made of these commissioners revealed that the great majority continue to look at these grants as merely poor relief.

But at least under the Montana law the county commissioners are required to act as old age pension commissioners. The law is made compulsory. The new Nevada law eliminates even that, and provides for old age pension boards made up of the county commissioners, who are also the poor-relief officials, who may authorize this pension if they decide to do so. It is but natural that they should continue to look at this as merely poor relief under a new name, despite the specific provision in the act that this pension is to be given "in recognition of the just claims of the inhabitants upon the aid of society, without thereby assuming the stigma of pauperism by legal definition." Legal definitions without an administrative system to back them up cannot be expected to remove traditional social prejudices.

The Wisconsin law even goes one worse and provides for a county pension system which may be adopted by "a two-thirds vote of the members elected to its county board," and, "having operated under such system for one year or more, any county may abandon such system." Will not this prove excellent political material to the enemies of a better system of care of the aged by adopting the plan for a year and then giving it up because "it could not be made to work"? The advisability of making, under the Wisconsin law, the county judge the pension official is also seriously to be questioned. Our county judges are already overburdened, and even with authority "to make or cause to be made such investigation as they may deem necessary" it is doubtful whether such individual local systems could even provide efficient and harmonious administration. After all, to be effective an old age pension system must be placed on a state-wide basis at least. And it must be taken out, entirely, of the realm of county poor relief!

It was not without many years of laborious effort that we succeeded in placing on the statute books of most of our states fairly effective workmen's com-

pensation and mothers' pension laws. At this critical moment the challenge of the aged goes forth to the social workers of the nation in a plea to think in terms of more constructive forms of relief than the only available means at present—that of depending upon relatives, public charities, and poorhouses. It is time that those engaged in the alleviation of poverty and suffering should also work for constructive legislation which, instead of branding our worn-out toilers and aged mothers, after they have spent their lives in the promotion of our own welfare and happiness, with the odious stigma of pauperism, will provide them with at least the necessities of life, honorably and magnanimously, during the sunset days of their lives, as they have richly deserved.

THE LABOR COLLEGE MOVEMENT

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Charles Schwab, shortly after the war, told a group of American business men that they would witness labor assume more and more political and economic control of the world. No more important question confronts the student of social movements than that of what the workers will do with power when once they have secured it.

According to the International Labor Department of the League of Nations, organized labor groups increased in the decade 1910-20 from 10,835,000 to 32,680,000. In America the members of the families of organized workers represent approximately one-sixth of the population. In some cities they represent from one-fourth to one-half the voting strength.

Labor is being tested as never before in industry. It bargains with the most closely knit organized group of industrialists the world has ever known. It is confronted by credit organizations with international ramifications. Business today hires the best technical and legal skill obtainable. The influence of commerce upon our press, political parties, educational system, organized religion, and our courts cannot very well be questioned.

For workers to attempt to deal with such an efficient organization with mere demands backed by numbers is to invite economic catastrophe. Too long has labor ignored its just appeal to public opinion. It has looked askance at technical experts. It has distrusted educators, and has been too ready to yield educational and other organized sections of society to business, with a gesture of resigned helplessness. It has underestimated its friends. It has forgotten that most technicians are children of their own loins. With one breath they curse the intellectuals and then blindly worship at the shrine of Marx, Engels, Shaw, Wells, McDonald, and Lenine.

Meanwhile the field of consumers' cooperation, partnership in industry, new forms of trade agreements, new opportunities for government service, and

constant international and racial challenges are being hurled into the midst of labor assemblies.

Profanity and force are antiquated instruments with which to meet a situation of this type. In the industrial, political, and cooperative fields education is the crying need. Wherever these movements have failed, the main reason was the lack of trained leaders. The British cooperative movement failed until its economic measures were accompanied by an educational program. It is significant that the Franklin Cooperative Creamery in Minneapolis is spending most of its earnings for educational purposes.

The labor movement has always been an educational movement. The dignity of raising vocational crafts to the standards of professional service has often been underestimated. Organized efforts on the part of workers usually have drawn together groups that have been hungry for a larger life for their children. The first public schools of America were made free by the objection of the better class workers to the stigma of designating as paupers those children whose parents could not pay tuition.

With the consciousness of the obligations that would rest upon the leadership of labor and of the unfulfilled intellectual hunger in the hearts of workers, a conference of trades unions, cooperatives, and educators met in England in 1903 and launched the Workers' Educational Movement of Great Britain. It had been pre-dated by the founding of Ruskin College by three Americans in 1899. In 1907 it was organized under its present form under the able leadership of Albert Mansbridge.

To full-time institutions such as Ruskin College at Oxford and the London Labor College were sent promising young men by their respective trade unions and cooperative organizations. Upon their completion of their courses they returned to serve as secretaries, organizers, or teachers in their respective local groups. It was upon such leadership as this that the British Labor Party was constructed. To this type of training is due much of the success of the British cooperative enterprises. Last year witnessed 30,000 British workers in tutorial classes.

Only since the war has any serious workers' educational program been attempted in America. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, as an organization, was a pioneer in practicing educational methods within the organization. Both elementary and advanced schools were organized. A system of popular mass education was successfully promoted.

The Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor deserves the credit, under the able leadership of James H. Maurer, for introducing the idea of a state department of labor education within the State Federation of Labor. This organization has reached a high state of efficiency under the competent direction of Dr. Richard R. Hogue. Practical research work is being undertaken by several of these schools that has resulted in better-wage agreements and a finer relationship between the management and the men employed.

A full-time labor school has been established at Kantonah, New York, under the direction of Dr. A. J. Muste. Offering a two-year course, it has succeeded in bringing together a fine group of young people who will devote their lives to the service of labor groups. Each year has seen a healthy growth. The college is operated as a democratic community. The school has profited by the aversion of some of the larger universities to real thinkers and have gathered together a remarkable group of teachers from "the despised and rejected"—possibly some day a badge of honor. The institution bids fair to become the Ruskin College of America.

These various types of schools have been coordinated under the Workers' Educational Bureau of America. It has been officially recognized by the American Federation of Labor. Too much praise could not be accorded Spencer Miller, Jr., or his skilful statesmanship in securing such universal support and cooperation from diverse groups within the labor movement. He has avoided making workers' education an agency of propaganda and yet has preserved absolute academic freedom. He has served the movement with a spirit of self-sacrifice that alone has made possible the present effectiveness of the program.

Workers' education has always been fortunate in its friends in the teaching profession. Such teachers as Charles Beard, James Harvey Robinson, Harry L. Dana, A. D. Sheffield, Robert Bruere, Felix Frankfurter, Arthur Gleason, Roscoe Pound, and scores of others have gladly placed their services at the disposal of the movement.

While ideally these teachers are paid a small compensation, in the main they have served as a labor of love. It has not been entirely unselfish. Many of them testify to the inspiration that comes from the intellectual hunger of their workers' classes as contrasted with the complaisant boredom of the usual college groups. Labor colleges offer invaluable clinics for professors interested in practical social situations. They confront learning with life. They introduce realism into the realm of theory.

Incidentally, no ordinary teacher can succeed in labor education. To be dull, technical, or uninteresting will provoke an educational "lockout" for the teacher that frequently has the effect of a "knockout." Students are not slow to inform the world that they have no time to waste with a teacher who "doesn't get anywhere." Workers' classes insist upon group thinking and the discussion method. A teacher is no oracle to them. He may be the "exciter," but the class is the "dynamo." Curriculums are built by the needs of the students. Subjects fit life, rather than students being assigned subjects. Educational democracy is the watchword. The control is overwhelmingly in the hands of the labor movement and the student body. No real teacher is cramped. His leadership, on the contrary, is eagerly followed, but he must lead.

The psychology of this self-government is largely responsible for the success of the institution. The school is theirs. The students go out and enrol the stu-

dent body. The catalogue consists of personal testimony of the value of the school. The board of directors are students and they are interested partners.

The curriculum grows out of the normal development of the school. In the main, workers' education classes have been non-vocational. Public speaking is usually the most popular and primary subject. This grows from the desire for self-expression in the labor movement. One could well write on the romance of education, as to how public speaking opened the door for the use of the public library, created intellectual curiosity which led to demands being made for classes in economics, history, English, science, industrial law, cooperation, psychology, sociology, etc. It is common practice to offer any class for which ten students will apply.

These schools are usually held at nights for ten- or twelve-week terms and two terms during the winter. In some instances forums, or assemblies, have added much to the morale of the enterprise. The schools are held in public school buildings, labor temples, or in various community centers.

The broadest attitudes are taken. Discrimination against non-union workers is an unheard-of thing. In the Denver Labor College last winter, with 268 students, about one-half were from the families of the unorganized workers.

The students often have much to give. Several nationalities make their various contributions. Not infrequently a student will have had some training in a European university. One night a lecturer on Ibsen was jarred by a Scandinavian who introduced himself as having sat under Ibsen's lectures. A professor in Southern European history found himself corrected by a dull-looking student who mildly explained, "Dat's where I was born." A story is told of a famous lawyer lecturing on workers' compensation who was dismally routed in an argument by a man who waved a wooden leg to support his arguments as to the working of the law.

Workers are interested in the "factual approach." It means that some have to abandon "pet theories," but it is rather amazing how rapidly they acquire an impersonal and scientific approach to problems. This attitude is breaking up many educational myths based upon the acceptance of the *status quo*.

The intense interest manifested by forward-looking groups in the educational world toward the development of workers' education is encouraging. The drama and the moving picture are being used to good advantage. The industrial world is being more and more used as a laboratory.

In instances like Amherst, Miami University, and Colorado College, groups of college professors have traveled miles and given a large number of evenings to aid workers' educational enterprises in nearby industrial centers.

As an outgrowth of these winter labor schools, summer schools are being organized. Brookwood has conducted a very successful school. The Bryn Mawr experiment of bringing working girls from all over America to this cultural center for two months during the summer has more than justified the faith of

those who planned the school. In Colorado a school which brings together the farm and labor leadership of the Rocky Mountain region has been very well attended for the past two years.

At the last convention of the American Federation of Labor it was recommended that local organizations tax themselves ten cents per member for educational purposes. This would mean an income of approximately \$40,000 per year. It will take some time to reach this goal, but when it is reached it will mean a director of labor education in every state.

Already corporations with shop councils and various types of employee representations are discovering that initiative can only be produced by an educational program. This field is as yet undeveloped.

If some prophet could inspire business executives to form executive cooperative schools it would hasten the coming of industrial peace. Such an undertaking must come from within employing groups rather than as extensions of educational institutions.

No more inspiring sight is seen today in the world than the alliance of youth with labor education. The youth of England, Belgium, and Germany are rendering valuable aid to labor education. Labor organizations in Japan, China, and South America owe much of their success to student groups. With labor and youth allying there may yet be hope for a warless and constructive program of human relationships.

The future of any constructive program depends upon the educational foundation which undergirds it. Democracy will be safe when democracy is intelligent.

INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS IN THE BEET SUGAR INDUSTRY

C. W. Doherty, Statistician, Great Western Sugar Company, Denver

Sources of production of refined sugar have been limited to two plants, the sugar cane of the tropics and the sugar beet of the temperate zone, the only two which were able to survive competition in world-markets.

Beet culture is now well entrenched in eighteen states extending from California to Ohio. There are three main divisions of beet territory: the Pacific coast area, California to Washington; the Rocky Mountain territory, comprising Utah, Idaho, Montana, Colorado, Wyoming, Nebraska, and Kansas; and the eastern area, comprising Minnesota, Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio.

One peculiarity of the industry is the location of the factory in the center of the community which produces the raw material, the factory itself merely an adjunct to an essentially agricultural industry. The large investment required for factory ownership and operation has made it generally inexpedient to have them cooperatively operated. Practically without exception the manufacturing

function has been met by separate corporate ownership. The raw material is contracted for before planting time, generally on a sliding scale or profit-sharing contract with landowners or tenants of landowners. Only to a very limited extent do any of the operating companies undertake to grow their own raw material.

The labor problem of the beet sugar industry is dual, with little in common between that of the field and that of the factory. As might be supposed, factory workers seldom take to work in the fields, and few of the field workers enter the factories.

The hand work of sugar beet production produces an unusual labor problem, and from this point on I should like to speak specifically of the handling of labor and its relation to the community in the territories of the Great Western Sugar Company, with which I am directly familiar. There is probably a general similarity throughout the beet sugar industry of America. This Company operates in northeastern Colorado, western Nebraska, the Yellowstone Valley of Montana, and the Big Horn basin of Wyoming, with an annual production of from 300,000 to 425,000 tons of sugar, approximating one-third of the nation's total beet sugar.

While dexterity is necessary to competent work, this occupation could not be classed with the skilled trades and professions. Patience is needed, and willingness to work intermittently, at satisfactory wages, but with a small annual income from this one source on account of the inevitable loss of time when other than field occupations are unavailable. For many years people of German descent who had emigrated from the Ukraine of Russia filled the major part of the requirement. A few Japanese workers also found their way into the beet fields and performed a high grade of work, but their numbers have never been great enough to constitute a factor of importance in the industry. The comparatively recent restriction of immigration presented a problem which was finally solved by the employment of peoples originally from Mexico but who had previously migrated into our border states with the hope of improving their economic and intellectual positions.

The employment is naturally secured from the grower, who is solely responsible for the growth and delivery of the crop. Left in the growers' hands, without the aid of organized effort to secure in a short time so great a number of workers, the problem could hardly be met, and the custom has been developed by mutual consent of leaving in the hands of manufacturers the procurement and distribution of imported field workers. The grower is still privileged to procure his own help on terms of his own negotiations, and labor resident within the community is so employed. Whenever railroad transportation is required to bring workers into beet territory, the company has assumed the cost as a necessary charge against its operations.

The arrangements between grower and field worker are put in writing, in the form of a uniform contract, before the spring work commences. This contract

provides that for each of the hand operations a specific price per acre shall be paid, which for the present year totals \$22.00 per acre. It further provides that if the average crop yield per acre for each contract exceeds 12 tons, a bonus of 50 cents per acre for each ton in excess of 12 tons shall be paid. The average yield of all fields is approximately 12 tons per acre, whereby half of the fields yield less than 12 tons while half yield more. Under the terms of the contract \$22.00 per acre is the guaranteed minimum remuneration, while on half of the fields more would be paid.

Much attention has been directed toward the shipment of field workers from remote points for seasonal work, whereas only a small portion of the acreage requires other than resident laborers for its care. In addition to the members of the growers' families who care for a portion of their own crops, there are, permanently residing within our immediate territories, from 17,000 to 19,000 workers who habitually depend upon beet work each year as a part of their program for earning a livelihood.

It has been for years the consistent purpose of manufacturers to arrange interim work for these people and to encourage their permanent residence within the beet communities in as great numbers as adequate employment would essentially guarantee against destitution and the need of charitable provision. Each of the towns and villages in the territory has its resident population of beet workers, most of whom own their own homes.

Considerable attention has been focused upon housing conditions on the beet farms. In this particular there is a field for improvement. Obviously, beet-workers' families are rather large, and the labor houses on the farms are generally small. The evil of overcrowding is mitigated by the exceptionally favorable climate of the Rocky Mountain country during the season of occupancy. These labor houses are built for occupancy during the summer and fall months, when comfort demands that windows and doors be opened wide, and the excellent ventilation thus afforded must partially remedy the evil of congestion. Labor houses on the farms are the property of the farm owner, and their improvement must depend upon a demonstrable economic justification. In our capacity of exercising supervision over the field laborers we have observed that the more experienced and capable workers are generally found on farms where there is a desirable habitation and where other evidence of a kindly interest on the part of the employer is also shown. We persistently make these facts known, that the landowner will provide adequate homes and find the investment to bring its return to him in better yields per acre.

The work in the fields is essentially family labor. It lends itself to the cooperation of the family group, and no doubt those who engage in it elect to do so because of the opportunity of multiplying the income during a short period by providing easily performed tasks during a short period of the year, little of which interferes with securing their educational needs. The wage for the work, calculated on a per diem basis, compares favorably with that to be secured on

railroads or at other occupations. Field work is easily within the power of women and children to perform without impairment of health. The procedure is for the head of a family to contract with a beet-growing farmer to perform the hand operations on a stipulated number of acres of beets at a stipulated rate per acre. No beet-field laborers are employed by the manufacturers. The contractor then makes such use of the members of his family as he sees fit. Wife and children work only under the direction of husband and father. Should he be of an unreasonable disposition, it is obvious that employment in the fields does not alter his character.

Most of these remarks refer specifically to the Spanish-speaking beet laborer. Let it be understood that more than two-thirds of all of our field work is done by people of this race, and common observation is that the family consideration is attended with more sympathy by those fathers than by the fathers of other families of field workers.

The total actual field employment is for a combined period of about sixty working days, for which each worker receives about \$3 per day, or a family of five working members receives \$15 per day or \$900 in total. The capacity for effective work varies not only between various members of the family but also between families. The contracting head of the family will be found generally to earn nearly double the wage of his children. There is not a single task that requires great strength and while some of the operations involve a bending position, the duration of each of these tasks is not long, and the physique of adult and children workers attests that deformities do not result from the nature of their work.

Employment in the beet fields necessitates absence of the children from the customary school terms for periods of from thirty to forty-five days, which is regrettable, and this problem must be solved. These absences are generally condoned by the authorities for the reason that the major part of the life of the communities depends upon the beet crop, and its successful harvest cannot be hazarded. There is a general recognition that educational arrangements should be suited to the needs of each community and that a beet district requires a modification of its school term to meet its specific need. Twelve districts in our territories have already arranged summer terms for the children of beet workers, together with a vacation period during the harvest season. Before the inception of the first summer school, six years ago, the average retardation of beet-worker children in that school district was reported as 54 per cent. Today it is reported to be but 35 per cent. This extra term increases the expense for school maintenance and the farmers' tax burden during unprofitable years following the post-war collapse of prices for agricultural products has deterred him from undertaking new burdens, but as conditions improve it is confidently hoped that the summer term will find universal application in our territories. Meanwhile, these beet-worker children will continue to be absent for four or five weeks each year from their classes in geography and spelling, but they are learning other

valuable lessons of industry and thrift and the practices of agriculture. An agricultural people, they are learning the craft of their fathers and fitting themselves to rear and provide for their own families by their chosen occupation.

The reports of some surveys which have been previously made have laid particular stress upon this retardation of beet-worker youths in our schools. It is indeed regrettable that any deficiency should exist. But it is also possible for the average reader to draw an erroneous conclusion. This retardation is understood to represent the percentage of the children studied who are two grades or more behind some arbitrary standard for each age group. This standard contemplates entering school at age of five or six in the kindergarten, and completing the twelfth grade at age of seventeen or eighteen, advancing one grade each year during the interim. This is probably a desirable standard. But we all know very well that it requires a greater than average degree of intellect and industry for the American child to maintain this schedule, and that if we average our own school groups we will find quite a percentage of them also to show retardation. I have been told that the average percentage of retardation of American children is about 30 per cent, although this figure needs corroboration. According to this rather rigorous standard there are probably 25 per cent more of the beet-worker children retarded in their grades than of average American children, and when we consider their educational handicap at time of entry into our communities, it is really rather surprising that there are not more.

The standard by which they are measured contemplates a scholastic performance beyond that which is consistent with our Colorado school law, where children are not required to attend school before the age of eight. The standard would have a child at this age in the second grade of school. Particularly the German-Russian parents consider it a mistake to enter their children before the age of eight, and unless these children are possessed of sufficient intellectual capacity to overcome a handicap of two years, they are thereafter doomed to inclusion in that group as retarded children.

One of the critical problems to be met during the transition from German-Russian to Spanish-speaking field laborer was that of securing for them employment during idle periods; to establish their adaptability to tasks heretofore given to people of other characteristics. With some aid they have gradually established themselves in periodic tasks in the coal mines, on the railroads, on public works, and as general farm laborers. Particularly has the last-named rôle proven a boon to our rural communities, where a shortage of farm hands at critical seasons of the year was practically unknown during recent years when this situation was generally decried in many farming states.

This is the acute problem of the agricultural phase of the industry and the account of how it is being met. It must be viewed in the light of the necessities of the basic agricultural crop of this territory. If prosperity is to reign and our farmers are to thrive, if our nation is to produce a substantial part of so important a foodstuff, this beet sugar industry must be sustained. We of the West

believe that in sustaining it a delicate labor problem has been met in the only practical way, that those people whose social and intellectual state may be below the standards of idealism have yet been blessed by the industry and their standards of life elevated.

The factory labor problem is less acute. Factories are designed to handle the perishable crop at high speed during a practical period of operation. Experience has shown that as a result of deterioration of the roots during shortage, together with the mechanical difficulties encountered during periods of extremely low temperatures, operation for a period of from 90 to 100 days is most practical. Hence employment is largely seasonal.

The process of extracting and refining the sugar from the roots is intricate and requires a large nucleus of skilled operatives. As you perhaps know, our industry is unlike the cane sugar industry in that, in a single process, we manufacture and refine our product, placing on the market directly a product of almost absolute purity. In fact, if beet sugar were to find its market in the drug and chemical industry, we would properly stamp our packages with the letters "C. P.," which mean "Chemically Pure."

Continuous high-speed operation is essential to success and therefore we must keep our equipment in a high state of repair. The nucleus of our factory organization is trained not only in the technicalities of manufacture, but also to effect this mechanical overhauling. To them falls the task of repairing which is done during the idle season with such a number of men that they can be continuously employed. These people, together with those who supervise the growth of the crop, and the executives and office employees are almost entirely the heads of families permanently established in the communities, numbering in all about 1,400 or an average of nearly 100 in each factory community. About 5,500 seasonal employees are needed continuously during the operating period, most of whom are unskilled or semi-skilled factory operatives. Among the unskilled workers separations are quite frequent, and to supply our needs and replace those leaving about 9,000 seasonal workers are hired each year.

The industry has been established in this territory for twenty-five years and it is only natural that there should have developed a correlation between the labor market and the needs of the industry. Within the factory towns where we operate there are available each year about 3,300 workers who depend upon this "campaign" work as a part of their program for earning a livelihood, and who likewise fill in the balance of the year at other seasonal work to be had within the community.

The beet crop in the West is grown without exception in the narrow irrigated valleys. The vast areas of unirrigated lands are inhabited by farmers who endeavor each year to bring a crop through by making the best use of our meager and uncertain rains. To many of these people, often in financial need, factory work for three of the fall and winter months, with a certain cash income, has come to be depended upon to insure against want during the lean years and to

aid in the improvement of their farms during better times. From this source we secure about 2,400 workers each year. Were all of these people available at the opening of our manufacturing season, few, if any, migratory workers would be given employment. But the needs of their own farms and other conflicting occupations of the seasonal workers who reside in the towns makes necessary the solicitation of temporary workers in the labor markets to the number of about 3,300 each year. These last are of a less desirable class, such as are seen in cities everywhere to frequent the employment agencies, devoting their lives to wandering, and working, as they go, a few days in each place. For a time we need them and give them employment. As they leave they are replaced by local citizens who remain with us, at tasks with which they are familiar, until the season is ended.

There is no foreign group among our factory workers. I doubt if there could be found in our country a factory crew more distinctly American. There no doubt will be found here and there a foreigner who has drifted 2,000 miles inland and found employment with us, and there are a few of the field workers who fill in at ordinary tasks after their field work has been finished, but I personally do not recall ever having come in contact with a factory workman who could not converse in our language.

It is essential to the industry that factories, once started, work without interruption. Neither has it been found practicable to augment the working crew by 15 per cent to provide a day of rest each week during a season which lasts but thirteen of fourteen weeks during each year. Consequently, employment within the factories during the short operating season is continuous, seven days per week. This season generally opens about September 25, and lasts for from 80 to 100 days, depending upon the size of the crop. While the practice is not yet general, our company has for seven years operated three shifts of eight hours each, and believes the adoption of the short working day to have been as worth while from a business standpoint as from a humanitarian one, if indeed these elements can ever be found out of accord.

It might be of interest to make some observations on the change in this industry to the shorter working day. There are a few occupations that require considerable muscular effort, which cannot be sustained for twelve hours continuously, and relief has been provided by augmentation of the crews. With the shorter working day it was practical to reduce the number of men employed on each shift by nearly 10 per cent. It was, of course, necessary to offer a higher wage per hour on the new basis, and I doubt if the saving in the number of hours worked was sufficient to compensate for the increased cost per hour without consideration of other corollary benefits. Particularly was the longer shift onerous to the foreman, whose duty it is to keep a long succession of machines and equipment working in unison so that there are a minimum number of delays. We found that the shortening of his day permitted him so to increase the effectiveness of his work that there was an immediate and cumulative reduction of

delays, or, as expressed in the positive way, a steady gain in the capacities of our plants independently of any enlargement in equipment. This factor has a greater value in our industry than in many other branches of manufacturing, in that not only are unit labor costs reduced as volume increases, but the avoidance of deterioration of a perishable crop possesses great value as well. During the seven years of eight-hour day experience, the human effort expended within the factory proper per unit of output has been reduced fully 30 per cent, one-third of which was directly due to the smaller number of men employed, and two-thirds of which was due to the greater capacity permitted. During this period some modification has been made in equipment, but the major part of the improvement is a direct result of the shorter working day.

Beet sugar factories are, with few exceptions, located in small towns, the factory being the focus of the social and industrial life of the communities. Unlike the factories of the large cities, organized effort to supervise the general welfare, health, and comfort of employees in their homes is not needed. The co-operative neighborly interest is sufficient. Until the close of the world-war, each town had ample housing accommodation for all seasonal factory workers, but the general lack of building was at length felt here as well as in the cities and our company found it necessary to fill the need by construction of homes for many of the permanent employees and dormitories for the transient. The homes were rented to employees at a moderate rate, and offered for sale on convenient terms at prices below their market value. Many of them have already been disposed of. The dormitories are still available and are operated at such times only as other facilities are inadequate.

I would like to conclude this paper with some remarks on the relationship that exists between the working organization and the Great Western Sugar Company, relating to some of the things that our company does for the benefit of its employees because those in charge like to do such things and find that they can justify them to their stockholders as good business, and the response of the employees to this evidence of interest. It seems proper that such things should be told, that the industry and the worker may prosper through the more general adoption of such plans as have been demonstrated to be successful. Our company is not yet so large that it needs to conduct carefully organized schemes through the medium of boards and committees. Many of the officials in charge of operations at various factories and in the general office in Denver saw this company organize and have been a part of its growth. There is yet a spontaneous personal interest that may some day, unfortunately, be lost.

It is considered fundamental to maintain a wage and salary scale such as will attract and hold a selected class of workers. Together with this, most of the members of the permanent force have had a comparatively rapid advancement. The expansion of the business from one factory to sixteen in a span of twenty-five years has furnished many opportunities, and positions of responsibility have always been filled only by promotion on the basis of merit.

The moral responsibility to offer generous aid in case of industrial accidents has always been met in a manner much more complete than that required by the state compensation law. In addition to this requirement, the legal waiting period is bridged with half-time compensation and this rate is continued as supplemental to the legal compensation during disability. Medical, hospital, and surgical costs are ordinarily cared for in full, even though the legal limit be exceeded. No employee suffers loss of income because of jury or national-guard duty. Those who have earned the consideration of members of the permanent force not subject to dismissal because of the seasonal character of the work are generally paid on a monthly basis. All such employees are granted two, three, or four weeks' vacation with full pay once each year. In addition to this there are special vacation allowances for three factory crews each year for distinguished performance, and at all factories a liberal allowance of national, state, or local holidays.

There are generally two conventions held each year in the way of training, to which a large number are invited, which probably hold as great value in the association and amusement features as in the way of specific training. Local gatherings of social and educational value are always fostered and financed. Many employees are becoming stockholders in the company through a convenient payment plan.

Life insurance in the amount of a year's salary or wage, but not exceeding \$3,000, is provided all employees with a service record of six months or more. Provision for retirement of superannuated workers has not yet been reduced to a formula, but such of these people as we have are being provided for each in an individual way, and I do not believe that any worthy employee who has spent years in the service of the company fears that he will be left destitute after it has become necessary to retire from active work. Probably the time will come when such things will be done under rules, and I believe that the change will bring a little less of mutual appreciation between company and workers of the efforts that are made in each other's behalf.

If a working organization is contented, their contentment should find expression not only in the absence of strikes but in the performance of duty in a way that brings gratification and surprise to their superiors. In this industry of ours there developed years ago, and without direction or guidance, a keen spirit of competition between the various factories, each endeavoring to excel in speed and operation, which is the short road to the avoidance of loss. Right down to the present time new ideas of the possibilities of our equipment must be formed annually as a result of each year's records surpassing the previous and, indeed, even surpassing any reasonable expectation. Such accomplishments are not made by a disaffected organization. We believe that a considerate treatment, free from paternalism, a generous attitude toward affording opportunity for friendly association, the beneficence of a rather rapid growth, and the competitive spirit induced by the operation of quite similar units in adjacent com-

munities have all contributed to an *esprit de corps* that is little short of phenomenal. Within recent years we have sought to direct better this natural group desire for excellence, and have given balance to the various functions of economy in operation with a system of debits and credits which, summed up, constitute a comparative rating between factories, the highest numerical rating constituting the most economical operation. The plan is very much involved and because of its intricacy fear was felt for its success, but each factory group organized meetings to study and master it and the performance each year since its inception has been most gratifying. To the factory with the highest numerical rating each year, a significant flag is awarded, and to the three factories heading the list additional vacation allowances are made to all employees. The whole scheme of operation of every plant is organized with reference to the winning of the flag, and so, necessarily, in the manner of greatest economy.

The factory labor problem, then, seems to be only in its seasonal character, and since but one crop can be grown each year, operation will probably never become continuous. Storage methods may be improved, that longer operating seasons may be used by fewer plants. Meanwhile the process will continue to become more nearly automatic, and the problem thereby be met by the reduction in numbers of seasonal workers.

MIGRATORY WORKERS IN AGRICULTURE

Louise F. Shields, Portland, Oregon

Following the crops or shifting from one industrial job to another in the United States are two million to three million migratory workers.¹

One who works for a few weeks, or at the most a few months, on one job, and who travels over a wide area is defined as a migratory worker. A casual worker is one who works for a few hours or a few days at each job, and usually within the limits of one community.²

Both migratory and casual workers are to be clearly distinguished from the tramp, who works only enough to keep from starving, and the bum, who wanders about asking for charity. The term "hobo" is applied to both migratory and casual workers, but not to tramps or bums.

Estimates from several employment experts place the proportion of married men among the harvesters at 25 per cent, with the families left behind by the wheat harvesters, but taken along by the workers in fruit, hops, vegetables, cotton, and nuts. Among the timber camp and lumber mill workers, 90 per cent are said to be single men or deserters.

¹ *Public Employment Offices* (studies by Shelby M. Harrison, Bradley Buell, Mary La Dame, Leslie E. Woodcock, and Frederick A. King). New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1924, p. 549.

² *Ibid.*, p. 348.

In the days of "the covered wagon" our pioneer ancestors helped each other with the succession of diversified crops. The present tendency to plant large acreages with crops specially adapted to certain soils and climates, and all maturing at the same season, necessitates more harvesters than the community affords.

The transient workers have become an economic necessity. Their connection with jobs must receive intelligent and effective handling for the saving of perishable crops and the assuring of jobs continuous enough to attract industrious men. They deserve respect and gratitude, instead of suspicion and scant courtesy, from the communities they enter.

The employment service of the United States Department of Labor uses an inadequate method of mobilizing seasonal workers for the wheat harvest through its Farm Labor Bureau, with headquarters in Kansas City. It keeps in touch with all parts of the wheat-growing sections, from Texas to the Canadian line, for information about the number of workers needed. It recruits men of occupations ranging from the college professor and student down to the ditch digger, through publicity in more than 1,200 newspapers, more than 30,000 posters, and 25 bulletins a season mailed to inquirers resulting from the general announcements.

The placement is done largely by county agents, farmer organizations, and by chambers of commerce. Last year it handled nearly a half-million seasonal laborers with an expenditure of less than \$45,000; supplied in 1924 more than 100,000 wheat harvesters, more than 200,000 cotton pickers, and the remaining number for corn husking in Iowa and other Mississippi Valley states; for the larger potato districts, such as the Red River Valley of South Dakota, many apple pickers and a few berry pickers, practically all in central western states. The beet sugar corporations have approached this bureau for a supply of labor, but owing to limited funds and organization the request has not yet been met except in a small way.¹

A serious need has arisen for a service in the harvests of fruit, beets, and other far-western crops similar to that of the Farm Labor Division in the wheat, cotton, and certain central western minor products.

Whereas the wheat is harvested by men alone, who are easily mobilized, the work in fruit and vegetables is done largely by families who wander about with little help in locating jobs. Thousands of families have formed the habit of moving from California's winter harvests of citrous fruits, nuts, and cotton, up through the spring work in asparagus, tomatoes, and other vegetables to the summer and fall fruit harvests of Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia. The Rocky Mountain states have a situation only a little less acute.

Many of these wandering families are American-born citizens who came West without sufficient capital to establish homes, and who see no opportunity for a livelihood except in following the crops. Their children's work in certain

¹ Letter from Mr. George E. Tucker, director, Farm Labor Division.

harvests adds to the pay check, although their names are not entered on the pay-roll. These families lose their voting registration and evade paying taxes. They deprive their children of education, religious privileges, and training for citizenship, and their lack of responsibility to any community often furnishes a menace to health and morals. It is easy for the discouraged families of migratory workers to slip over into the class of auto tramps who work only enough to keep from starving. Some even degenerate into wandering beggars.

On the subject of homeseekers without funds, Mr. Edward D. Foster, of the Colorado Board of Immigration, says, "We have consistently discouraged the immigration of those with insufficient means, and have referred to opportunities for those having experience in agriculture and from \$1,500 to \$2,000 in ready capital. We have frequently advertised: 'We are not an employment agency, and are not in a position to provide employment to newcomers.'"

Mr. W. G. Ide, manager of the Land Settlement Department of the Portland, Oregon, Chamber of Commerce, writes, "The function of this department is to build up the citizenship of Oregon, particularly the farmer citizenship, and we are fully aware of our responsibility and know that a new settler cannot come here and be a real asset to the state without sufficient finances to establish himself."

But in spite of the fine effort of such bodies as the two just quoted, there are many people leaving their homes in the East and Central West without writing for information as to investment or employment. These might be saved the expense of gas or other transportation and the hardships of unemployment in a new locality for themselves and their families, if only there were a nation-wide system of distributing information about jobs or the lack of them in the various sections, plus a small field staff to relate the migratory workers needed in each locality to the resident employment agencies.

The proportion of applicants for positions in western states who have no local residence appears through the 1924 report of the Denver Young Women's Christian Association employment department, cooperating with the United States Employment Service. Out of the 2,728 applicants, only 953 were from Colorado. The remainder came from all the other states except Nevada. Fifty-five registered from foreign countries, with Canada and England leading.

The California department of education estimates that 20,000 children are following the crops in that state, with their migratory parents, having no opportunity for education except in the short-term schools provided adjoining the seasonal work centers. The usual estimate of one child to five adults in such harvests would indicate at least 100,000 adults shifting from one agricultural job to another, in addition to the large number of local residents employed.

Not one of the western states has been able to arrive at an estimate of the numbers of transient workers needed for its jobs, because of the lack of machinery for obtaining such facts. State officials deplore their lack of information on this subject.

Martin J. Flysik, of the Washington Department of Labor and Industries, writes, "There is no statutory provision requiring the state to furnish seasonal industries with labor or keep any reliable data on migratory workers. Therefore we are unable to state just how much our harvests depend upon the 'auto tramp' labor. Personally, I agree that a governmental dispensing agency should be established in all states if considerable seasonal work is performed. I find this is a problem in Washington in the fruit picking and also in the harvesting of (wheat) crops."

R. E. Spangler, of the Idaho department of agriculture, writes, "No plan is in force to bring jobs and workers together during the peak of agricultural labor demand. In the southwestern part of the state a great many transient workers come every year to pick fruit. Many of these come in cars and camp out."

Frank Clark, labor commissioner for Wyoming, sees the evil of unregulated drifting, and writes, "From an industrial standpoint we have ten men for every job, and more are coming in. Our experience with the 'auto bums' is that they will not work. They apply for work, but scarcely ever report. They invariably tell what wonderful oil or gas men they are but they always keep away from the towns that offer that class of employment. The whole tribe of them is a nuisance and should be wiped out—the way, I am not prepared to say."

Ex-Governor William E. Sweet, of Colorado, expresses his conviction that the beet labor situation should receive assistance from the United States Employment Service, and states his regret that the present contract-labor system which brings in a sufficient number of workers for the beets should not also provide for removing them to other jobs at the close of the harvest. It leaves them in the state to become dependent on public and private charity. One of the large sugar companies is trying to care for this situation by colonizing its workers and offering generous inducements for them to spend the slack season in improving their homes. But this is only touching the fringe of the need as yet.

In my own state, Oregon, the department of labor estimates the resident workers to be sufficient to harvest the crops of its present acreage, and issues bulletins, through the summer and fall harvests, showing the supply and demand for workers in all parts of the state. It is inducing large organizations of growers to place their orders for the approximate number of workers needed with reliable employment agencies, long enough in advance of harvest to permit connections with families who have homes in Oregon or nearby states. These workers, who have a sense of responsibility to some community, provide better care for their children than do the "floaters," and offer fewer problems in health, morals, education, poor relief, petty thieving, and other delinquency.

Some of our Oregon growers are watching such demonstrations as that of the Hood River apple section before giving up their old idea that a large amount of surplus labor floating through is necessary to the determination of a reasonable wage scale.

The number of workers is no more important than the quality of service

rendered. Six Oregon ranches demonstrated, in 1924, a health and recreation service including day nursery for the harvesters' children, first aid for minor injuries, camp sanitation, and opportunity for personal hygiene and wholesome evening entertainments. The largest of these ranches held 1,000 workers to the end of harvest, in contrast with the drop from 1,000 to 300 within the first ten days in previous years, and reduced the harvest period by eight days, with a consequent saving of thousands of dollars in overhead. On three of the six ranches the organization was effected by the Council of Women for Home Missions, a national organization of twenty church groups.

Applications for jobs are pouring into the ranches having the personal service. The ranch managers state that they can now select their group instead of accepting the first "floaters" who appear, but they deplore that they cannot offer to find jobs for their workers at the close of their own harvests.

Alien labor.—The present lack of mobilization of labor for the fruit, beets, and other agricultural demands has led to the introduction of large groups from Mexico by contractors. Up to a few years ago these contract-labor groups were brought into the States through the immigration offices, and by legal requirement were returned to their residence at the close of their employment. Certain contractors now use the method of sending representatives only as far as the border states. It is easy for them to send an inconspicuous-looking, Spanish-speaking girl across the border and pass the word along that there is a chance for a certain number of Mexicans to get jobs if they cross the line at a distance from immigration inspectors and appear at a certain railroad station.

Mrs. Anna G. Williams, of the Denver Social Service Bureau, tells of the Mexicans left stranded after the beet and cotton harvests. She tells of many who are dazzled by the great white lights of the city and become unwilling to work again in the isolated fields; that they are not fitted to obtain work in the cities, and so become objects of charity. Minnesota reports five hundred Mexicans left stranded there after harvest. It is true that the Mexican laborers do types of work which the white man has come to scorn, but there is no evidence that there is a shortage of Mexican laborers now living in the United States, fitted for the work and ready to do it if properly mobilized. The process of adding to the Mexican population of the United States without due admission needs checking by immigration officials. The proposed registration of aliens would be a step in the right direction.

The Canadian border is not free from an influx of migratory workers who claim the Canadian's right of admission but who are not citizens of Canada. Witness the number who entered from Canada in 1923, following the advertisement of the Canadian National Railroad for 10,000 wheat harvesters, which brought 32,000 from the British Isles and the European continent.

The *Denver Post* of last Sunday, June 14, carried the following communication from Arthur W. Crawford: "The National Manufacturers' Association has announced its intention of renewing its advocacy of an amendment to the law to give it greater flexibility when there is a labor shortage, and a consequent

demand for a larger flow of immigration than is possible under the quota system. Agricultural groups will support a plan for flexible arrangement to apply to farm labor."

Students of employment remember that the United States is estimated to have one and three-quarters to two and a half millions of unemployed, even in reasonably prosperous times, and they wish to see effective mobilization of all employable labor now within the United States before any further lowering of immigration bars.

The report of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, issued April 27, 1925, indicates that there is far from being a shortage of unskilled labor in the United States this year. The three millions of transient farm laborers enumerated by Mr. Frederick A. King, of the Russell Sage Foundation, are capable of being mobilized for other types of jobs requiring no skill.¹

Need to ascertain facts.—Mr. Francis I. Jones, director-general for the United States Employment Service, writes, "I regret that I have not the information to supply you as to the number of migratory workers in the United States. I hope the day will come when an adequate appropriation will be made in order that we can gather such information intelligently."

Mr. Edward D. Foster, Colorado commissioner of immigration, says, "The frequent shifting of labor in large numbers cannot be reached by any local remedy. Any plan to avoid economic disturbance must be broad enough to take in districts where climatic conditions and natural industries offset each other in the matter of seasons."

The feasibility of extending the Farm Labor Division of the United States Employment Service receives testimony from its director, Mr. George E. Tucker:

Agriculture is the largest employer of labor in the nation, employing annually about eleven millions [3,000,000 of them transients]. Seasonal labor is the most difficult class to handle because it is almost invariably emergency labor, and we must see to it that the right number of men are recruited and arrive at the right places at the exact time they are needed. It is the hardest to supply because the calls come on short notice and for short employment periods. When this Farm Labor Division is given the fund to extend its work, covering all of the seasonal farm labor of the country, I believe that the migratory labor and the normally unemployed labor and, in times of depression, that class which is forced from employment, will practically all be absorbed.

An expert speaks.—Mr. Quince Record, United States employment director for the Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coast states, says:

I have a dream of dovetailing jobs so that every able-bodied, industrious, ambitious man or woman shall have a chance to make connections with jobs providing livelihood. I have found, in my study of federal connections with public and private local employment offices, that the best results come from non-fee-charging offices administered by civic agencies, such as that for men under the Denver community chest, and that for women under the Denver Young Women's Christian Association. Another dream of mine is that the state, broadly interpreted as meaning city, state, and nation, shall face its responsibility for providing winter work required for the livelihood of migratory workers whose summer and fall work in harvests is essential to our

¹ *Public Employment Offices*, p. 528.

country's welfare. Such winter work will include construction of public utilities in mild climates, and certain types of manufactures.

The plan for anticipating the winter peak of unemployment may be a long way in the future, but this other matter of intelligent recruiting and distributing of labor during the peak of demand cannot fail to commend itself soon to our Congress, after some fact-finding body devotes time and effort to ascertaining the exact needs of each state. The federal service would still continue to act as the connecting link in collecting monthly reports from reliable contacts and publishing them in monthly bulletins, but should give increased service to all communities through a small, highly specialized staff of field representatives cooperating with state and local non-fee-charging employment agencies in recruiting and distributing labor.

The United States Employment Service maintained ninety-six offices in 1917, 773 in 1918, and decreased after the war until there were only 197 in 1923. The 1925 directory names thirty-four states and the District of Columbia as having official representatives, and 217 local offices cooperating.

The Russel Sage studies compiled in *Public Employment Offices* include this statement: "If we wish to look still further into the future we may sometime see public bureau representatives referring gangs of workers about to be discharged to new employment, by giving them the necessary information 'on the job,' before they are actually disbanded, saving the time and effort of workers and of service to industry."

What can we do?—The Division on Industrial and Economic Problems, of the National Conference of Social Work, seems to me to have opportunities for service in solving the problem of the migratory workers; first, by emergency methods in treating the symptom until the removal of the cause through raising standards among employers regarding camp sanitation, and through recreation and health service, day nurseries, and schools at the joint expense of the workers and of the employers or the general community benefited by the farm industry; second, by cooperation with chambers of commerce, railroads, and other advertising bodies in devising a slogan which will not take the punch from the advertisement, but which will suggest the need for capital or the assurance of a job to those considering a change in residence; third, by a nation-wide campaign of informing public opinion through motion pictures, cartoons, fiction, and the personal effort of social workers, about the folly of leaving home without definite destination, capital, or the assurance of a job; fourth, by a campaign of education among private citizens about the harm they do to the beneficiary and the community by giving gasoline or other aid to a supposed migratory worker without investigation by an authorized agency; fifth, by investigating the seasonal work situation in our own communities, and, if there should be an opportunity, by reporting back to this Division in the 1926 Conference; sixth, by enlisting the interest of some fact-finding organization in determining the exact status of the seasonal employment situation in the United States, especially as it relates to agriculture, according to the suggestions by Mr. Quince Record.

This effort will not be altogether altruistic, for whoever may help stabilize and give direction to the present army of wanderers will reduce the load for his own community.

VI. NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE COMMUNITY THAT DETERMINE THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF COMPREHENSIVE DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION

Professor John L. Gillin, University of Wisconsin, Madison

History of democratic organization.—Community organization of one kind or another has existed a long time. In Tacitus we read of the tribal assembly before which all important matters concerning the tribe were discussed. The Greek city state provided for the discussion of matters of common interest. A similar situation existed in Rome.

The community center, as we conceive it today, goes back to the settlement. While the groups making up political units found expression on political matters in the town meeting of some of our early colonies, with the development of other than political interests we find private organizations struggling to organize those interested in them for their special purposes. Robert Woods, in 1893, suggested the use of the school buildings as social centers. In the meantime the settlements themselves had provided a forum in which neighborhood matters could be discussed. About the beginning of the present century Clarence Perry and E. J. Ward backed the agitation which led to the realization of that dream of Woods. The early attempt of Ward and others stimulated experiments which did not last in many places because people were not ready to put the time and effort into the work necessary for permanence. Moreover, leaders had to be selected and trained and the public trained to see the importance of some of the problems.

Recent developments in this work are more permanent because the people have been educated up to them and because leadership has been recognized and a larger number of people have become interested in community organization.

Increasingly it has been impressed upon our people that if democracy is to mean anything there must be more face-to-face meeting of people of various classes. Furthermore, it has been recognized that recreation must be stimulated and directed. The young and the old have used their spare time too frequently apart from each other. Commercial recreation, it has been discovered, cannot be relied upon for the direction of spare time activities. Furthermore, it has been found that spare time can be used as a means of educating the citizenship, both young and old. Too frequently the child or youth leaves school at a time when his socialization is quite incomplete. Classes, clubs, discussion groups, lecture

courses, and forums can experiment in after-school education. As in most matters, private organizations can best conduct these experiments. Once the demonstration has been made, some of these activities can then be assumed by public bodies.

As a result of the experiments of the last quarter of a century, recent experiments in community organization have broadened in interest and diversified their activities. Beginning as urban efforts to stimulate democratic organization, the experiments have extended out into rural communities and small towns. It has come to be seen that neighborhood organization may concern itself with all the varied aspects of community life. In certain places economic problems have been attacked, as well as social and political.

At the present time there is a tendency to coordinate the various community organizations in different parts of a large city. This tendency is well represented by the attempt of federations of the various organizations in New York City. It was reported in 1922 that representatives of agencies organizing community associations, and also of the larger and older social agencies in New York City, held a series of conferences and meetings to bring about such coordination. Out of these conferences grew the New York City Council of Community Organizing Agencies. This movement grew out of the necessity of assigning to each agency the territory in which it should attempt to organize the community; to search out and make assignments of uncovered territory; to make available to all the agencies the talent and results of experiments carried on elsewhere; to reduce the overhead organization by pooling experiences and methods; to plan and stimulate cooperative civic action, and to develop a city-wide congress of delegates to consider the problems of the whole city.¹

Growing out of the experience of the last twenty-five years has come also a movement to standardization. Mr. John J. Tigert, of the federal bureau of education, was made chairman of the Council of Citizenship Training created by the President by executive order January 12, 1923. This Council prepared a community score card, the purpose of which is to call attention to important factors hitherto neglected in community life and to set standards in both organization and work.²

New problems in the development which now challenge attention.—The community organization movement has now gone so far that the leaders are directing their attention to problems which have risen as the result of this experience. While there are many of these problems, four of them may be cited at the present time: first, what activities shall they undertake? Second, how shall they be supported? Third, how shall the work be made more definite, and the results more tangible? Fourth, how handle the increasing cost?

So far as the development has gone up to date, the community organiza-

¹ Bowman, "Coordination of Community Organizing Agencies in the Metropolis," *The Community Center*, Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 51.

² *The Community Center*, Vol. VI, No. 1, p. 9.

tions have proved true to their original purpose to promote democratic organization, to study and try to meet the needs of the community. Their activities, therefore, if they are true to this purpose, must rest upon actual conditions in the community. Dominating each of these activities, however, there must be the purpose to provide the opportunity to the people of the community to solve their own problems.

Moreover, the answer to what activities they shall undertake must be dominated by the principles that their activities are to provide a wider basis for the coordination of all the agencies of the community, on the theory that only as people know about the needs of the community and what is already being done can they work together. It is clearly recognized by these newer movements in community organization that duplication of effort is socially sinful. Those activities only should be undertaken which supplement those of other agencies already in existence. Consequently the tendency has been increasingly to find out what community needs are not being met and to organize such activities as will meet these needs. In doing this it is recognized that cooperation with already existing agencies is absolutely necessary. They can furnish from their longer experience many helpful suggestions. They will also be found most anxious to see needs not met by their organizations met by some others. Therefore the activities of any given community will depend very much upon a close study of the needs of that community and the activities already in existence.

How shall they be supported? In this early period of community centers various experiments in support were tried. Perhaps this period of experiment is not yet closed. At any rate two general lines of support are clearly visible. They may be supported either out of public taxes or entirely by private subscriptions. In actual practice, while the public funds may furnish part of the financial support, usually private support is depended upon for a great deal of the funds. Occasionally other private organizations also are enlisted to provide some of the finances. In the Middle West community centers have been connected closely with the schools, and in some of the states, as in Wisconsin, legal provision has been made for support by tax. In some of the other states, where they are connected with the public schools, the school board may furnish a part of the funds. For example, in Chicago and in La Salle, Illinois, the salaries of the directors are paid by the public school boards. Nevertheless a large part of the expenses of carrying on the center in these two places is raised from fees paid by those who participate in the activities. In some other places private organizations of one kind or another have undertaken their support or have been organized to furnish financial support. The Bowling Green organization in New York City was organized to carry on the activities needed in a small section in the lower part of the island in which live very poor people. Wall Street, near by, furnished the funds through the organization. In certain cases in the rural districts a private organization has to be established in order to provide whatever funds may be necessary to carry out the purposes of the organization.

How shall the work be made more definite and the results more tangible? Whenever any movement has gone on for some time, thoughtful people interested in it find it necessary to study the results. The community centers have come to this stage of their history. Within the last year a study of these associations has been made through the cooperation of Harvard University, the bureau of education at Washington, and the National Community Center Association. Doubtless self-criticism of the movement will come from this study, which will bring about greater definiteness in the aims and stimulate the effort to secure more lasting results. Moreover, through the National Conference of Community Centers and the discussions resulting from the coming together of people interested in community organization the same objects of definiteness and tangibility are being secured. To these two methods should be added a third. In the colleges, universities, and training schools for social work it has been found necessary to study this movement and others like it, to glean from the experience of the past certain principles of community organization. Books are being written at the present time on the subject which will attempt to get out of the experience of the past certain principles and methods which have been proved by the test of time.

How handle the increasing cost? In spite of the setback that came after the first burst of enthusiasm for community organization recently the number of such organizations has been steadily increasing. In 1924 there were fifteen centers in Chicago which received an appropriation of from three to eight hundred dollars a year. An interested group of people urged that fifteen more should be organized immediately in Chicago. They recommended that a director of community centers should be appointed in the office of the superintendent of schools, and suggested a budget of \$80,000 to be paid out of the school funds for the promotion of these activities. The reports seem to indicate that there is increasing demand for the features provided in these centers. In New York the board of education runs between two and three hundred in the schools of that city, beside a considerable number carried on by private organizations.

There is no question that with the increased demand for these neighborhood organizations money must be found in some way to support them. In Chicago, so attractive did the community center prove to be that an increasing share of the cost in 1923 was borne by the participants themselves, so that the cost per center to the public decreased from \$1,300 per center in 1918 to \$1,285 in 1922 and \$1,183 in 1923. In other places considerable amounts have been appropriated. In 1921 Milwaukee spent \$11,193, Washington \$35,000, New Bedford, \$23,000, and Bayonne, New Jersey, \$32,000.¹

It is apparent that with the growth of these organizations money must be found to carry them. Two methods are being experimented with at the present time: first, support of the directing officials by public school funds or by special

¹ *The Community Center*, Vol. VI, No. 1, pp. 8-9.

funds raised by private organizations; second, payment by those engaging in the activities through fees.

Economic aspects of the community and their relation to the nature and extent of activities in community centers.—Twenty-five years of work with community centers have shown that frequently the poorest parts of the cities and the poorest rural communities are those which have the greatest needs of democratic community organization, but that these sections can least afford to support them. Where the people of a community are in an economic class of sufficient wealth or income to enable them to support their own organizations, the problem is limited to initiative and leadership. These problems are important, and the lack of initiative and leadership often prevents the development of community organizations which would greatly enrich the democratic life. What can be done, however, in a rural community where they can hardly support a school? Here undoubtedly the number of activities must be limited to those which can be carried on, on a volunteer basis, unless leadership can be attracted from other communities and neighborhoods. Furthermore, it seems probable, from some experiments that have occurred, that in such communities the activities most promising are those which concern themselves with economic problems. Perhaps the thing most needed in such a place is that organization of the people to consider their financial affairs and to organize for promotion of economic welfare. Since economic welfare underlies efforts for social welfare, this would seem to be the common-sense thing to do.

However, wherever economic conditions are bad, social life will be poverty-stricken and moral problems will appear which are the result of the minimum of social and recreational activities.

The same thing is true of the poorer sections of large cities. There vice flourishes, children are neglected, education is likely to be poor, sanitary conditions usually are bad, housing conditions make for social disintegration, the family is imperiled, and the people usually are not conscious of their political power. Here the settlements give us suggestions as to procedure. If the money can be found to provide a center where discussion can take place through the public schools or some other meeting place, and leadership can be discovered and enlisted, much can be done to awaken the people in such communities to a sense of their power and discontent with the conditions. Money and leadership, however, in both cases, must be found for the minimum number of activities.

The settlements have shown that with proper leadership the money necessary can be obtained. Nothing could have been more discouraging than the section in which the Chicago Commons was founded, or that portion of the city of Chicago in which Jane Addams established Hull House, or the section in Boston in which Professor Tucker and Robert A. Woods established the South End House. Graham Taylor, Jane Addams, and Robert A. Woods furnished the inspiring leadership, in these three localities, which got the money necessary.

Attempts at the solution of these problems have also been made by certain

of our community centers. The Bowling Green Community Association, in the lower part of New York, gave a demonstration of how the matter could be solved. Ten years ago, in this section of New York City near Wall Street, there lived between five and seven thousand persons engaged as cleaners, janitors, office boys, and helpers in the buildings of that business area. The physical conditions of that neighborhood were as bad as they could be. The inhabitants were among the most poorly paid people in the city. No situation could seem more helpless. The men's group of Trinity Church formed the nucleus of an organization which attacked the problem. These business and professional men, together with representatives of the social agencies in the community, started the Neighborhood Association and provided the funds for a secretary. The business men in Wall Street formed the contributors, and representatives from the neighborhood and from the social service agencies looked after the activities of the Association. The result has been a live community organization which has promoted the discussion of common problems, has devised measures to meet the needs found there, until today the Association has a staff of fourteen persons and a yearly budget in the neighborhood of forty thousand dollars. Twenty-one groups are active in this center; an infant welfare station has been established, with the result that while the death-rate for the entire city declined, from 1910 to 1924, $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, that of the Bowling Green district declined $14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Twenty-five hundred tenement house inspections were made. Through this Neighborhood Association various agencies in the community have coordinated their work, and a great change has been wrought in the social life of the district.¹ In a community like La Salle, Illinois, the whole matter has been handled through the public schools, due to the efforts of a live superintendent.

Still another aspect appears. Can economic problems of different classes be the subject of discussion and action? Had the secretary at Bowling Green proposed to discuss the wages paid charwomen, office boys, etc., would the economic support of Wall Street have continued? Or if the clubs and classes had devoted themselves to a discussion of the business practices of Wall Street could this organization have functioned? On the other hand, if the activities in the public schools of La Salle, Illinois, proposed to discuss some of the political practices of the community, what would have happened to the program of supporting the project out of the school funds? These questions are only suggested to indicate that probably the movement has not gone far enough yet to provide absolutely free discussion on any question without hazarding the prospects of the venture.

That limitation, however, does not affect the discussion of interests that are common to humanity. Where economic and other interests clash, doubtless a truce must be called if the community center is not to be wrecked. Moreover, where the economic interests of different classes clash, either there must be

¹ Bowman, "Some Difficulties in Democratic Neighborhood Organization as Illustrated in Bowling Green, New York City," *Journal of Social Forces*, March, 1925, pp. 473-76.

such a truce on these questions, or the organization becomes dominated by one or the other class. On the other hand, where economic interests are unified, then economic activities such as cooperative buying and marketing may be promoted by the organization. There are plenty of community needs, however, which can be handled without danger, which are of vital importance to the welfare of the people. In the field of social morals, aside from some of these disputed questions, education, sanitation, health, housing, recreation, and such like are deeply enough grounded in the mores of both rich and poor, employer and employee, to command quite universal consent. In such cases rich and poor may be organized together for the welfare of the whole community. Up to the present it is such problems which have engaged the thought and effort of community organizations.

It must be recognized if this movement is to survive and be of value that all such activities cost money. If support is to be had from either private or public funds, the activities must be such as are considered, by a majority of the people, worth while. There must be inspired leadership, which usually costs money. There must be trained leadership, which again is dependent upon salaries if the best work is to be done. Needs recognized widely must be chosen, and those over which there is division of opinion for the present must be put on one side. Furthermore, if the people of the community are not to be pauperized and not patronized, much of the support must come from those benefited.

It is clear, then, that the economic situation in a community affects the number of activities and the kind of activities undertaken. It is also clear that division of opinion on economic problems limits the work of a community center. Within the limitation set by these conditions, however, lies a great field of social welfare in which the impulse to democratic expression of opinion and democratic intercourse may be exercised with excellent results. Here, in my judgment, lies the field of the community center. In all conscience the field is large enough without attempting a labor of Hercules on problems which are of vital interest but yet are in process of discussion. Train the people to express themselves on any matter whatsoever, to sense their needs, to discover their power, to chasten their impulses in the light of facts, to labor together for a common end, and great progress has been made in preparing them for the solution of more difficult and less settled problems.

THE GROUP APPROACH

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Among the various convictions which the experts and laity have regarding the incorporation of immigrants into the civilization of the United States, two opposing theories may be isolated. For purposes of convenience these theories may be labeled: first, the individualistic theory, according to which the indi-

vidual immigrant is considered the unit to be assimilated, and second, the group theory, according to which the immigrant group is regarded as the assimilable unit.

It is difficult to trace the historical backgrounds of the former theory, which is the predominating one, but it may be said this conviction was precipitated about two decades ago. In the sociological writing of that period continual reference is made to the dangers of the so-called "social island" or "social lumps," which resisted changes, tended to become impervious to American traditions and customs, and hence were looked upon as obstacles in the way of building a national solidarity. The conviction grew into a determined effort to impose American traditions and customs upon the members of such groups, even if coercion were needed to accomplish this end. The cohesion of the immigrant group was thought to be of itself an evil, and it thus came about that the attack was directed at the individual.

The above trend of thought affords fascinating leads for historical generalizations. It suggests there has always existed a fundamental conflict in the life of the American people. Collectivism lies at the bottom of the nation's existence, since the nation consists of groups and group settlements. Individualism, as a philosophy of life, was an inevitable consequence of life in an uncultivated area. Puritanic and pioneering habits of thought apparently became rooted so firmly that the phenomenal rapidity of change from pioneer settlements to a full-fledged nation afforded no adequate opportunities of adjustment. Thus individualism as a thought-inheritance and collectivism as a result of economic pressure came into conflict, and still remain as conflicting factors in our national problems.

The most pertinent query is: What are the results of the method of regarding the individual as the unit of assimilation? Some of these results are plainly evident. When the individual is isolated from his group, his differences, as inheritances, language, household habits, feeding, etc., are more emphasized, and it becomes an easy matter to regard these as inferiorities: "Sheeny," "Bohunk," "Wop," become the symbol of wit and disrespect for which the isolated immigrant becomes the target. This disrespect is particularly distasteful to immigrants who have valuable ideas for which they would like to gain recognition. A recent illustration came to the writer's attention in an ex-lieutenant of the Italian army. He tried to take part in a discussion in which Americans were engaged. His English was poor, but his ideas were perfectly germane. The group let him talk for a few minutes, then went on without noticing what had been said. After that he could get no recognition at all. The Italian's self-esteem was sorely wounded. On several other occasions he tried to be sociable with Americans, but his reception was cruelly cold. Until he becomes undistinguishable from others of the American group he will have to live in a social vacuum.

Does such treatment tend toward a more rapid and complete assimilation?

More rapid, in some cases perhaps, but there are no psychological reasons for believing the individual who conforms because of fear or ridicule is thereby converted into a better citizen. The very fact that he has suddenly consented to capitulate to the American attitude of superiority may be regarded as a deteriorating influence in the immigrant's character. His loss of respect for his personal worth is undoubtedly the most serious setback which the foreigner receives upon his arrival, but there are other corresponding evils which result from this individualizing method.

The recognition of inferiority is the basis of exploitation. One needs only to follow the stories in the daily press to be convinced that a swarm of human parasites exists in almost every port of entry preying on those immigrants who, for the moment, are inferior on account of a strange environment.

The evil effects on individuals who have lost contact with groups in which they have had some recognition are becoming constantly clearer to our psychiatrists. Various forms of insanity are being traced directly to this lack of social contacts which would give some recognition to individuals. This may be the reason for the extraordinary high rate of insanity in immigrants, as found by Dr. Laughlin, who has made a study of foreigners in American governmental custodial institutions. It seems that when aliens have any tendency toward insanity the poignant mental suffering accompanying migration tends to disrupt the association areas of the brain, and the result is mental disease. In this instance, the prognosis of the psychiatrist would be the giving of recognition to every accomplishment or cultural difference of the foreign group or individual.

Therefore these questions present themselves: Are the customs, beliefs, and ideas brought to this country submerged, repressed, destroyed, or are they recognized, conserved, absorbed, integrated? Is it our purpose to perpetuate without change the traditions, ideas, attitudes, ethics, and art of our forbears, or do we seek enrichment through an intelligent selection from the variety of traditions, ideas, and customs existent in America? Finally, how attain enrichment of life and civilization, and how work most constructively?

Those who hold the group theory of incorporation have in mind a potential Americanism, one in the process of becoming, and generally they have the feeling that through the older individualistic method the contributions of immigrants have been submerged or repressed. This condition they feel to be due partly to the lack of a technique which stimulates in the foreign groups activities leading to their full participation in the total environment. It is possible also that the rapid economic development and growth of the population in this country has caused, on the part of Americans, a lack of interest in culture, using the word in the anthropological sense as being "the round of life in its entire sweep of individual activities." The time element has entered, we have been in a great hurry; uniformity makes for efficiency; attention to differences is a waste of time; if a member of a community has a culture trait which makes him different, he must be made to conform. We have no time to waste, so he must

be coerced into the uniform scheme of things. This kind of thinking and activity has given us an intolerant attitude and resulted in a static idea of Americanism. As the charming southern lady expressed it to our great immigrant inventor, "The quicker you forget that you are a Serb and all the ideas of the Serbs, the quicker you will become a good American." If speed is the main requisite demanded of method, then the group method cannot win out over the individual process.

Foreigners do come to us with the propensities and aptitudes for participating in a much richer culture than they find. This is indicated by the foreign names on the list of artists, musicians, sculptors, professors, and writers of note in our population. Does not this suggest that we should supplement our own civilization with the accumulated wealth which comes to us with immigrant groups, and if so, how shall it be done?

A few people who are thinking and experimenting in this field have been led to accept the immigrant group as the unit to be dealt with in the process of amalgamation. They take into consideration the fact that foreigners are with us in groups, held together by certain forces and leaders. Instead of being discredited, these forces are utilized in any plan to help the group adjust itself to its new environment. If the psychologists are right, attitudes are changed largely through activities, and since the incorporation or isolation of individuals generally hinges on the attitudes of the group toward Americans, and vice versa, obviously the need is for a method or technique which will stimulate group activities designed to produce corporative attitudes in both groups. The isolated individual with a cooperative attitude is helpless because he is overpowered by the greater numbers of Americans, and his chance to penetrate American culture with his ideas, sentiments, beliefs—no matter how good they may be—are hopeless because he has no group to back him up.

Professor Taggart points out in his *Processes of History* that the collision of cultures and civilization has always caused a great mental release and a tremendous increase of creative activity. The group method adherents among the social technicians see in the process of incorporation of immigrants into our civilization great hopes for a newly created American culture because of this release.

Therefore, instead of alluring foreigners away from their national groups by glorified propaganda and quick rewards for submission to the American customs, we should place upon the shoulders of their leaders a burden of responsibility for the broader participation of the group. They should never be allowed to forget the importance of bringing the whole group into proper adjustment. The individualists seem to have overlooked this idea almost entirely.

When two cultures are placed in juxtaposition, the significant traits of both are more easily understood and evaluated, therefore foreign groups in this country ought to know their ideas and beliefs even better after residence here

than was possible before leaving the old country. Thus, if the group keeps together for a time and the leaders are aided in their efforts toward educating the group in its own art, religion, literature, history, etc., there will eventually evolve a group consciousness and a determination to make effective in the cultural environment the significant contributions which that nationality has brought to America.

On the other hand, Americans need to know their own culture; and, as we have noted, the best way to know one's culture is to compare it with another, for where there is no intelligent comparison the average man takes life as a matter of course. It is impossible for all to go to Greenland and secure a deep insight into our culture by studying its contrasts in Eskimo life. But few Americans travel to lands where people live by culture patterns different from ours. However, we have within our country peoples of various lands whose culture traits have a distinctly different content from ours. For example, Slavs like to dress to show their place of origin, while most Americans dress with the idea of concealing their origin as completely as possible. This new attitude toward dress is jarred into their consciousness upon the first close contact with American social and economic life. Thus they become aware of a difference between their culture and American life which they never knew existed. Conversely, if alert, we should be able to get a new appreciation of our culture and civilization should we study some of these foreign peoples and their group life in America.

The foregoing is something of the philosophy developed in five years of work with foreign-born people in the Twenty-third Street Young Men's Christian Association of New York City. We were continually seeking a method which would bring about the integration of the foreign group with the American group so that there might be an interpenetration of ideas with the resultant mutual adjustment of groups and individuals. The five years showed a steady increase in the support and interest in the undertaking by both foreign and native born.

From the very beginning we treated the nationality group as the unit to be considered, and service to individuals was done in such a way as to tie them to their group. One of the first things learned was that there must be no suggestion of charity. Individuals wished to retain their sense of independence and insisted on paying for real service. Then we found that the immigrants who had been here the longest and advanced toward financial independence had a great interest in the welfare of their own people. This led us to ask them to support the work. As soon as they saw that through committees they could have some control and responsibility contributions began coming in.

The first committee organized was Greek. It raised \$675 the first year. The next year they adopted a \$5,000 budget and recommended a Greek secretary for employment. Later, Armenians and Russians came in on the same basis.

The organization consisted of a directing committee for each nationality, represented in the work by a nationality secretary carrying on an educational, recreational, and protective program with each group under the coordinating

leadership of an American secretary. Nationality workers are not an innovation in community work, but foreign groups joined together in an American organization and paying \$5,000 a year each into the treasury seems to be an unheard-of thing.

This group organization, like all social agencies, has had its problems and adversities. One foreign secretary lacked discretion in public comments on American problems; another was irregular with funds. The personnel problem is obviously a sensitive one, requiring the use of tact and time to produce happy working conditions. Our great crisis came when the Young Men's Christian Association found their budget and quarters too limited to carry us farther, so that on January 1, 1925, we were called upon to establish ourselves independently or disband.

Here was a double test. Were our American committeemen willing to go on? Did our foreign committeemen consider the work worthy of further support independent of the great organization which had sheltered us up to that time?

There was no organization, no money, no home. The Young Men's Christian Association gave us a splendid letter of appreciation and explanation of the termination of their sponsorship. One of the local Russian dailies published the statement that we might be compelled to discontinue our work. The result was a ten-foot petition, signed by over four hundred Russians, asking that the service continue, and pledging themselves to join a new organization. Armenians in numbers also indicated their keen desire that we carry on. The defalcation of the Greek secretary just prior to this wrecked the Greek committee, although individual Greeks indicated their interest in the future.

The staff of five stood by during the first three months of the year without pay. They knew the joys and values of the work. The National Girl Scouts gave us quarters. The Russian and Armenian committees underwrote \$5,000 each for three years, conditioned on our securing a working balance from Americans. Because of our record, the petitions, and the foreign committee underwriting, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. made a contribution. Our American committee, supplemented by the chairmen of the Armenian and Russian committees, incorporated the International Community Center under the laws of the State of New York, and we are now in our own four-story building at 190 Lexington Avenue, leased for five years, and our first year's budget unbalanced as yet.

There have been many trials and discouragements. The great encouragement, aside from an inner faith in both our philosophy and method, has been not only constant individual calls, but calls from committees representing groups asking when we could renew our work with them.

The International Community Center is non-sectarian and non-political; its services are educational, recreational, and protective. These are broad terms, including class work, lectures, socials, dances, athletics, and personal case work of a legal, health, and informational nature. We do not duplicate work of other organizations where we can avoid it and still look after our own groups. Our

objective is that we may learn to understand each other as we work together in an actual functioning democracy.

OBSERVABLE RESULTS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

THE ORGANIZER'S ANALYSIS

Paul Franklin, Executive Secretary, Bowling Green Neighborhood Association, New York

If American social history were written, much which is dramatic would center around the story of the village of Bowling Green—Wall Street's "back yard." Here, in the old days, were located the first homes of some of our country's most celebrated families, but as the years passed and business interests claimed the lower end of Manhattan Island, the mansions gradually grew moldy with age and neglect, the fine shops became dingy rooming-houses beneath the roar of the elevated railroad, and the native-born population slowly gave place to a mixture of racial groups so great that the district has been called the most cosmopolitan in all America. The little village in the shadow of the skyscrapers became a veritable cesspool of filth and disease. Overcrowding, miserable sanitation, utter lack of recreational facilities, irregular hours of employment, a population largely illiterate and foreign-born, with little conception of American ideas and ideals and total ignorance of the laws of health—all this was Bowling Green just eleven years ago. Here was the "Tub of Blood," the "Battlefield," and the many other notorious water-front dance halls, saloons, and cellar pool parlors. This was the section where tuberculosis flourished, where smallpox came and returned as the years passed, where the great cholera epidemic of 1849 first gained its hold on the city of New York. There are but 10,000 residents in Bowling Green, but it is a community with an extraordinary diversity of languages, religion, and racial characteristics.

In 1914 a survey of the district was made which brought to light startling conditions of disease and death. An infant mortality of 175 baby deaths per 1,000, as against a city rate of 98; a general death-rate two and one-half times as high as that for the city as a whole; an alarmingly high tuberculosis death-rate, three and a half times that of the city's average, 25 times that of the city's healthiest districts; much malnutrition, much contagion.

With the facts in hand, a little group called together representatives of sixteen of the city's social service agencies, who subsequently organized the Bowling Green Neighborhood Association. Then the business men were approached for assistance, with the result that twenty bankers and brokers of Wall Street agreed to give their time, thought, and money to the movement, and became the association's first board of directors.

It was decided that the work should be organized around a distinct health center, and that the association should appoint itself a clearing house for the city-wide private and municipal agencies. From the first the Bowling Green Neighborhood Association was aimed toward local operation, though it was clearly realized that in this long neglected section the first period would necessarily be one of outside initiative and leadership; that, for years to come, there must needs be a compromise form of neighborhood organization—a form to be gradually modified as the district became better educated and its economic status improved. It was determined that the organization should be non-sectarian and non-political; should work closely with the church and the school; should carefully foster any organized elements within the community; and that national and racial groupings should be recognized and respected in any citizenship program which might be developed.

In 1917 the association's present quarters were obtained through the alteration of a four-story tenement on the river front, and Bowling Green Village at last had a community house. Results in this small district were readily seen and measured and the program quickly grew to meet the district's needs. Nutrition clinics, a malnutrition restaurant, adult health examination service, oral hygiene clinics for school children, suitable recreational provisions, a day nursery, an adequate program of field visiting—all these came into being as the years passed.

After ten years it is possible to see many measurable results. The baby death-rate has decreased from 175 deaths per 1,000 births to 88, a reduction of over 50 per cent. The general death-rate shows a decrease from 33 deaths per 1,000 in 1915 to 19 deaths in 1924. In 1915 there were 52 deaths from pulmonary tuberculosis in a population of less than 10,000! In ten years the mortality from this disease has decreased nearly 46 per cent. The housing situation has been bettered by the removal of sixty-five yard toilets, the razing of ten of the district's most ancient tenements, the construction of two model tenements, and through countless minor improvements and repairs. Four hundred and thirty-one men and women have been directly helped to citizenship by intensive individual instruction and planning. Truancy in the district, once a real problem, is now little noted, according to present reports from parochial and public school officials. Since 1920 juvenile delinquency records show a consistent yearly improvement in both the number and character of the offenses, with a total reduction in children's court and probation cases of 47.2 per cent.

From the first, local residents were encouraged to join the organization and to take an active part in molding its policies. The school and church workers, several small shopkeepers, real estate agents, the local school principal, who subsequently became the association's first president, some Syrian editors, one or two doctors—these joined as individuals and attended the quarterly meetings where the work of the association was discussed and planned.

Two years ago, at the suggestion of the association, a men's club was organ-

ized, and has grown to sixty-five members. It has its own orchestra, an English and citizenship class, and has sponsored many community dances and entertainments. Incorporated as the Bowling Green Slovak-American Club, it functions as a neighborhood advisory council and is undoubtedly the most important liaison in Bowling Green between the residents and the association's staff. The enviable social position in the neighborhood reached by this club has inspired the establishment of similar groups. A club for Syrians is particularly active, and many of its members belong to the association. The largest, the Carpathian Social Club, with 127 members, meets in a neighboring loft building, and its program of English instruction and recreation is largely inspired by the Bowling Green Association, which bears a part of the expense.

The development of the young people's groups was more of a problem. Bowling Green was in no sense a melting-pot to them; they felt a national consciousness, perhaps more than did their parents. They felt little of the control of proper home life, but largely ran in gangs, with a strong sense of national antagonisms. These conditions and the necessity of going outside the district for what recreation they wanted effectually deterred the growth of any group interest or pride in their community; therefore, the association's first step was to provide some sort of recreation within the district itself. It took years to develop leaders and a club ritual among these young people, but suddenly they seemed to catch the spirit of organization and team play, and during the past two years their progress has been unbelievably rapid. Today there are twenty-one boys' and girls' organizations within the association, with an approximate membership of four hundred. They have a wealth of interests, meet regularly, and plan and finance their own entertainments. Their work is building character in the individual and developing a neighborhood interest and leadership, which has already resulted in the formation of a house council which largely directs the recreation program and the use of the neighborhood house. In turn, the council elects representatives for membership in the association, and the young people of Bowling Green thus have an opportunity to participate in its management.

It is this new neighborliness which will have most to do with the future development of Bowling Green Village. Possibly the neighborhood's share in the work in this section, with its diverse racial groups, its poverty, and its ever changing population, will never be wholly satisfying. But substantial progress has been made, and so impressed are the contributing members with the direct progress of the past ten years and with the response shown by the community, and so confident are they of the residents' willingness and ability to assume a greater share in the work as time passes, that they have recently provided \$250,000 for the erection of a new community house. This will make possible an enlargement of the health service, an adequate assembly hall, a modern gymnasium, and, best of all, an extension of the complete welfare program into

the adjoining district, which still has health and social problems as acute as those of Bowling Green of a decade ago.

But here, again, every effort will be made to have progress come as a growth from within rather than a gift from without. No important steps will be taken until there has first been sought the advice and assistance of that growing group of residents of the district who have learned to regard the Bowling Green Neighborhood Association as the most effective means of community betterment. It is certain that those who have the interest of Bowling Green Village most at heart will lend every effort to make the residents' share in the future work of the association as complete as the education and ability of the district to finance its projects permit.

RESULTS FROM THE STANDPOINT OF AMERICANIZATION

*Bradley Buell, Secretary, Council on Immigrant Education,
New York*

Mr. Franklin has made it plain that the Bowling Green district is an immigrant community—actually, several immigrant communities. In 1920, of the 8,020 people in the district, only 847 were native whites of native parents; 4,133 were foreign-born whites—the remaining 3,000, mainly their children. Twenty-six nationalities are listed in the district, the predominant ones being Slovak, Polish, Syrian, Greek, and Irish. Even in these nationalities, however, the total number, except in the case of the Slovaks and Irish, is hardly over 1,000.

The original Trinity survey, which preceded the organization of the Bowling Green Neighborhood Association, pictured clearly the foreign character of the district. A full section was devoted to immigration, corresponding to the sections on housing, health, recreation, and the like. Analysis of the racial composition of the neighborhood is given, the need for education emphasized, and the central problem of the district, in fact, defined as “one of adaptation and assimilation.”

Practically every report of the association has given Americanization or Immigration a correlative heading with Health. Almost informally the immigrant nature of the neighborhood is emphasized, and the problem of assimilation and adaptation noted. Specific activities to accomplish this end are, however, meagre, and without visible relation to a thoroughgoing and long-run plan, as is the case with the health program.

The health program shows consistent and consecutive development—the Americanization program does not! There is in the health program a definite acceptance of ends to be achieved and a visible relationship of means and technical facilities to these ends, which does not exist in the Americanization program. There are standards—many of them statistical—by which the results of

the health program can be measured. This is not the case with the Americanization program.

Which brings me to what is, I assume, the topic of my paper—"Observable Results in the Organization of a Local Community from the Standpoint of Americanization." And that raises the question for which I have no answer—and for which I think we must admit such Americanization movement as exists in this country has no satisfactory answer—namely, What are results from the standpoint of Americanization? Perhaps it is wrong to say that the Americanization movement has had no answer. It has had many: loyalty to the Constitution and the flag, patriotism—understanding and love for America, citizenship—understanding of our customs and institutions, assimilation. In one field, at least, something more definite—ability to read and write English. But except for this last, these terms mean almost nothing, and their content and meaning varies directly with the people who are using them. Unless we can get something more tangible than these, we shall never have anything to observe and, incidentally, unless the Americanization movement comes soon to a quite different analysis of ends and objectives—in the broader aspects which it has assured, at least—I am afraid it is doomed.

There is, of course, a perfectly understandable, and I think, inevitable, reason why the Americanization movement has so little to give us in the way of measurable and observable results. It not only explains, but it points the way to the possibility of effective progress. For Americanization is fundamentally a psychological process. It is what happens to the immigrant during the entire twenty-four hours of the day that makes him the kind of an American resident that he is.

The psychologists refer to this process as a slow and gradual change in the attitudes, values, and habits of the individual. It is a breaking down of thought processes and habit responses, and the substitution of new ones. It starts when the immigrant first commences to think of leaving the old country—and it ends when he dies. It is a twenty-four-hour-a-day proposition, and it is conditioned on the simple fact of living. It is a process which is no different in kind, although with most immigrants it is different in degrees, from that which is going on in all of us.

While this point of view in regard to Americanization results is, I think, fundamental, there is also another which, as a practical matter, seems to me exceedingly important. Much of our so-called "Americanization" work is carried on by organizations whose primary function is not Americanization or even social work—particularly the church and other religious and semi-religious organizations and the racial societies. Now the conduct of a citizenship class may make a contact for the church which will bring into its active membership men and women who may not otherwise have been reached by the church. Their participation in the religious activities of the church may be one way in which this broad process of transition from the old to the new is assisted, al-

though that does not categorically follow. But it is no test whatever of whether the citizenship instruction which he is getting is making him a good citizen, or, to be more specific, an intelligent voter. It may indeed be so conducted as to make the transition between the old-world ideas about the responsibilities of citizenship and the new more difficult than it would otherwise have been.

The bulk of immigrant education being carried on outside the public schools is under the auspices of these two groups, and there are so few agencies organized solely for the purpose of Americanization that we are not going to get far until, in terms of results, the two things are segregated.

Perhaps this rather long excursion into the more theoretical aspects of Americanization has been unwarranted, and lest you feel that there has been little of a practical nature in this paper, let me return to the Bowling Green Neighborhood Association. What I have said, I think, should make it quite clear that in so far as that association has failed to live up to its opportunities in the matter of Americanization the fault lies with the Americanization movement and the current conception of its objectives, rather than with those who have directed the policy of this particular association. As a matter of fact, it seems to me that it has been more keenly alive, and that both its tangible and intangible results have been greater, than most of the community organizations with which I am familiar. To ask an outside organization to come in and make a critical study of their whole program from the standpoint of Americanization, as did Mr. Franklin of The Council on Immigrant Education last year, is not only a unique attitude for a social agency to take, but it indicates what we found—an appreciation of the extreme difficulty of getting observable results, and an exceedingly sincere interest in doing so.

There have, within the last four years, been developments which seem to us significant:

Participation.—Theoretically, the association at the outset was democratically organized, with a membership in the neighborhood, an annual meeting, and the like. Actually, as Mr. Franklin has pointed out, this theoretical organization was finally abandoned and the quarterly meetings discontinued. The participation of the neighborhood is now sought through key individuals who are elected to membership, the Slovak-American Club, the several other adult clubs which meet in the building, the boys' and girls' clubs of the association, and in various other informal ways.

From the standpoint of Americanization, the fact of participation should, I think, be considered as an end in itself. It is a means of bringing about that transition between the old and the new, and an evidence that it is happening naturally and normally; new habits are formed by activity, new ideas take real root only if there is real opportunity for their expression. Racial barriers can only be broken down as the immigrant finds an opportunity for participation in terms of American organization, rather than in terms of his own specialized interests and societies.

With Mr. Franklin's implied assumption that this participation can come as well or better through conference, the joint conduct of activities, and the like, than through a form of organization which is only theoretically demonstration I am in full accord, for one of the things we must learn is, I think, that the mechanics of democracy do not assure its reality. I should like to raise two questions from the standpoint of a policy which believes that active participation and the assumption of responsibility for community enterprise by the different races in a neighborhood is one of the best means of their assimilation: first, Is not the size of the Bowling Green program very much larger than this neighborhood could itself ever finance or direct? Second, If this is so, and I think it is, is not an insuperable barrier thereby raised to real participation on the part of the groups in the neighborhood, the participation which comes from the acceptance of final responsibility for leadership, policy, and finance—the participation which might have come with a smaller, less institutionalized program? Perhaps I should put a third question: How far does the fact—if it is a fact—that the neighborhood can never assume the fundamental responsibility for the program act as a barrier to its accepting any? And in asking these questions please do not feel that I am in any way questioning the desirability of the association's program, nor even really question that, if alternatives are implied, the one which it has chosen is not the most socially desirable. All I am doing is throwing for debate the questions as to whether that participation by foreign-born individuals and groups in a community, which seems to me one of the evidences that Americanization is going on, is possible of achievement with a program in relation to its community such as that of the Bowling Green Neighborhood Association.

English.—Knowledge of the English language is one of the few results in the field of Americanization which is at present observable and measurable. The association has, since 1920, made several experiments in this field of activity; at present a thriving class of men, many Slovaks, is being carried on by a special teacher. There is also a class for women conducted by the director of social service. These things are definite, tangible, and desirable.

On the other hand, quite in contrast to the health field, there has been no study of the language "mortality" of the district. There has been excellent cooperation with the health department and almost no cooperation with the evening-school department, which conducts a school only six blocks away. It is a school which needs very much also the stimulus of outside interest.

Citizenship.—Amongst the agencies in New York which are assisting people to fill out their naturalization papers, to iron out technical difficulties either in the naturalization bureau or in the court, the Bowling Green Neighborhood Association stands high. Four hundred and fifty were given such assistance last year, and except for two or three agencies in other parts of the city which do nothing but that, the number is larger than most of the standard social agencies.

Moreover, there has been an emphasis on citizenship which has had a real influence in increasing the number of those who apply.

On the other hand, it has been, on the whole, a matter of "helping men become citizens," rather than "preparing them for it." One cannot teach loyalty to the Constitution or the flag, but you can give a prospective citizen information about our history, our form of government, the geography of the country, similar to that which a graduate from the elementary grade gets. There has been nothing of this sort in the program nor are there facilities elsewhere in the district.

Other departments.—What, if any, results from the standpoint of Americanization can be observed from the other activities of the association? Frankly, we have no definite answer. It is desirable that the death-rate be lowered and that tuberculosis be decreased. Does the fact of that reduction constitute an Americanizing influence in the laws of very many of the individual members of the Bowling Green community? It is desirable that mothers come to the clinic for prenatal care, and that they bring their babies for health examination. Does that care and that attendance at the clinic make for a breaking down of old-world traditions and the acceptance of American standards? Very likely, but how, and how measure it? It is desirable that outdoor toilets be eliminated, that overcrowding in apartments be done away with. Does that elimination by an outside force make for changing attitudes in standards of living? Possibly, but where and how? We Americans think it is desirable that the boys and girls of the community be given leadership in organizing themselves into clubs and athletic teams. Does that organization lead them into an adjustment to American ways of doing things which their parents did not have? Does it in any way reach back to the parents born abroad and help them to understand America? Or does it widen the inevitable breach between the two?

I have already said that we have no satisfactory answer. Yet, speaking specifically again, to the Bowling Green Neighborhood Association we may point out this: Each one of the races in that neighborhood—the Slovaks, Greeks, Syrians, Poles, and the others, bring with them to this country certain values and attitudes in regard to most of the things which the general program is attacking. The people in each one of these races have lived in different kinds of homes in their mother countries. Each has ideas about health and sanitation. Their ideas and attitudes are, in all of them, very bad from the standpoint of modern scientific public health, but real from the standpoint of the psychology of the individual. The social and family traditions are equally different: the place of the woman in the home; the kind of entertainment the girls can go to, and when; attitude and habits of play, and the like. It is the clash between these attitudes and habits and the values which the Bowling Green Neighborhood Association is trying to substitute that constitutes the Americanization process.

I think it is fair to say that none of these other departmental programs have

been organized from this point of view. The doctors and nurses and plan leaders have been American, and have not understood—as a matter of fact it is probably impossible to get doctors or nurses who do understand—the reasons for, and the traditions behind, the habits of such different races as the Slovaks, Syrians, Greeks, and Poles. The association has not made serious study of the practical relation of these backgrounds to the concrete work which it was undertaking. Personnel has not been selected from that point of view. On the one hand, Americanization has been considered as a segregated field with an inadequately developed program of specialized activities. On the other, the establishment of typically American standards of health and recreation has been interpreted as resulting in the general Americanization of the community, but with very little consideration of the relationship of these standards to the traditional and habitual ones which the immigrant brought with him. The focus of each department's program on this problem—the study of its work and its results in these terms—would constitute a very real contribution to Americanization.

What, then, are we to conclude about observable results in community organization from the standpoint of Americanization?

First, that the Americanization movement has given us no standard whatever for judging the psychological substitution of new values for old, which is the basic fact in the Americanization process. This applies to other fields of social work just as much as to that of community organization.

Second, that of the results which are most observable, the ability to speak English stands first, and that while the actual instruction in English is the function of the teaching profession, just as is the conduct of the health clinic the function of the medical profession, the community association has a similar organizing function: to raise the standard of English speech in the community, which it ought to be equally possible to measure.

Third, that in giving assistance to people in filling out citizenship papers we have another function whose results it is possible to measure, and that in preparing for citizenship we have an educational task to which the community association's relation is the same as the task of instruction in English.

Fourth, we suggest, at least, that the fact of participation in the conduct of activities and the assumption of responsibility for policies by the foreign residents of the community is one of the best means of facilitating the Americanization process, and one of the results which it is possible to observe and for which measurements can be set up.

Fifth, that from the standpoint of Americanization the conduct of our standard American program of health, recreation, social service, are not ends in themselves, and that only in so far as they touch those vital contact points between the old and the new in the lines of the individual immigrant and consciously direct the substitutions which are being made are they achieving results from the standpoint of Americanization.

May we, finally, pay our tribute to the Bowling Green Neighborhood

Association. You cannot but have been impressed, as we were in our study last summer, with their constructive achievements in this particular district. There has been from the beginning a willingness to look facts in the face, not only scientifically to study the problems of their neighborhood, but to examine critically their own program. I know of very few organizations who would be willing to have their results and their program in this extremely embryonic and nebulous field of Americanization subjected to the close scrutiny of outside investigation, and I hope I have made it plain that whatever of criticism may seem to be implied in this paper is criticism of the general state in which Americanization today finds itself, rather than criticism of the association. With such feeble light as there has been to guide them, Mr. Franklin and his predecessors have been struggling with this problem, and struggling, I think I can honestly say, with much more effectiveness than very many of the community organizations in New York City. That for this meeting he should have offered us a laboratory for critical discussion is in itself a contribution that is as valuable as it is unusual.

THE VIEW OF THE CHURCH

Rev. William F. O'Ryan, St. Leo's Church, Denver

I can only briefly indicate my views on the church in its relation to local community work. I believe these views are common to most clergymen of my denomination; indeed, I cannot imagine any of them thinking differently. To all finely organized and highly purposed community endeavor the church can have no other feeling than generous commendation. Whether we take the whole village, or town, or city, or the unfortunately placed district where our underprivileged fellow-citizens are compelled to live, all organized inspiration and work for the advancement and edification of our fellows is precisely of the very essence and purpose and only justification for the existence of the church.

Among the energies of today, the neighborhood house in the poorer and congested districts of our cities, when properly conducted, is an institution that must meet the church's warmest approval. Indeed, many of our parishes, in the larger cities especially, have such houses for social, educational, and recreational conveniences among the parishioners, and it would appear today to be the immediate ambition of all our parishes to have such a center. And this is true not of American cities only, but of many through the world. I visited last summer in London two such settlements in the very wretched districts of the East End; I found them in charge of wealthy ladies of the noblest blood of England. I was pointed out two or three in the Dublin slums. To be sure, these were not in the widest way community houses, their work being confined to one denomination.

Forty years ago I was familiar with the young university settlements of London, which have in modern times been the inspiration and suggestion of all

our neighborhood and community houses. They were fine and inspiring, doing a noble work in the sad sections of London.

The parish house, excellent and helpful as it is, cannot supply needs that are clamorous in every large American city, because it narrows its work to one denomination. Every Catholic priest who is able to understand anything understands that the community rises or falls together. We have spots of hideous poverty in all our large cities. Our industrial life, great as it may be in many respects, is horribly callous and careless of human life and welfare; it is an iron machine, grinding pitilessly the bodies and souls of men. There are many of our fellows who cannot keep step in the awful march which we call progress; they fall by the wayside. We see them in every city, the poor, the stunted, the broken, the unfit, those who have never enjoyed opportunity, and those who failed; ill-fed in mind and body, they live in congested and unsanitary apartments. They necessarily congregate together; the slum is their portion and inheritance; they breathe the same physical and spiritual atmosphere and are poisoned together. They must be assisted together as a community, irrespective of creed or race.

These poor people are the chiefest concern of any church which deserves to exist, and consequently every fine effort finely conducted for such communities must receive the warm approbation and support of every church. In America such localities are heterogeneous in the composition of their inhabitants. There are racial and religious problems among them that must be wisely and delicately met. I think we all agree that the neighborhood house, prudently managed and offering generously recreation, education, and inspiration, is the best means with which to combat the conditions I have mentioned; it will be the point of light in their darkness, of health in their disease.

What does the Catholic priest think of the introduction of religion into the community house? What can he think but that, considering the diverse religions and races, the introduction of any religious allusion that could offend the susceptibilities of a part of the community would be infinitely stupid and destructive in its very shadow. For the life of the community house depends, from the beginning of its existence, upon an atmosphere of kindliness, and good will, and brotherhood—a very human and sympathetic understanding of the prejudices and idiosyncracies of the whole body. There are enough fine spiritual and human things of life, education and art, that will occupy the time of those in charge; there are ambitions to be fostered, young and old to be advised, unhappinesses to be allayed, lame dogs to be lifted over stiles, without trespassing on that domain where the soul communes with its God.

And whom would a Catholic priest place in charge of a community house? It goes without saying: people adapted for the work by apparent vocation and thorough special training. Anyone who understands the Catholic church knows how she trains her workers. The nun, fitted for teaching, teaches; she is not placed among the hospital sisterhood; the orphanage sister is chosen and pre-

pared for her own special work. Her priests have many years of training; they may not be all brilliant geniuses, but they are trained, and each for his own place and work in the church.

Human sympathy is splendid and human love very mighty; but all the sympathy and human tenderness in the world will wreck a community house if those who guide its destinies have not the preparation of intelligent training.

I make no mention of what organizations should direct and support the community house. I may say that I do not believe it the function of the school board, nor of the civic authorities; they may help. At its best, the community house, as it springs from the patriotism and humanity of good citizens, will find its best management from among them.

I think you will understand that I am an enthusiast for the community center. Curiously, I have become more so in recent years. No one understands any better than I the evil of the old neighborhood saloon; I hated it and fought it. And still it had its good side. It was some social center for the workingman, and human nature is invincibly social; it had light and warmth and a certain comfort for the tired man in the evening; it was a little parliament house where he joyfully discussed the world and its problems. We have, unfortunately, nothing which replaces that aspect of the saloon today. If to offer men that recreation and social opportunity were the sole purpose of the community center, I think it would justify its existence.

Let me tell you of the community house of old, for the idea is not new. There were several centuries in which every city of importance in Europe had not one, but many, community houses; every rural district had its community house of a fine kind. It may be distasteful to some not of my creed, and whose knowledge of history is not intimate, that I should mention the great Benedictine monasteries that were so numerous in Europe from the sixth century onward. They were in a sense community houses. They guided the agriculture and civilization of Europe after the breakdown of the Roman Empire; they had, beside the internal monastic school, the school at monastery gates for everyone; they relieved the poor; they assisted the sick with simple remedies; out of them went all the instruction and letters and most of the arts and crafts of the long ago. They were the chief sources of light in dark times.

And again, when you visit Europe you will ask the reason for the enormous churches and cathedrals of the twelfth and successive centuries. Surely the population of the time did not demand their hugeness. Apart from honoring God in their magnificence, they had another purpose: they were the great meeting houses for all the people, the great community houses of other days. In them the people met for other than purely spiritual purposes; they were places where the community and national needs were often discussed, where great popular synods and fairs were held, where often the mystery and miracle plays (the beginning of our modern drama) were enacted. They were, indeed, great neighborhood houses. People then believed that religion embraced every social

and kindly duty, and the cathedral was indeed the mother church and center for the diocese, or bishop's district.

But the true community house of long ago, found numerously in every city, flocked to by simple and gentle, were the houses of the guilds of the Middle Ages. From the twelfth century to the sixteenth, in every city of importance all over Europe, the citizens were practically all enrolled in guilds. Some of these were purely spiritual, but every art and craft had its own guild and guild house, and guild possessions; every merchant had his guild and guild house, each for his own class of merchandise. In the guild chambers, as in the church, there met master and apprentice, rich and poor, and they were brothers. They understood the inevitable differences of rank and retinue, but they also understood, as it is seldom understood today, the true equality from which true democracy proceeds—the equality in the order of nature and in the eyes of God. It is well worth while to read the story of the Italian, or German, or French, or English guilds. For their story is the beginning of the art of Europe and of that human independence before which finally went down the tyranny of the feudal barons. They made the democracy of the Middle Ages; they made pauperism, as we know it in this industrial age, impossible; they were socialistic in that finer sense of ideal socialism; they lifted labor up to nobility and art. Their destruction was a catastrophe.

Says Dr. Jessop: "The guilds were benefit clubs, they were savings banks, they were social unions, they were very powerful supporters of the needs of the parish." Thorold Rogers says: "The town and country guilds obviated pauperism in the Middle Ages, assisted in steadying the price of labor, and formed a permanent center for those associations which fulfilled the function that in more recent times trade-unions have striven to satisfy." Bishop Hobhouse tells us how "the guild fellowships enhanced all the other bonds in drawing men to share their worldly goods as a common stock. Covertly, if not overtly, the guildsman bound himself to assist his needy brother in sickness and age."

Perhaps you may think this interjection regarding the guilds is foreign to my subject. I introduce it for the sake of anyone who doubts the value of the community house. Let him read of the ancient guilds and he will see that the analogy between the guild house of the past and the community house of today is very intimate.

But there is no need to go back to the past to find sufficient argument why I, or any churchman, should support the idea of the community center and its humane activities. If a churchman will not be faithful to his solemn profession, where shall fidelity be found? And we profess to be Americans, to accept as holy the Declaration of Independence and the American Constitution. If we clergymen cannot condemn and hold up to scorn the mouthing hypocrite who praises our republic and glorifies our democracy while ignoring the fact that multitudes of our citizens are left in ignorance of our Constitution, live in unsanitary conditions, and are given no opportunity toward a life worth living, or a

liberty worth possessing, or a happiness worth enjoying—if we do not speak, who will?

To adapt Lincoln's great saying, Democracy cannot exist half in luxury and half in wretchedness. Democracy is not so sure of her step today; she is betrayed in several European countries and threatened in others. The thoughts of many of our fellow-citizens, and especially our foreign-born, must sometimes be rather cynical when we glorify our brotherhood and democracy.

The ugly spots, the districts where our unfortunate live and die, must be our care if we are true to ourselves and our national creed. I believe the best beginning of wise and scientific and brotherly care for the unfortunates in the unfortunate districts can be made through the community house.

A SANE APPROACH TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS PREJUDICES

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Someone has said that there is one privilege which he insisted on maintaining at all times, no matter what others he might forfeit, and that is the right to be inconsistent. It seems that almost everyone reserves this right in matters pertaining to racial and religious questions. At any rate a sane approach to these questions seems to be one of the most difficult tasks for the average man to accomplish. We have all become so traditionated in our attitudes toward those who come of stock different from our own, or who do not worship as we do, that we find great difficulty in maintaining a sympathetic attitude toward them. Out of this condition there arises one of the greatest menaces to social tranquillity.

Those who have the welfare of mankind at heart understand the need of social peace in order that community progress and individual happiness may be realized. Probably the chief factor which limits the advancement of civilization and which interferes most with the happiness of the people is the social strife which grows out of racial and religious prejudice.

There are always people who go about in the land calling "Wolf! Wolf!" and trying to arouse public sentiment against some menace which they seem to see lurking behind every bush. Their pet menace may change from time to time; as soon as one is dispelled another is at hand to take its place.

Of these, Ross (in *Roads to Social Peace*) says:

In every society, in times of stress or alarm, there crop up men whose temperament, upbringing, or personal experience is such that they become wrought up over this and that unlikeness and cry out that the nation or the race is headed for ruin if a certain element is tolerated. Such are the fanatics, bigots, firebrands, alarmists, demagogues, for-God's-sake-ers, bunkshooters, and finders of mare's nests, who spread incendiary lies about the Mormons, the Free

Masons, the Catholics, the Negroes, Wall Street, organized labor, the foreign-born, the 'reds,' the liberal professors of economics, the social workers, the teachers of evolution. Men of breadth and balance should be at all times ready to 'go to the mat' with these.

Just as things seem to be getting settled down after the election, the war, or a financial panic, these joy killers send out an alarm that Japan is laying a plot to overthrow the United States, that the Pope is going to banish everyone except the Catholics from the fertile parts of the earth, that the "unspeakable" Turk is preparing to massacre Christians, or that the Jews have just completed plans for taking over the universities and the movies. These supposed menaces are usually tied up with something pertaining to race or religion and they invariably keep a certain class of people in a state of terror. Even though these menaces may not be real, the fact that they are constantly paraded before the public has a very damaging effect on the much-desired social peace of the world.

The most dangerous menace to mankind is not these things which are periodically dragged before us. The great arch-enemy of progress, against whom we should all unsheath our swords, is ignorance—that great dragon which stalks up and down the earth poisoning the minds of men and making them suspicious of every person of different breed or creed. If we were better informed we should not be so much concerned, since we should find that racial and religious difficulties are not based so much on real, as on supposed, differences.

In racial and religious prejudice, however, there is a real problem before the world which should be faced squarely and not avoided. If it is to be solved, the best thought of the time must be brought to bear upon it, and it must be attacked in a systematic manner by the most scientific methods known to the modern world. The methods which have been so successful in the physical sciences should be helpful here.

If we have a chemical substance the nature of which is uncertain, we subject it to an analysis and determine its component elements. Likewise a social problem can best be understood if the factors entering into it are determined. The chemist who makes an analysis must do so by standard methods and must be guided by the facts he discovers, and not by some preconceived idea he may have had about the substance. The student of social affairs, as a first step, should eliminate from his thinking such personal preferences and prejudices as would bias him in making an analysis of the problem.

If we wish to make a sane approach to an understanding of racial and religious prejudices, we must first eliminate from our own minds, as far as possible, those inevitable prejudices that cling to us from tradition and that grow out of our imperfect knowledge of people who live in an environment different from our own.

It is difficult to determine all of the factors which enter into prejudice and that promote enmity between different groups. Probably the greatest one is the lack of the knowledge of real conditions existing in the strange group, and

the tendency to consider one undesirable individual as typical of the group. This leads to many misunderstandings, not a few of which are caused by different indicators and standards of morality and righteousness that are employed by the various people. One group gives greatest emphasis to honesty, another to chastity, another to thrift, with corresponding variation in the censure for different vices. The pet notions of one may be ignored by another, with resulting conflict. The Moslem Afghan may consider the murder of a Christian as the greatest possible service to Allah, whereas among some other groups such an act would be considered the most serious misdeed that could be committed.

The conflict of desires is one of the great disturbing elements of society. Each individual is made up of hundreds of desires, some of which are in conflict with each other. The desire to get drunk conflicts with the desire for the esteem of others or the struggle to become economically independent. Many human desires are common to large groups of individuals and can be satisfied best by cooperation. Good roads, schools, libraries, and art galleries cannot be obtained by the ordinary individual working alone. The desire for these can be satisfied only by many individuals pooling their desires and working for the common good.

Civilization is nothing short of a manifestation of the ability of many individuals to live closely together in peace and to work together to satisfy desires that can be secured jointly with other individuals. This calls for emphasis on points of agreement and minimizing items of conflict.

In the groups which make up society, peace and happiness prevail only where differences are not made to outweigh the similarities. If our civilization is to be perfected the groups must learn to utilize joint advantages, and this can be realized only when there is peaceful cooperation. World peace cannot be secured if the Mohammedan is determined to exterminate the Christian, or if the white man insists on subjugating and dominating men who are yellow or black. Each group must live and let live.

Fortunately, science and invention are tending to make man one. The telegraph and telephone, the railway and automobile, the airplane and the radio, the newspaper and the magazine, modern medicine, and international law are all working as great educational agencies to acquaint unsympathetic groups with each other. They show to the individuals forming the groups that their individual and group interests are best served by allowing each other freedom of racial development and an opportunity to worship God in the way which appeals to them as being most nearly perfect. This can be done while at the same time there is cooperation with peoples of other races and creeds for the realization of desires which are common to all mankind and which cannot be realized unless all work together in harmony.

If we could each have a world made to order we should doubtless want to eliminate some of the conditions that now lead to contention. We should probably want all of the people to be of our own particular color and shade of reli-

gious belief. We might even want them to be so uniform in native endowment and temperament that we could, by merely giving the order, have the goose step marched at any time.

Whether or not this would be a better world than the one in which we live is immaterial for the present discussion. The fact remains that we find ourselves in a world with a population of nearly two billion people, of many shades of color, who speak hundreds of languages and dialects, and whose religious beliefs are so diverse that literally thousands of different points of view may be encountered.

We may not like this situation, but there is nothing to do but make the best of it. It might be simpler to prescribe for a world full of people "as like as peas," but I fancy that it would not be nearly so interesting.

Now that we have our problem, with all of its diverse elements, what are we going to do about it? Are we going to let strife take its course and allow turmoil to prevail, or shall we use our best efforts to assist these various peoples to live together in peace for the greatest good to all? And by peace I mean more than the mere absence of war; I mean a peace of mutual toleration and sympathy, so that each element of society may be allowed to develop its highest qualities.

No race nor church has a complete monopoly on all of the good there is in the world. A friendly contact of each with the others is sure to result in all learning something, whereas a hostile attitude between the groups eliminates the possibility of one seeing any good in the other.

In spite of the differences that are apparent on every hand it is impossible to get away from the idea of the oneness of man. Races and creeds must take second places to the biological unity of all mankind, and speaking in the large, the interests of any one group should be the interests of the whole. There seem to be distinct types, but there is no such thing as a pure race. Into every group has come some of the blood of other groups, and most nations are made up of rather complex mixtures.

One almost inevitable attitude that is encountered is that each race considers itself to be the one superior strain of mankind, and those from other lands are regarded as inferior. My Hindu friend, Narayan, says that when a white man came to their home and asked for a drink of water, the water was given, but as soon as the stranger had gone, the vessel from which he drank was broken, since it had been contaminated by an individual of an inferior race. The white races have somehow come to regard mere color of skin as outweighing all other considerations. I remember hearing, in Mexico, an illiterate American coming from "poor white trash" stock refer to a well-educated and highly cultured Mexican gentleman of wealth as "that Greaser." This attitude of self-love seems to be deep-rooted in all races.

When it comes to religion, the "I-am-holier-than-thou" attitude seems to be so thoroughly established that men who might associate in a friendly way in

business may have no sympathy whatever with each other when it comes to the worship of God. There has somehow grown up an idea in the minds of many people that they are serving God best when they are least tolerant with those whose method of worship is different from their own. Probably the fear of competition may in part be responsible for this attitude.

Swift said: "We have just enough religion to make us hate, but not enough to make us love, one another." Bacon said: "The greatest vicissitude of things among men is the vicissitude of sect and religion," and Ross said: "There is no scourge of society worse than the strife over religion, for it is the élite who are decimated. The coarser nature, the sensualists, take small heed of religion, and reck little how others worship. It is the idealists, whose care is for the spiritual, who become frenzied at the spectacle of another man's heterodoxy."

We cannot expect complete agreement in all of the shades of religious belief, since this must be essentially a matter of individual interpretation. No two individuals have had exactly the same experience, the same learning, and have thought the same thoughts; and since one's philosophy of life is influenced by all of these, there are as many separate and distinct philosophies, or points of view, as there are individuals. Even though the same sacred writings may have been handed down from generation to generation, their interpretation has been modified by the knowledge that has come to the worshipers from other sources.

The same passage of scripture might mean something entirely different to an ancient Hebrew in bondage or to a heathen nation than it would to a modern Christian who had the advantage of all the accumulated information of the ages as well as the newer knowledge of the modern world. The fundamental truth behind this passage would remain the same, but the interpretation of it would need to be made by each individual on the basis of his knowledge and experience. The more perfect his knowledge and the fuller his experience, the more likely would he be to give the true interpretation, and the wider would be its application.

One of the real problems in arriving at religious harmony is the tendency on the part of the people to adhere to interpretations based on varying experiences and their slowness to adjust their interpretations to the experiences of other groups or to the discoveries made by the researches of science. Because our parents have, all their lives, looked at the distant mountain peak with their naked eyes, we hesitate to use the excellent pair of binocular field glasses which make the view much clearer, but which reveal details that were not visible to those who lived before the instrument for clarifying vision was available.

It is impossible for us, by all of our contention, to change the method of formation of the earth or the manner of peopling it; these things happened just as they happened. Nor can we change by argument the nature of God; he is just as he is. Why not, then, cease to fight each other just because our varying experiences lead us to different conclusions from the evidence that is available? Would we not make greater progress toward the real truth, which we are all

seeking, if we sat down together in a friendly way and discussed the evidence without all the bitterness and enmity that have come down to us from inquisition days?

It is not necessary nor desirable that ideals should be abandoned. Nor should we worry if we do not all come to agreement at once; but could not greater progress toward the truth be made by giving greater emphasis to the common points of belief and letting the differences work themselves out gradually?

Controversy does not lead to unity or conversion, either in science or theology. Nor does persecution lessen the virility of an opposing group. There is no greater unifying force than external persecution.

The road to social peace leads through the land of sympathy, illuminated by the light of understanding. Ignorance and suspicion must be banished, and their places must be taken by education and good will. This does not mean that all of the races must mix promiscuously, nor that church organizations should be abandoned, but it does mean that each race and each church must be willing to concede that some other race or church may contain some element that is meritorious, and each people must be given an opportunity to develop along the lines of its greatest capabilities.

The saying of Goldwin Smith, which has been adopted as a motto by the student cosmopolitan clubs, that "Above all nations is humanity," is gradually growing into the consciousness of educated men and women in all lands. This is being aided by the exchange of students which is fostered by such endowments as the Rhodes Scholarships and the recent foundation established by Simon Guggenheim. Experiences like my own cannot help but leave their impression. The most brilliant classmate I have ever had was a Chinaman, while the honors for my most brilliant student are divided between a Russian Jew, a Japanese, and a man of Dutch ancestry from South Africa. These facts give me a broader sympathy for the people of all lands. The Master came in the meridian of times to bring peace on earth and good will to men, but we have not been very swift to carry out his mandates, nor have we allowed to sink very deeply into our consciousness his doctrine that the greatest of the virtues is charity. We have not all seen the truth expressed as follows by William Camton, in his "Vision of Peter":

'Not for one race nor one color alone
Was He flesh of your flesh and bone of your bone!
Not for you only—for all men He died,
Five were the colors,' the angel said,
'Yellow and black, white, brown, and red;
Five were the wounds from which he bled,
On the Rock of Jerusalem crucified.'

LEADERSHIP AND STRATEGY IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL INITIATIVE

Robbins Gilman, Head Resident, Northeast Neighborhood House, Minneapolis

The distinction between a neighborhood and the community is largely one of individual interpretation. For the purpose of this paper the two terms will be treated as interchangeable, but because the speaker is a settlement worker, the term "neighborhood" will be used instead of community, for to him the former suggests a more easily comprehensible social unit than the latter. Empirical deduction from a settlement window points almost wholly to the conclusion that the size of the political or social unit has in it the germ of its understandableness by those who compose it. A neighborhood, in the sense that I use the term, is generally of that size which allows a certain amount of gossip, and gossip is the fountainhead of that type of analysis which permits people to know of their mutual affairs. The more knowledge of their affairs, the wiser their concerted acts in solving them. Enough, then, for the terminology.

We recognize many types and kinds of neighborhoods, and possibly a word or two on types and kinds will set us farther on our way. The neighborhood that has in it all the elements of leadership, and these elements functioning in and for the neighborhood, is probably the ideal. Such a neighborhood has, in all probability, natural boundaries or easily set bounds. The city beautiful is no doubt that city which is composed of the largest number of such neighborhoods. But unfortunately we are not dealing with that type, for it is rare, and our concern is rather elsewhere.

There is the neighborhood which is congested—one that has no easily set boundaries. A neighborhood which, because of the number of persons living in it, is suffering from a social and civic inertia born of its size, or dead weight. The University Settlement in New York is situated in such a neighborhood. It is necessary arbitrarily to set the bounds of the intensive area of operations of the University Settlement—seven blocks one way, and five blocks another; these 35 square blocks are designated as the neighborhood. The mass of the population is so dense that general social intercourse is almost impossible.

There is the neglected neighborhood which, because of its pocket-like situation, is nobody's concern—not even the real estate operator's—to say nothing of the public service corporation's, or even the municipality's.

There is the neighborhood which is neither congested nor neglected, but which lacks what we may call a neighborhood patriotism. This may be due to the type of people of which it is composed, or to the fact that it is a sort of suburb, in the sense that the people who reside in it for the most part only sleep in it. It is easily accessible to a larger center where shops exist and entertainment may

be had, and there seems a desire to get out of it as soon as possible after meals, and hence it makes no civic appeal. There are many more types which later discussion may bring out, but for the present purpose it suffices to mention the few just enumerated.

If in this hastily prepared paper an apparently undue emphasis is placed on one type of neighborhood more than another, in discussing the development of local initiative, an excuse is easily at hand.

In some neighborhoods we find self-appointed leaders who, through an already developed sense of civic responsibility, keep the public conscience aroused. Such a neighborhood forms its own taxpayers' association or improvement league and functions of its own momentum for its best interests, be they civic, commercial, industrial, or even social. We generally find the parent-teacher associations and similar organizations in such a neighborhood decidedly alive, and if there be no clubhouse or community center, the schoolhouses are used *à la* Perry.

The ordinary settlement house neighborhood presents sometimes congestion, sometimes neglect without congestion, and oftentimes both. If such a neighborhood does not possess active leaders, the creation of leadership to produce the leaders is clearly indicated. It may easily be that such leaders are there, but dormant. To discover latent leadership is, therefore, the job. The settlement worker or community leader must set his mind and energies to that important undertaking. This leadership may be found in a man or a woman or a moribund organization, or it may be necessary to create an organization to assume the leadership. In this creative process there must always be an objective. The objective must be either very evident at the start or completely sold to at least the prospective leader before the start.

A few examples of objectives will make the point more clear. Take a neighborhood in which the interest in public, that is, purely local, affairs is, to say the least, desultory. A proposition is being considered by the park department to sell a playground because it is claimed that it is not ideally located or used as extensively as it might be. Still, it is better than no playground at all, and if it were sold no other tract would be purchased, so the district would find itself minus a playground. An opportunity is immediately offered to arouse a local interest to prevent this playground from being sold. A local merchant is appealed to, to call together a few neighbors to discuss what may be done about the matter. A list of five persons is suggested, and the merchant induced to call them to his house. The result is that it is decided to hold a mass meeting at the public school near the park to protest against the proposed sale. The park board is told of the meeting and requested to be represented, also the priest of the nearby parish, the children of which should, if they do not, use the playground. The result is a fairly well attended mass meeting at which a few persons speak and a large group of boys and young men are present, the boys and young men representing not only the basketball, football, and hockey teams of the

neighborhood, but the coming generation of voters, who are very unconsciously receiving their first lesson in practical civics. This mass meeting develops leaders and local initiative.

Another type of objective around which to develop local initiative: After a few persons have been discovered in the neighborhood who can be depended on to assume a certain amount of leadership, a further step can be taken in arousing public opinion, possibly on a little higher plane—say the aesthetic level. A proposition to beautify your homes can be suggested, and one of the discovered leaders chosen to sponsor a movement to make local improvements without increasing taxes—by the simple device of removing ugly fences, planting flowers, shrubs, and vines, and sowing and watering the grass. Such a movement presents many interesting educational phases, in addition to developing leaders and arousing the community, such as enlisting the children of the seventh and eighth grades in the neighborhood schools to write letters to their parents urging them to join the beautify-your-home campaign, and awarding to the children of each school prizes for the best letters. The judges might be selected by the principals from the men and women of the neighborhood. The educational value to the children of such a letter-writing contest is a by-product of the campaign which is easily recognized. Judges of the beautify-your-home campaign will award suitable recognition to the home which shows the greatest improvement, say between April 1 and September 30. This offers another by-product by giving to the judges, a group of men and women from outside of the neighborhood, an opportunity to learn the neighborhood and its people. A settlement, according to Felix Adler, is the "House of the Interpreter."

Another type of objective: Given a neighborhood composed of different nationalities—some neighborhoods have a score—given such a neighborhood, given a tendency, as is almost inevitable under such conditions, to divide up into ethnic groups, to remain clanish, which in some respects is unsocial, especially if it gets to the point where a degree of intolerance of the respective groups is apt to spring up, or maybe, which is probably worse, to smolder. The picture is poorly drawn, but possibly you can discern the outline. What can be done to break down the barriers dividing the Polish residents from the Russian, and the Irish from the German, and Czecho-Slovakian from Ukrainian, and so on, down through the twenty different groups? The barriers set up not only divide these groups one from the other, but they retard the civic progress of the whole neighborhood. Some rallying-point must be devised around which they will all gather. There is one such rallying-point, and only one, as far as I know, in the name of which you can make an effective, a certainly effective, appeal in such a situation, and that is their American patriotism. They will not refuse; they cannot (although the note of compulsion is entirely absent); they cannot refuse to join together in celebration of a national patriotic holiday. You may find that the main national holidays—July 4, May 30, February 12 and 22, are each celebrated already by certain of your groups in their own way. Maybe also

Columbus Day. It is therefore necessary to select a comparatively unused holiday, and Flag Day—June 14—is an eminently fitting and appropriate one. With Flag Day as the rallying-point, the appeal to head up a neighborhood celebration to commemorate the birth of the nation's emblem can hardly be made in vain to a group of neighborhood leaders. One man acts as general chairman of the celebration; another as chairman of a parade of the children from the public, parochial, and private schools; another to secure the consent of the city superintendent of schools for the children to take part in such a parade; another to obtain from the park board a permit to use the largest neighborhood park; another to get the policemen's or firemen's band for the parade or a concert; another to sell refreshments; another to ask the merchants to close shop at half-past two that afternoon; another to arrange athletic contests for young and old; another to procure a leading citizen to make a patriotic address, and still another to arrange for a dance to give the young people entertainment, under the strict supervision of a committee of mothers and fathers. Such a celebration not only brings together the different nationalities, but develops local leadership, arouses a neighborhood patriotism, and brings about, if even for one day only, a complete forgetting of racial differences.

Let me give another type of objective in appealing for leadership. Suppose in a given neighborhood there has been a long-standing nuisance against which the unrebelling residents have taken but a supine attitude of live and let live. Suppose you know this nuisance to be the cause of continuous resentment, the kind that sometimes results in a violent eruption. There is a real need of taking steps to do away with it. Take, as an example of such a nuisance, the retention of a freight assembling yard by a railroad company, in a neighborhood that has grown up around the yard which, when it was first installed years ago, might have been well out in the country. The railroad has maintained the yard with no evil intent; no one has ever objected, and it has never entered the heads of the management to change it. Suppose the noise, dirt, and inconvenience of stalled trains on grade crossings was becoming greater and greater with the increase of population of your neighborhood. You go to one of your selected neighborhood leaders and say, "Mr. Camp, don't you think the Improvement Association could do something to get rid of this switching out here all day and night? People can't sleep—children especially—and the soot and smoke from the switch engines makes the work of the women just twice as hard. A wash hung out on the line is almost black in an hour." Mr. Camp says, "Why, tell the truth, I never gave the matter much thought. It's been that way for forty years to my knowledge, and I never thought there'd be much chance to change it." You suggest that you never can tell what you can do till you try, and finally he says, "Why yes, I'd just as leave bring it up at our next meeting—I guess I better get Dick interested beforehand, because I want some support in case I bring it up." So you have started Mr. Camp. At the next meeting he proposes, under the head of new business, that the Chair appoint a committee

to see what can be done to abolish this forty-year-old nuisance, and from the way he describes it, every member at the meeting would think he had sat up nights worrying about this crying shame. A committee is appointed; a protest is drawn up to the city council; the local alderman, just about to seek re-election, is enlisted in seeing that after it is read it be referred to the appropriate committee, and thereupon commences a tussle between railroad attorneys and a selected group of outraged neighborhood leaders destined to do more toward developing local initiative, no matter whether they win or lose, than anyone has done in forty years. This is an instance of using a local organization to head up a battle royal for the neighborhood which will form the topic of neighborhood gossip for years to come, and from which most events in the future will be dated.

Allow me to cite a final type of objective in developing leadership. In order to deepen the interest of your neighborhood in the affairs of its schools, for the double purpose of bringing your leaders closer to the schools and of arousing a type of leadership which you feel your neighborhood needs, you suggest the holding of a debate, say between three schools. Experience has taught you that jealousies of an unwholesome kind are engendered by giving awards to schools as winners. The defeated are generally disgruntled, and the after-effect is oftentimes very injurious. The debate you have in mind is primarily for two purposes: to give you a chance to develop some new leaders—in this case they will be the judges that are selected to decide the debate—and to deepen the interest of the neighborhood in the schools. School principals have to be called on and their interest and cooperation secured. This is an important by-product. A simple device of doing away with awarding a decision to one school is to have each of the three schools select a negative and an affirmative speaker, selected on the tryout method of holding debates in each school on the question. When each school has selected its best negative and affirmative debaters, they join the two teams, composed in that case of three debaters each, each school being represented on each team, and therefore whichever team wins, that team represents each of three schools. The enthusiasm engendered in your neighborhood and the deepened interest in your schools, beside the developing of local leaders in the form of judges of debates—all of this has its wholesome effect on your neighborhood life.

Some other rallying-points around which the development of local initiative may well be centered may be mentioned but not discussed: The opening or closing of a street; the erection of an industry which, like a pickle factory, would cause a bad odor, or a piston-ring factory which emits a metal dust; the selection of a site for a schoolhouse; the location of a high school or junior high school; extension of a car line or better car service; improvement in a street's lighting; the ousting of forms of entertainment injurious to the morals of children; the proposed location of a garbage reduction plant; and many others that those in this audience will easily call to mind.

This process of developing local initiative has in it, as is very evident, some

fundamental principles. The foremost of these is that a psychology of leadership must not only be studied and thoroughly mastered, but put into practice. This must recognize first and foremost the general postulate that the master mind, if it is not strictly indigenous, must not appear. As master mind, you the settlement worker or community organizer, must find a neighborhood leader. to carry out your ideas. If you or I, as an importation into a neighborhood or as a paid worker, appear to be the leader, they will let us do the leading, and by that token we frustrate our very purpose. We must practice the art of rearing leaders. In order to do this effectively we must study our constituencies, awaken in them a trust and confidence in ourselves, and in our purposes, and personal disinterestedness. If it were felt, for instance, that we were in some roundabout way casting our eyes on promotion to a better job because of our activities, that would tend to loosen our grip on the confidence of our clientèle.

Another fundamental principle in any attempt to arouse local initiative is that the objective toward which we are working must be clear and not obscure. If the leaders we are endeavoring to develop cannot interpret the objective in terms of neighborhood service, we run a grave risk at an abortive attempt. It is very important, in my opinion, that our intention to remain in the neighborhood, becoming increasingly more a part of its life and thought, must not be doubted. Much harm is done by fly-by-night leaders. They give the impression of being exploiters, and their work seldom has permanency. All of which brings me to my final conclusion, which is that the social settlement offers the best, most sane, and well-thought-out plan of developing local initiative. The living with the people twenty-four hours of the day, the maintenance of a home in their midst, the doorbell of which they may ring at any hour of day or night, and the close, sincere, personal relationships formed with the people of the neighborhood give the settlement that strategic hold on the affections and confidence of its neighbors that no other form of community organization can secure. To prove, however, that I am not intolerant, I would welcome an intelligent, well-trained, non-resident community worker and a community center, in the extensive area of my settlement district, as a most valuable adjunct. But I would advocate that as soon as his vanguard—preliminary work—had been done, a settlement should be established where he has worked, and he should move on to a still farther outer fringe of the area, or to some other type of neighborhood. For I realize that all neighborhoods do not need or require the residence of the community worker, but the neglected, congested, ethnically divided types do, and it is in these types that the settlement or neighborhood house is pre-eminently fitted for that peculiar type of functioning which aims at developing local initiative.

BUREAUCRATIC AND POLITICAL INFLUENCES
IN NEIGHBORHOOD CIVIC PROBLEMS

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The general subject of local leadership in politics and among office-holders certainly corners those of us who are salaried people with the neighborhood as our job. Our reaction to this leadership—how we can cooperate with it, what we can learn from it, and what we can do to improve it—sends our thoughts back over a variety of experiences. Someone has defined a leader as a person who has followers. We, the social workers, a superior kind of leaders, are never satisfied unless our followers are moving up.

No one would think of denying that we are a part of what President Coolidge refers to as "the determined upward movement in behalf of the social welfare." We are, therefore, at some disadvantage in competition with the politicians, as they are not specially concerned with leading their followers to better things. They can, therefore, take a more practical and everyday view of life. They have fewer ultimate objects in view than we have.

I remember well a group of big boys on the East Side of New York who took me to task for speaking of electing a good man to office. "Being good and being in politics have nothing to do with each other," sternly remarked one iron-jawed young man. I explained that I was talking about electing a man who would be honorable in public life, but still I thought that if a man could also be honorable and upright in private life it was a real addition to his service to the community. I soon found that I was arguing in vain. The boys knew their particular part of the East Side, and politics and any kind of being good had nothing to do with each other.

Those of us who have lived our lives in sordid surroundings have often been much impressed by the service given by the local politicians, service given freely, wisely, and often without any special return in votes. The boss can help out a youth under arrest, because he has the necessary money, whereas a settlement worker may be obliged to stand idly by for lack of financial resources. "Oh, to have money to do once what our boss does all the time," sighed an efficient head worker.

We of the settlements are always troubled by the slowness with which we accomplish changes for the better. "It is like throwing snowballs into hell," said one impatient young man. But the politician is not so impatient. So long as he can count his voters and deliver them at the polls on election day he is doing well. I was once walking with a small girl when she spoke to a man whom we met. I asked her who he was, and she answered promptly, "That is Tony Scotto—puts you into jail, and takes you out again." He was the local boss and very powerful in this new foreign neighborhood. I found that his superiors, one of whom is now a great ambassador, thought very highly of him as a reliable man who never doublecrossed them but faithfully produced at election time the

number of votes that he had promised. Later, when I came to know Tony Scotto, I told him what the little girl had said, and he at least had the grace to blush. The obedience given by the police and the courts to the local boss and his lieutenants is of course a fundamental evil. Some settlement men in New York told me that they were going home, late one night, along the Bowery, when they noticed ahead of them a policeman with two men, apparently under arrest. Suddenly another man stepped up, tapped the policeman on the shoulder, and the two arrested men floated away. Our immediate mental reaction to this story is well based, for the policeman was undermining the fundamental rules of political society. Justice is destroyed where the personal influence of the politician and his lieutenants has such undue weight.

As we look about us in the modern city to see on what the good life of the neighborhood is to be based, we are impressed with the need of rules for our mutual restraint. We are moderns, and so given over to athletics, and we can see our neighborhood life as a boxing match, and those who break the rules are not "good sports." Some politicians constantly defy the necessary rules of mutual restraint. The most sinister combination in the foreign colonies of our big cities is the alliance between police and vice. It will go on sometimes for twenty or thirty years in a particular neighborhood. The leaders want money, and easy money and the protection of vice go together. I know one such neighborhood where for years and years the politicians have planted and grown vice as carefully as any scientists have ever planted bacteria in a laboratory. Sometimes everything seems to go against such a neighborhood. In this one, when the foreigners moved in the school principal was old, and resented having her peace disturbed and her school upset by the irruption of a lot of miserable children.

The school principal, as a leader in a neighborhood, can either do or leave undone much social work, and the neighborhood will show for years how active or how inactive she has been. My sympathies go out to a school principal in a bad neighborhood, who takes her stand for her children against the powers of evil. I know one such principal who fought the cigar stores to compel the storekeepers to obey the laws against selling cigarettes to minors. At the end of the year I found her in tears. She had been promoted to a better school in a better neighborhood. This principal had been insistent; the school authorities were none too courageous and had not wanted to be disturbed, and the political powers were friends of the cigar store people.

Among the leaders in our neighborhoods the judges of our courts stand out prominently. It is amazing to see how the record of a judge, with all its details, spreads around in the vicinity of his court. Our New York police courts often give just judgment day after day, and to the extent that they do justice, they are of course a tremendous power for good. There are so many true criticisms that can be launched against New York that it is a comfort to think that in the courts we sometimes do relatively well. Occasionally we have had a dull and

stupid judge, and the smallest East Side boy will tell you disrespectfully, "Judge A— ears up to here," giving the gesture of a donkey's ears.

The recommendation of one well-known chief of police, that a high type of policeman be sent into our congested neighborhoods, comes with authority and is an encouraging thought. If Berkeley can get college men to serve on its police force, then other cities can do something toward making positions on the force more attractive. The policemen are in charge of conduct on the street, and the streets are where the children live and get much of their breeding—their slant toward life.

I remember that a policeman was once telling me how much impressed he was by the close observation of the preschool-age child. He was in citizen's clothes, and I had never seen him before on the playground. While we were talking, a little four-year-old Slovenian girl came up and said to him, "You are a teckative." The policeman on the beat is the one who knows about the child's first delinquency. He could do a real public service by steering the child to the right organization for guidance, and by actually doing the real preventive work of which we often talk.

In one neighborhood where I lived, a kindhearted, right-minded policeman was one of the best social workers that I have ever known. He sized up a situation correctly, and knew that if a man worked and supported his children, the thing to do was to encourage and protect them and to see them through emergencies. I have known him to appear several times during Saturday night, if the man was on one of his occasional sprees.

As leaders coming in from the outside, it is up to us to prove to the local leaders, to the police, and to the political club that we can be of real help. Once, while at the summer camp, I was called up by long distance from our station-house on the lower East Side. The captain had been told by the commissioner to organize a street playground. It was a tough neighborhood near Chatham Square, and the captain had troubles enough of his own without having kindergarten games added to them. When I told him to close off a convenient block, and that we would take care of the games, his voice certainly sounded relieved. The police sergeant may easily be as deeply concerned in regard to the fate of some old couple that he knows as one of us would be. I remember just such a case. During a winter of terrible unemployment and hunger we were limiting the emergency relief work to families with children. We made a few exceptions, however, and one exception was an old friend of the police sergeant's. For years, as we had dealings with that police station on behalf of our neighbors in trouble, our interest in the old man and his wife continued to be a bond of union, and I believe that bond of union helped along the cause of justice.

As social workers, we may become of special value to the community as soon as we have accurate and important and first-hand information. We are people who have many friends, and from them we gain facts that can be profitably used. I once gave Mr. Jacob Riis and Mr. Roosevelt a carefully prepared

description of what was going on in a rather out-of-the way and very laxly disciplined station-house. The facts had been given to me by one of our club girls who had moved into a new neighborhood. Mr. Roosevelt, who was police commissioner at the time, dropped in one night to see for himself, and with telling effect.

I mentioned once in a committee meeting that a policeman had told me that he was not allowed to do the right thing. The day after the committee meeting, a tall and impressive-looking official representing the police department came to make a formal call of inquiry. If we know our facts and are moderate in our statements, carefully avoiding any exaggerations, they are sensitive to what we think.

Within recent prohibition times I found, in a neighborhood where I was living, that things were improving steadily in many respects, but the neighborhood had fallen under the curse of booze. Judges came at midnight to sit drinking in the cafés, and the streets were lined with automobiles containing well-dressed, but badly behaved, drunken men and women. On two occasions mothers meeting me on the street whispered to me, "Do something, do something." After consultation with well-informed people, with the help of leading citizens, I began to protest to other organizations and to the various authorities.

I had not gone very far before the captain, accompanied by a group of policemen and detectives, paid us a visit at a picture show one night on the playground. The captain talked in a loud voice, apparently with the purpose of letting the foreign men in our rather violent neighborhood know that I had been interfering. One of the detectives had been one of the old club boys, and I really could not imagine him letting any personal harm befall me, but I knew that the visit was intended as a threat, and ever since that episode I have been interested in policewomen and in plans for the college man as a policeman.

In one respect the professional politician markedly excels the professional social worker. He is what the boys call "a wise guy," and gives a close observation to the daily life of the neighborhood that we could well imitate. A modern case worker coming in one morning said irritably, "So many men are on the street! I don't believe that any of them want to work!" It had been raining heavily, and the day laborers could not work. It was Monday, and the peddlers had no market garden stuff for their wagons. No local politician would ever have failed to know these facts. Worldly wisdom seems to be his birthright, but it comes too slowly to the social worker. It is this wisdom that we must learn to appreciate and to acquire if we are ever to be as effective and resourceful in our line as the politician is in his line. He could give us many points. For exhortation he cares little, but in tolerant understanding he is strong. We think of tolerance as a modern virtue, but it was Chrysostom, in the fourth century, who said (presumably to the tired and nervous social worker of his day), "Why do you question the poor inquisitively—inquire their native land, and their manner of life. If we investigate the lives of men too carefully, we shall never have pity

on anyone." We all really like the politicians. There is the genial feeling that everything is all right between friends. But to the man without a job, the politician is like a messenger from heaven. We cannot approve of the system by which votes are rewarded by a job for son or brother or friend, but it is a very human institution and we must remember that to a man lost in the city wilderness friendliness is priceless. When we try to think out what does give the park laborer a right to his job, we find, I believe, that it is with him as with us; the ability to serve gives the right to serve. Does not this principle apply to all—to the street sweeper, the politician, and the social worker? If service is not given, then one has no rights in the neighborhood.

In looking at our neighborhood life to see how much the community organizations have accomplished in cooperation with the politicians, we are sometimes uncertain about our conclusions. On the recreation program, however, we have no doubts. You may recall the man in the Chelsea neighborhood of New York, who said, "Before that tall skinny guy came to live here, the only sports a small boy around here had were to heave a brick at a stranger and to cry himself to sleep at night." But when we come to our other aims, not recreational ones, we have failed terribly. The housing of the working people is still our despair. Then too, we have worked out plans with the street department, with the health department, with the tenement house department, for a clean city, and yet we are not clean. After thirty years of effort it is not encouraging to escape, by an inch or two, a bundle of chicken bones that comes flying out of a sixth-story window. But in New York the hand that threw the garbage thirty years ago is now several miles away, wears diamonds, and has learned better methods. Though the neighborhood as a whole seems the same, or even much worse, the individuals pass on into better conditions.

As a result of our local leadership we have several privileges and duties. One is the privilege of bringing up an occasional public-spirited boy or girl who will help along the good life of the future. We teach fair play in the gymnasium, and fair play can be courageously carried over into public life. One of my old club boys is an inspector of painting on the fireboats, and I believe that he is a good inspector.

Another privilege is that of going into politics ourselves, as some of the best of us have done. One thing I have noticed is that after anyone has tried to do a bit of public work perfectly he is seldom heard denouncing other people's failures.

We have a big job ahead of us. The church, the school, the state, have yet to put at the service of our neighbors the sum of human knowledge. When everyone gets the benefit of the best that there is in humanity, then we will have the true democracy. We must stand by our neighborhoods, stay with them until the politician, the office-holder, and the neighbors together can achieve the good life.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION: THE
RURAL COMMUNITY IDEAL

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If considered at all in an absolute sense as equivalent to the ideal rural community, the subject assigned me is quite meaningless. One may not correctly speak of "the" ideal community or of community ideal. There are as many concepts of the community ideal as there are persons who enjoy dreaming in terms of community life.

Dreamers of this sort, whether in the guise of those seeking for themselves some holy grail of blissful happiness, or professional social workers who carry the halo of divine election to save a world that really doesn't seem to care to be saved by the various nostrums suggested—these dreamers have worked a great deal of damage to themselves (if they tried their own medicine) and to others who became their victims.

All society is in the process of social evolution. There is nothing fixed, nothing nailed down. Social life is a process, from lower to higher, and not a fixed entity now or at any time past or to come. There might be agreed upon certain ideal or desirable factors in the process of any given time or place, but immediately the time is changed, and often the place, and the factors are related to each other in a different way, some of them disappear and others enter to take their places.

This process may be studied, especially in rural society, because of the less complex nature of that society.

We have witnessed, during the past few years, the emphasis upon the rural demonstration idea. In the work of agricultural agents on Smith Lever funds, as well as of women agents, certain theories of agriculture and home-making have been demonstrated. Chemical substances in the soils and their relation to time elements and to air and moisture nature and content are facts to be counted on.

Even in this well-understood field, where nearly all the factors are material things that can be moved about at will and controlled—where the soil and the seed and the insect pests and the machinery have no powers of thought nor volition to cause them to upset the program of work through which the ideal is to be reached—even here there is grave danger in assuming that an ideal can be safely fixed and attained.

How much more so, then, in the field of human social action! Here you have not only all the physical factors that have any bearing upon community life, but plus that you have the annoying fact—annoying from the standpoint of the one who persists in saving the world or the community to his particular ideal—that here are humans to deal with, who have a way of springing new ideas,

adopting new loyalties, making new discoveries, and even moving away from the field of action suddenly and entirely.

It is not our business to build communities after a preconceived ideal. It is our business to come in upon the life of a community as it actually is now, help to release resident forces for expression, study the process by which they continue to operate, and proceed from lower to higher. Anything other than this partakes of despotism, however benevolent the intention may be.

The status of the community at any given time is the result, up to that time, of certain living moving factors peculiar to that community. The social worker is likely to have fixed his ideal as the result of experiences and observation of other social phenomena in entirely different communities. The fact that one rural community is not like another or a group of others does not tell anything about that community being ideal or not being ideal. For it, it may be better off for not being like the others. Because a cooperative cheese factory makes an ideal basis for economic and social success in certain communities in Wisconsin, a Wisconsin worker comes down to certain live-stock or wheat sections of Kansas, and assumes that the cooperative cheese factory would make the economic basis for community success there also. This entirely without consideration of the fact that the atmospheric and climatic conditions are different, and that beef-cattle farmers and wheat farmers do not ordinarily make good milkers of cows.

In social organization the illustration holds good. Sister Kennicott may import from the outside all sorts of ideal programs which should take the place of Main Street activities. But they are not of Main Street, and have no place there. Neither is Main Street to be blamed; it has as much right to be itself in its own way as has Broadway or Lake Shore Drive.

One who desires to see efficient community life will wish above all else to have resident forces released for free and progressive action. This awakening to action may come from the outside. As to what the action shall be, will be determined entirely by those same resident forces. The awakening may be through the business life of the community, and will probably be brought about naturally by the desire of business men in the town to profit more by the increased demands which such an awakening will bring for the goods which they have to sell. Chambers of commerce are getting more and more alive to such new opportunities. Since business is becoming more of a recognized unit, business organizations, from the United States Chamber of Commerce down through the states to the counties and into the communities, may be depended upon to bring this type of awakening through what may be termed the legitimately selfish interest of business success.

Politicians also play their part in bringing about such an awakening and release of resident forces. Of course their claim is a desire to save the "deer peepul," but that is only a part of the political program for personal and party

success. It is good for this community awakening to have in a state a fairly equally divided force as between parties, so that the campaigns may be hotly contested. No one needs to work this up. The outside forces, for their own interests, will search out local leaders and put them into action.

Religionists play their part in awakening the local community and releasing local forces. The denominational leader wishes to make a better record for his church order this year, and word goes out all along the line to whip up the sleepy ones. We must have this year so much more money, so many more converts, and certain other concrete evidences of advance. This all has its effect to awaken the sleeping and almost dead in the rural community. Sometimes, of course, the denominational leaders wish they had not wakened the sleeping lion—for the awakening sometimes results in a rebellion against the denomination and the starting of a community church.

The school forces are inseparably connected with state headquarters, and the state leaders are always heckling the legislature for increased requirements for teachers and equipment, etc. This makes for awakening the local community to its need.

The point is that we need have no worry about the awakening of resident forces and their release for action. When a rural community is awakened by business, or politics, or education, or religion, we find the tendency for social buzzards of various kinds to swarm in to see what they can get out of it for their organization. They have their various programs to impose upon the community. The rural community does not need them. It is made up of the same good American citizenship from which the self-elected saviors have come, and in many cases of purer American citizenship. If let alone at this point, local leadership will evolve plans and programs and projects native to the soil, that will be better than any that could be imported. When they seek sources of information, there will be agencies ready with the information as to such sources. Our states are supporting liberally universities and colleges with amply maintained extension departments to serve exactly this purpose for all of our communities, and the rural people are already paying taxes for the support of these state agencies. There was never a time in history when the people, through taxation, were supporting so many scientific specialists and research men and women as they are supporting at the present time. For the most part the people are doing this liberally and willingly. None of this service is, or ought to be, forced upon the rural community. It is there for the asking, and already paid for by the people themselves. No one is justified in carrying it in to the people until they want it and ask for it.

To enforce upon a community from the outside the ideal of any individual or organization is decidedly harmful. It is establishing a benevolent tyranny. Social workers are usually the worst sort of benevolent tyrants. Rural people have especially been tyrannized in this regard by their well-meaning institu-

tional friends. They are continually being offered "the benevolent end of a despotism."

The rural community ideal, then, is to keep natural social forces in politics, business, education, religion, alive and active and operating within and without the community, arouse and awaken resident forces within the community, and then, as far as professional social workers are concerned, give the community absent treatment. The rural community ideal just now may be "self-determination for the American rural community."

VII. MENTAL HYGIENE

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF A PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL IN ESTABLISHING CLINICAL FACILITIES AND DEVELOPING AN EDUCATION PROGRAM FOR THE COMMUNITY

THE RELATION OF PSYCHOPATHIC HOSPITALS TO THE MENTAL HYGIENE MOVEMENT

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The psychopathic hospital movement had its origin, apparently, in an attempt to meet three chief demands in the field of mental medicine which could not be met readily by the state hospitals. These institutions laid the foundations, and the men they trained carried forward their ideas, but they labored under certain limitations of expansion of their service which made necessary the formation of new organizations designed on a plan to avoid their restrictions.

These needs were, first, temporary care; second, research; and third, teaching. The term "institutions for temporary care" was used to designate those hospitals which were permitted by law to accept mental cases for observation, treatment, or temporary custody without the usual elaborate processes of legal commitment. In this group of cases were included three main classes. First, were those of acute recoverable psychoses—true mental disease—in which there was good outlook for an early and complete recovery, and in which, for that reason, formal commitment was unnecessary. This group had been, and are still, to a considerable extent, cared for in general hospitals and often without the advantage of the services of specially trained psychiatrists or psychiatric nurses. Second, there were many emergencies where immediate care was indicated, either as a protection to the patient or to others, pending the time required for their commitment. These cases all too often spend this interval in jails and prisons, and usually with little or no medical attention. Third came the borderline cases of mental disease which were not frank enough in their expression or severe enough in grade to warrant commitment, and yet which could only be properly studied and advised by men with psychiatric experience. These three classes were largely excluded from the state hospitals because of the rigid legal barriers which had been erected around those institutions to prevent improper incarcerations.

The second need—that of research—was fostered in varying degree in the older hospitals. Laboratories were equipped and supported in some, but a broad research program was very difficult to maintain in the state hospitals, largely for financial reasons. The proper care and housing alone of the large number of patients in such hospitals represents a considerable expenditure of public funds, and because of this economic pressure, institutions were more apt to be compared by legislators on the basis of their per capita cost than on their scientific standing or productivity. Moreover, the field of research in mental diseases, because of the innate intricacy of its problems, has not been one in which advance is possible except by tedious effort and costly experiment.

The third chief function—teaching—was likewise carried out as far as facilities would permit by the state hospitals. Training of medical graduates as assistant physicians was one of their regular functions, and those so situated as to be able offered didactic and clinical work to the students of nearby medical colleges. In most cases, however, the state hospitals were located in the country or in small communities, and while the hospital physicians gave generously of their time and experience, the opportunities for clinical observation were small, and probably few, if any, of them offered courses which could be considered adequate for a well-rounded medical curriculum.

The mental hygiene movement is more difficult to define. Perhaps for a working basis it will suffice to outline it as an attempt to apply the psychiatric viewpoint of an intensively individualized study of behavior problems to the amelioration of minor mental disturbances and toward the prevention of more serious ones. It is obvious from this that psychiatry has a very intimate relation to this movement. Mental hygiene, however, because of its very wide scope, has drawn many workers to its aid who have not been trained in mental medicine. This border zone of service is far too large to be manned by those trained in general medicine, particularly as the subject of mental diseases has never been one to attract recruits in large numbers.

Psychiatry is, however, a branch of medicine. Its roots lie deep in brain anatomy, brain physiology, general and special pathology, internal medicine, serology, and other technical subjects. Take for example, general paresis, which constitutes about 10 per cent of mental diseases. When I first entered the field this disease was considered to be a result of syphilis by most workers, but there was still doubt enough so that the Ford-Robertson theory of a chronic intestinal infection with a diphtheroid organism gained considerable credence and cases were actually under treatment in this country with the serum of goats immunized to these organisms.

Because of this fundamental linkage between medicine and psychiatry, the latter must continue to recruit its own ranks from among those trained in general medicine, but because its subject matter forms a very essential part of the mental hygiene movement it must also prepare to work in harmony in this broader field with workers with other training. One great danger threatens

this harmony, and this is a lack of a clear-cut recognition of the technical field which psychiatry occupies on the part of some, at least, of those who work along its borders. Psychiatrists, like all others who have acquired an extensive special training, are jealous of their field, and resent the intrusion of inadequately trained workers from other fields and refuse to work with them. The psychiatric social workers have never been offenders here. Starting as it did in the cooperative work of Dr. Southard and Miss Jarrett in Boston, psychiatric social work has grown to be an important collaborator with psychiatry.

Psychology, on the other hand, has not had this close association, and evidence of friction here is easy to unearth. One of the most frequent sources of this friction deals with the selection of material for study by one or the other group. When a psychiatrist is told, for example, that a certain case is or is not suffering from a mental disease, and therefore does or does not require his services, by one who has never studied mental diseases, he is naturally apt to resent it as an intrusion. To determine the difference between two frank cases of mental disease is usually a much simpler task than to determine whether a definite mental abnormality exists in a borderline case. This is one of the most difficult problems the psychiatrist meets.

I believe that by far the greater number of intrusions of this nature are due to a lack of information as to the scope of psychiatry and the great technical intricacy of these borderline problems, rather than to any intent to overstep, and I therefore feel that it is incumbent on the psychopathic hospitals to offer their material and instructional facilities to those who are to enter the border zone through other avenues than medicine in order not only to give them the psychiatric viewpoint needed in their work, but also, and equally important, to delimit for them the strict psychiatric field, so that they may be prepared not to offend through ignorance.

The Iowa State Psychopathic Hospital was organized with the aid of a co-ordinated investigative program from the organic standpoint, and included four laboratory groups in addition to its wards. These are, first, the histological laboratory, where routine and research work in neuropathology are carried out, and where courses in this subject are given to the students of the college of medicine. This work is under the immediate supervision of the director, and is carried out by one or two assistants and two technicians. Second, the chemical laboratory for investigative work on individual cases and research work on broader problems. This work is in charge of a full-time chemist. Third, the psychological laboratory, in charge of a full-time worker with several graduate students as part-time assistants. Fourth, the laboratory for bacteriology and serology. This is in charge of a competent clinical microscopist, but as yet this work has not entered the bacteriological field.

The hospital's teaching function is represented in the college of medicine by a course in neuropathology given to the second-year students, a course in psychiatry for junior students, and advanced work in both subjects offered as elec-

tives and as graduate courses. A course of lectures and at least eight weeks of practical experience in the wards of the Psychopathic Hospital is required for all pupils of the school of nursing.

The head of the psychological laboratory holds a combined appointment as psychologist to the hospital and as a member of the teaching force of the department of psychology in the university, and offers a course in psychometrics. The director of the hospital also offers a lecture and clinical course in mental diseases open to advanced students of psychology in the graduate college, to certain students of sociology, and to others who have special interests in this work.

The department of social work of the hospital also gives a course in the fundamentals of psychiatric social work to students of sociology.

The clinical staff of the hospital consists of four physicians, two internes, and two psychiatric social workers. The clinical service includes sixty beds, with facilities for handling cases in all degrees of severity. The law under which the hospital was organized is a broad one and permits of the admission of "any person who is suffering from an abnormal mental condition," and our experience in the past has been that that expresses the range of clinical types encountered quite accurately. Cases come from all parts of the state and, conforming to Iowa's policy in the university and children's hospitals, the indigent cases are cared for at the expense of the state. Under the law private patients cannot be charged a rate higher than that paid by the state for the care of an indigent case, and this relieves the hospital of the need of providing special quarters and giving special privileges to private patients. The service, therefore, can be adjusted exactly to the psychiatric needs of the case, with no regard to financial status. The hospital does not offer a clearing-house service for the rapid review of a large number of cases, but rather attempts intensive study and treatment of a relatively small number. It also maintains an out-patient department which, in spite of the long distances in the state, already cares for about as many cases as do the hospital wards. The major part of these out-patient cases are referred by local physicians, and there is among them a growing number of university students, a fact of interest in connection with the movement to establish mental hygiene in the colleges. Others are referred, however, by the courts, the schools, and the various social agencies. Because of the fact that distances in Iowa are great and that Iowa City is rather difficult to reach from certain parts of the state, only the more pressing found their way to the hospital, either as residents or out-patients, and an experiment was considered to test the feasibility of holding a clinic in a small community which could not afford to provide itself with adequate advice on mental problems. An offer was therefore made to the State Conference on Social Work to undertake such a clinic, without charge for the technical service, in any county which would defray the maintenance expense and could assure us of the interest of the physicians, the courts, the schools, and the social agencies. Greene County, Iowa, responded with an invitation, and the experiment was carried out in January, 1925. The unit con-

sisted of a psychiatrist, the chief social worker, the hospital psychologist, and two graduate-student assistants, one in psychology and one in social work. During two weeks of intensive work by the group, 173 cases were reviewed. These were distributed as follows: medical, 8; legal, 5; school, 128; social, 25; and 7 who came of their own initiative. Many cases of great interest were encountered, particularly in those referred by the schools, and one group of these—children with a special disability in reading—has formed the subject of an apparently promising study of their difficulty which is to be carried further. The experiment convinced the members of the unit at least, and we hope also the community, that such a mobile extension of the out-patient service to meet the needs of rural and semirural districts is well worth while, and we are hoping that it will be possible to continue this mobile clinic on a more extensive scale in the near future.

PSYCHIATRY, SOCIAL SERVICE, AND SOCIETY

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Psychiatrists in general agree that the laity must be led to appreciate the need for early recognition and expert treatment of mental disorders, and that social rehabilitation of non-institutional cases can be accomplished only with society's willing and continual cooperation. In such a program there is no place for the social worker who has chosen her profession to counteract a personal complex, for only a sane and load-free advocate can convince the community of its responsibilities with respect to the mentally disordered, and only a serene personality can perceive and provide for what is necessary to the rehabilitation of the maladjusted. The psychiatric social worker must have insight, courage, and persistence in order to serve both society and her patients. She must be trained in psychology, social psychiatry, sociology, and biology, and she needs actual experience of life, with a faculty for drawing reserve powers from some stream outside the round of work. She must be able often to reassure herself and others that somehow there is evolving among the whole people a philosophy of life that promises for the future a general mental health far sounder than that of today.

Among the signs of such an ameliorating process are the psychiatrist's comparatively recent interest in preventive measures and conduct problems and his establishment of children's habit and guidance clinics. Also the psychologist is devoting himself to a study of the factors of personality and is opening behavior clinics for both normal and abnormal children. Minor conduct disorders are being successfully handled by the nursery school for the preschool child. Research in these fields has led to the new dynamic methods of public school instruction. Perhaps most significant of all is the recent introduction, into the curricula of various state universities, of extension courses for parental instruc-

tion. To this opportunity for studying the physical requirements and the intellectual and emotional reactions of their children parents have enthusiastically responded. As such movements do not spring up until there is a more or less clearly recognized need for them, it appears that the fundamental impulses of the social order are encouragingly right. Also, there is no doubt but that this change in society's attitude toward the mental health of children and adults has been promoted by the psychiatrist and his social worker. Through them people have come to realize the significance of conduct disorders and have undertaken to conserve the mental health of childhood.

The Michigan State Psychopathic Hospital, under the able direction of Dr. Albert M. Barrett, is the oldest of its kind in America, having been opened in 1906. A somewhat cursory survey of its records indicates clearly the change in society's attitude toward mental health during the two decades of the hospital's service. In 1908, in addition to a high percentage of dementia praecox and manic-depressive insanity, we find 9.4 per cent of the patients classified under the diagnosis of psychopathic states, as opposed to a group, in 1923, of psychoneurotics, neurotics, and psychopathic personalities, comprising 22.2 per cent of the hospital population. This indicates that society, awake to the seriousness of gross mental deviations, has begun to concern itself with the psychiatric treatment of human disorders previously regarded as mere peculiarities or physical illnesses.

Since the State Psychopathic Hospital has no facilities for the care of children, its house-patient records do not indicate the social interest in the present-day diagnosis and treatment of child cases, but the outpatient records, available since 1916, afford index to the people's attitude by the following data. Beginning with 1916, out of the first five hundred patients, 9.6 per cent were between sixteen and twenty-one years of age; 8.5 per cent were under sixteen—that is to say, 18.1 per cent of the five hundred were twenty years old or under. Among the last five hundred out-patients, we find 46.8 per cent were twenty years old or under and 32 per cent of these were under sixteen years of age. It is interesting to compare the diagnoses of these two groups of patients. In 1916 we find: hereditary lues, imbecility, feeble-mindedness, dementia praecox, feeble-mindedness, juvenile paresis, hysteria, feeble-mindedness, etc. Among the last five hundred cases are marked retardation, mild reactionary depression, conduct problem, endocrine disturbance, manic depressive psychosis, conduct problem, seclusive type of personality, conduct problem, conduct problem, conduct problem, etc. These data need no comment.

That society is recognizing mental deviations more readily and demanding treatment earlier than formerly is evident. But along with this alertness goes the old demand for permanent hospitalization. The social worker must therefore face the fact that the family and the community of the mental deviate are inclined to shirk their responsibility when confronted with the problem of his social rehabilitation. "Give him work," urges the social worker. "We are afraid

of him," answers the community. "Take him home," the family is advised. "We can't stand him," is the reply. The social worker discovers that society hasn't time to stand unpleasant things, and that many a family is disinclined to stick it out with its unfortunate member. Here is a case in point. A psycho-neurotic, hypochondriacal husband was ready for parole. We wrote his wife, who replied: "Keep him; I've got a job and a mother's pension." We wrote again, saying, "He doesn't belong in a hospital; he should be at home." The wife then said, "Send him to his people." "But," we urged, "he is your husband, the father of your children. So long as the family remains an approved social institution you and he should live together. He says you are a good woman, he loves you; you have loved him. A wife's love is half maternal. Can't you take him home, encourage him, mother him a little, and help him to support you and the children, and so leave the mother's pension for someone who has no husband?" Sometimes all appeals fail, but usually in course of time the social worker reaches a vulnerable spot, and the family accepts its obligation. Society is showing more and more insight into mental disorders, and more and more willingness to adjust itself to the paroled patient; it is less insistent that the patient shall go all the way toward rehabilitation in spite of his handicap.

In view of the growing conviction that the parole of patients is desirable, it might appear that a psychiatric field worker should be sent throughout the state to do psychiatric nursing among her clients, but one concludes that a well-established local agency whose case workers know the patient's background, sense the community attitude toward him and his family, and can be permanently in contact will usually do better work and get quicker results than could a stranger. Moreover, it is certain that the community profits by handling its own problems. Take the case of Mrs. H. Her husband wouldn't live with her because she was abusive and quarrelsome; one of her daughters was delinquent, and the other children were neglected. The easy way to handle the problem was to break up the home, place the children with a child caring agency, and permanently hospitalize the mother. She was sent to us for such recommendation. After observation, diagnosis, and indicated treatment, the hospital returned her to the community with the following statement: "Cyclothymia. Mild hypomania. Family maladjustment. Difficult social problem. Trial in community under local social service supervision." The agency replied: "You are certainly handing us an impossible problem. We had earnestly hoped that this woman would be given institutional care. She is quite impossible in her home." Five months later a followup letter brought from the agency this answer. "This woman has made a fair adjustment. Our Miss M has been working on the case and has made a very splendid record. She got the man and the woman together and made them see a reasonable amount of fault on both sides, and made Mr. H agree to return to his family. Mrs. H was brought to understand that only so long as she cooperated with her husband would the children be left

with her. Our visiting housekeeper has been there two or three times a week, and now Mrs. H can manage her own affairs. Quite recently the man threatened to leave because of one of the patient's tirades, but Miss M persuaded him to stick it out." We congratulated the agency on the work being done.

In spite of the fact that out of its last two hundred cases the State Psychopathic Hospital returned to the community 80 per cent of its patients, as opposed to 30.5 per cent in 1907, most people are still distressed by any demand that they assume responsibility for the social adjustment of a person who has been mentally ill. And when a social worker is preparing a plan for the parole of a patient she is beset with misgivings until her sleep is interfered with. Three weeks ago, after a night of such disturbance, I was awakened early by a group of sparrows who were enjoying their social maladjustments in the elm that sweeps my window. Irritated and half-awake, I muttered, "Those birds are exactly like a lot of family relations who just won't get along with my clients!" But just then, above the wrangling, rose the sweetly deliberate and peaceful call of a mother quail and the joyous stammering of two young ones who were trying to repeat her rhythmic wisdom. Wide awake now, I caught from the quail calls a message for even the psychiatric social worker. Her philosophy must embrace certainty and serenity; her plans must be in harmony with cosmic forces and with the slow social processes of which we are so slowly becoming informed. We who deal with sick minds must be conscious that back of the particular case may lie all sorts of matters that strictly fall within the provinces of biology, economics, ethics, and politics, and are conditioned and complicated by constantly changing theories and practices as men, women, and children live together in their baffling world. Or, to be specific, the writer is fully aware that the system of parole for mental deviates involves allied questions of vital importance. Among these are prevention of marriage, sterilization, birth control, vocational training, and economic opportunity, as well as adequate supervision of the resocialized to prevent suicide, homicide, and general delinquency.

THE COLORADO PSYCHOPATHIC HOSPITAL; ITS COMMUNITY AND STATE-WIDE FUNCTIONS

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The Colorado Psychopathic Hospital is the fifth psychopathic hospital in the country associated with a university and general hospital. It is so splendidly constructed for the treatment of acute cases of mental disorders that I feel very optimistic concerning its possibilities. However, since everything concerning the hospital, including our organization, is so new, and our program just being established, it would be best to speak of the functions of the Colorado Psycho-

pathic Hospital in relation to what we hope it will in the future be able to bring to the various communities throughout the state.

We are justified, we think, with the experience we have had since the opening of the hospital, February 16, during which time we have treated 150 cases, in formulating our program regarding the subsequent activities of this hospital. The functions of the Colorado Psychopathic Hospital are similar to those established by Dr. Barrett at the University of Michigan. In order of importance they are: treatment of mental disorders, particularly during the acute stages, and including the preventive aspects of mental disease; the observation of mental cases of all types; research into the causes, therapy, social, and laboratory aspects of mental diseases; and teaching of medical students and the later elaboration of post-graduate instruction regarding fundamental issues of clinical psychiatry.

In carrying out these four functions we have organized our work to consist of the following divisions: first, psychiatric nursing; second, psychiatric social service; third, occupational therapy; fourth, department of psychology; fifth, neuropathological and research laboratories; sixth, arrangements for statistical data; and seventh, an active out-patient department, with arrangements for the examination of the preschool child, the school child, the adolescent child, cases of incipient psychoses, and for the followup care of all patients discharged from this hospital. It is expected that a traveling clinic, reaching the remote portions of the state of Colorado, will be established in connection with our clinic.

The treatment and prevention of mental disease is naturally the most important function of any psychopathic hospital. Our approach to the treatment of mental disease in the main is from three viewpoints—first, the toxic and physical disorders; second, the organic disorders; and third, the psychogenic upsets and constitutional make-ups, and the so-called "mental factors." A study of the individual as a whole in the direct sense of psychobiological integration is, therefore, attempted. A study of the physical resources of the patient, metabolic disorders, the findings of somatic disease, with prompt and intelligent medical and surgical treatment, is naturally expected in any hospital for the treatment of mental disease, and facilities for this purpose should always be present. A review of the departments of the Colorado Psychopathic Hospital, in their relation to treatment and to the other functions previously enumerated, can be readily made.

The Psychiatric Nursing Organization, under the leadership of Miss Helen C. Sinclair, has already made definite strides with the prime purpose of insuring excellent psychiatric nursing for the individual patient, stimulating activity in our patients, as well as taking all measures to insure their physical comfort. The general improvement in the attitude of the patients to the mental hospital with their realization that there is no disgrace or social stigma attached to mental disease has been encouraged by this important organization.

Our Social Service Organization reaches out from the hospital and is in-

valuable, as it makes a study of the reactions of the patient to his environment before he is admitted to the hospital, attempts to insure establishment of a proper environment before he is discharged, and in many cases provides vocational aids. A study of the family group, and the institution of treatment for perhaps more than one of them, is brought about through this important division. The psychiatric social service division should be stressed from the therapeutic viewpoint, and not merely from the viewpoint of the collection of data collected in the histories.

Likewise, occupational therapy, with the prime purpose of producing activity in the patients, constitutes one of our leading psychiatric therapeutic aids in the management of mental disorders. A fully equipped department such as we now have in the Colorado Psychopathic Hospital, with provisions that insure activity in our patients, except for those who are actually ill or otherwise engaged, will prove to be of the greatest help in shortening the duration of patients' stay in the hospital.

In the department of psychology much is accomplished of definite value regarding certain behavioristic doctrines and clinical psychological issues, by which one may reach an evaluation of special abilities and disabilities in all cases examined, instead of relying on the magical intelligence quotient.

The teaching function of any psychopathic hospital is of great importance and far-reaching significance, particularly if this instruction instils in the medical student, who is the doctor of tomorrow, an optimistic attitude regarding prevention and treatment of mental disorders during the incipient stages. We feel more time should be devoted to psychiatry in the school curriculum, particularly more time for section teaching, ward rounds, and instruction in the out-patient clinic, where the student may familiarize himself with the early types of nervous and mental disorders. Instruction of at least eighty hours' duration should be given each student to insure a program of this type. Post-graduate instruction, particularly concerning the modern conceptions of mental disorders, should receive encouragement, and all provisions for this should be present in any psychopathic hospital. Plans for the development of post-graduate instructions, from both the clinical and laboratory viewpoint, are being made in this hospital.

A department of statistics serves a useful function and gives greater accuracy regarding the prevalence of mental disorders, as well as the outcome of treatment. The classification devised by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene has been of great help and value in improving statistics.

In relation to the community, the State Psychopathic Hospital has in its out-patient department its greatest function. In the organization of an out-patient department several divisions are necessary to insure the examinations, not only of cases who have actually developed psychoses, but of early mental cases in which treatment and advice may result in preventing a later serious mental breakdown. These divisions have been previously enumerated. The out-

patient clinic should serve as a center for all the social agencies of the community. In these gatherings special stress should be laid on the application of psychiatry to the understanding of mental mechanisms, emotional conflicts, and interpretation of various conduct disorders frequently encountered in juvenile delinquency, and in meeting the problems of the child's guidance and school training. We are very pleased that so far the social service workers of the community have been using the hospital as a gathering place for informal talks and discussions of the problems of mental hygiene.

One of the most important activities of the out-patient department should be the organization of a traveling clinic where routine neuropsychiatric examinations of children throughout the state could be made. A synopsis of our first participation in a traveling clinic, in cooperation with the child welfare bureau of the state, follows:

During six days, 762 patients were examined. Out of this group 90 cases, or 11.8 per cent, were referred to us for neuropsychiatric examinations. This included 3 infants, 11 preschool children, 68 school children, and 8 adults. In our classification of the behavior disorders in children, 40 were classified in the personality-defects group in reaction to the actual situation; 28 fell in the organic group; 5, psychotic; and 2, in the endocrine group.

Reports indicate the wealth of material that can be reached and the possibilities for actually treating and preventing mental disease. We plan to continue to take part in the activities of the Child Welfare Clinic, and hope to reach by this means all sections of the state—the hospital to furnish one psychiatrist, one social worker, and one psychologist for this purpose.

The State Psychopathic Hospital should play a rôle in the organization of a state society for mental hygiene. The personnel, however, for this organization had best be outside of the hospital, although the hospital should cooperate and further this movement and give active support. Again, it should be emphasized that in the program for the prevention of mental disorders the cooperative effort of all social and professional groups of the state is necessary, and the needs of mental hygiene cannot be met successfully by any one group. We feel that the psychopathic hospital movement will prove a success wherever it is inaugurated. It is the natural outcome of many years of striving and earnest effort to place mental disorders on the same basis as physical disorders. We are approaching the time when general hospitals, with their splendid delivery rooms, solaria for tuberculosis, excellent orthopedic appliances and apparatus, and modern facilities of all types will also have provisions for the adequate care and treatment of mental patients. The keynote of the state psychopathic hospitals, in facing all the problems to be met, should be that of the well-known Latin dictum, *numquam non paratis*.

It may be of interest to this association to mention our most recent experience in regard to our educational program for the community. We inaugurated the system several weeks ago of inviting all relatives of the patients to our

lecture-room twice a month, directly after visiting hours, for fifteen-minute talks regarding the causes, treatment, and prevention of mental disorders. Much to our gratification, these meetings have been attended very well. Twenty people attended the first meeting. After a fifteen-minute talk by some member of the staff, relatives are given a five-minute period to ask questions. This has led to a very close association between the hospital and the community, and has helped to break down that feeling prevalent among relatives that mental diseases are a disgrace and develop on a mysterious basis. The experiences in the Colorado Psychopathic Hospital thus far with this type of education have been very pleasing and promise much for the future.

In conclusion, I wish to state the earnest and stimulating hope that the Colorado Psychopathic Hospital will take an active part in the treatment and prevention of mental diseases, and so follow in the steps of the other psychopathic hospitals—the Boston Psychopathic Hospital, Henry Phipps' Psychiatric Clinic, the University of Michigan Psychopathic Hospital, and the University of Iowa Hospital.

PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL WORK IN RELATION TO A STATE MENTAL HYGIENE PROGRAM

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Mental hygiene in a community never has a definite beginning—it has always existed. Physicians, social agencies, schools, and courts every day have been dealing with the disorders of human maladjustment, maladaptation, unhygienic compromises, immature or distorted methods of meeting the complex situations of life. How often attempts have been made to formulate principles and prevent unnecessary expenditure of time, energy, and money in the establishment of a state-wide mental hygiene program. If the state will maintain a psychopathic hospital, dispensary, and traveling clinic to serve its citizens in the treatment and study of all types of mental disorders, and will have a centralized organization to form its policies, study its problems, and spread more widely the knowledge of what help is offered and what type of case should be referred, the mental hygiene movement will develop on sound and lasting principles and will become one of the most helpful resources in the community.

The average psychopathic hospital has a very limited bed capacity but a large community to serve. The out-patient clinic has not only been established to meet this situation, but its other equally important function of educational work with social organizations, community work; and parents. The psychiatric worker realizes how utterly hopeless it is to carry alone the problems, and were it possible to do so, she would be defeating her rôle in making mental hygiene a necessary development in the curriculum of every case working agency. The social and health workers have read extensively about the movement and are

waiting for the opportunity to carry their problems under the supervision of a psychiatrist and be helped at critical moments by the psychiatric worker. How often their contact with the patient has been over a long period of time. They have facts, feelings, and impressions that only weeks, months, and years of association can develop. Why should the psychiatric worker carry their problems? She already has many patients not known to any agency.

Through well-organized courses of lectures, with clinical demonstrations followed by supervised contact with problems, the social worker soon learns to administer treatment and recognize early symptoms. She is surprised to learn that the psychiatrist does not simply diagnose, but talks to her in simple everyday terms of treatment. She is instructed definitely how to attack her problem, and leaves the clinic feeling that an adjustment is not hopeless. She may be in doubt about the procedure. The psychiatrist is not always available, but the psychiatric worker should be at the community worker's disposal with unlimited time and patience. The aim of treatment is readjustment, but the worker soon learns that the method is largely one of re-education. The patient is taught to study his own personal difficulties in a rather intensive way—to trace out the factors which have influenced his habits and attitudes—to learn how to face the facts of his life in their biological crudity as well as in their ethical and aesthetic setting, and to gain courage to discard mental makeshifts and disguises. This gain in honest insight into the patient's problems must not only be analytical, but it must be part of a search for practical aids in the formulation of better habits. Suitable remunerative work must be found, opportunities for recreation supplied. The social, intellectual, aesthetic, and religious aspects of life must not be ignored. Hobbies are to be encouraged, and the fundamental relations of the patient to his own family are of utmost importance. The physician, by his skilled analysis, has helped the patient to understand his maladjustment, but the social agencies and community life must supply the facilities for the readjustment. If the community does not recognize these needs and supply them, how can a few scattered psychiatric workers hope for results? If the psychiatric worker complains of lack of resources and cooperation she has failed to interpret mental hygiene. By glancing around she will locate many opportunities to begin the work. She cannot descend upon a community unexplained—parents become alarmed at the word "mental," but when a psychiatric examination is part of a state-wide health program, cooperation is immediately secured. Johnny comes to the clinic, is weighed and measured; eyes and teeth are examined; he is gone over thoroughly by the pediatrician. The teacher has suggested a psychological examination to know why there is so much difficulty with arithmetic, and yet Johnny may know everything about animals, crops, carpentry, or machinery. The psychologist explains that he is always going to have trouble with arithmetic, that his intellectual abilities are limited, but that his manual trainability is good. The parents have recognized this for a long time, but have never known how to express it to themselves or

teacher. Their problem is to understand how to make Johnny sociably competent. Psychology now means more than a word, and when asked to go to even a worse-sounding person—a psychiatrist—it is not such a task if it has been explained that this doctor wants to talk to them about Johnny's temper tantrums or enuresis, jealousy, night terrors, stealing, lying, running away, destructiveness, fire-setting, sex assaults, cruelty, or simply his inability to get along with his brothers, sisters, or children in the community, the fear of the word "mental" no longer exists. These are ordinary everyday occurrences, and easy to talk over. Johnny has been rather difficult lately. Thus the psychiatrist is enabled to advise the mother, teacher, and community nurse to safeguard the child from bad influences, from drifting into unhealthy or delinquent habits, and becoming the tool of the unscrupulous. The individual child thus gets help, symptoms are relieved, and improper habits checked, but an important result is that the teacher gains a broader conception of the nature of education, the parent a deeper insight into the problem of training children—a task often so honestly taken up but so inefficiently carried out. The ultimate aim of education is the parent. The social worker may understand Johnny's problem, but if she is unable to interpret him to his family, and the family to him, his numerous visits to the clinic have not been constructive. Not until the parent realizes that life is not made richer by emotional conflicts, character not developed, and that the aim of mental hygiene is the early recognition of mental disorders and treatment in childhood, will mental hygiene be constructive. The psychiatric worker, through community contacts, education, and demonstration treatment, is one of mental hygiene's greatest assets.

The erroneous idea that the term "mental" means only the treatment of insanity and feeble-mindedness, which are two of the most striking examples of mental ill-health, has been fairly well corrected in city life through the establishment of clinics, but when one stops to consider that the whole system of civilization is built upon intellectual activity, and that intellectual activity depends upon mental health, the subject is so large that it enters into every phase of community life. Little has been done for the rural districts. This can be taken care of through traveling clinics. One encounters the financial problem, as a traveling clinic is expensive. The rural districts have had little contact with mental clinics and naturally are unwilling to invest money. If the psychiatric worker glances around her state and knows her resources, she can find many opportunities to suggest to the mental hygienist where work can be carried on with the expenditure of a small sum of money.

Much can be written on theory, but we are always more interested in actual demonstration. A few years ago the university extension of the University of Colorado began a state health program through exhibitions at state and county fairs. This work has developed, and today Colorado has one of the best-equipped traveling child welfare clinics in the country. The health agencies have founded a health council to discuss and decide where clinics can be most effec-

tual. The organizer from the university extension visits the locality and presents the work of the clinic. Simple and explicit directions are given and the responsibility for its success is left with the community. A local chairman has been appointed, and whenever possible the community assumes part of the financial responsibility. It is a big problem, and if it is to be a success everyone must not only know about it but do actual work. The traveling clinic consists of representatives from the state child welfare bureau, state board of health, state tuberculosis association, and state dental association. The clinic is held in a church or school, and an average of one hundred children pass through it in a day. A history card, asking definite questions, has been printed. Responsible members of the community assist the historian, as well as in the departments where the children are undressed, weighed, measured, and teeth and eyes examined. A thorough examination is made by the pediatrician, who is usually assisted by the local physician. The mother has had instruction as the child has passed through the different departments, but in order to assure a thorough understanding, the child's defects are summed up at the end and the parent receives a pamphlet stating what medical care is needed; weight, height, and diet charts are also given. There are health lectures in the afternoon and health movies in the evening. Could mental hygiene ask for a better opportunity than to be a part of such a clinic? Here is the theory of integration, or the study of the individual as a whole. The physical examination has been made. The parent, teacher, minister, and community worker have been an actual part of the clinic and have requested examinations on special problems. They are waiting for the opportunity to carry out treatment. The pediatrician and clinic worker have detected and referred problems, and soon the psychiatrist has more than a day's work.

The staff of the Colorado Psychopathic Hospital was invited, and financed by the child welfare bureau, to be a part of the May conference, and functioned with the clinic two days. Such interesting problems were presented that at the end of the second day it was decided to send a psychiatric worker with the clinic for the purpose of a survey and the beginning of mental hygiene and educational work in the southeast section of Colorado. The communities were not notified that psychiatric histories were to be taken. The results were most instructive, as an average of 10 to 12 per cent of the children reporting to the clinic were referred to the psychiatric division. The clinic was held in one town 50 miles from the nearest railroad and 65 miles to the nearest physician. One found just the same proportion of personality defects, mental deficiency, organic, endocrine, and psychotic problems as in the busy city clinic. Dr. Thom's *Habit Formation* bulletins have been sent to many mothers. Arrangements are being made for some of the children to be referred to the hospital, and the community workers are doing followup work on other problems.

The staff of the Colorado Psychopathic Hospital feels that it is advisable, instead of organizing a separate traveling clinic, to accept the invitation to participate in this splendid organization.

ORGANIZATION AND TECHNIQUE IN CHILD
GUIDANCE CLINIC WORKCOMMUNITY ORGANIZATION FOR CHILD GUIDANCE
CLINIC WORK

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I object to my topic. There is something oppressive and ponderous about it. The term "community organization" represents to most of us an unmanageable abstraction. We have met it but embodied negatively in political and religious antagonisms, in social cross-purposes organized against each other, in unwieldy outworn machinery immovably blocking our way. We know communities that face organization as a necessity and are doing their best to function as social wholes, but if we analyze that best, what can we see in it but the bare bones of a community dream? Certainly so far as child guidance clinics are concerned, we have learned from experience that community organization must be regarded as an experimental process, that plans for it should not be concerned with wholesale solutions and ultimate goals, but with those immediate, troublesome realities to which some adjustment must be made.

We all know that child guidance is a very new, but not necessarily a final, development; that it is not superior to all the sordid realities of budget, case load, and inadequate social resources with which other organizations are struggling; that its welfare is largely determined by the status of other social, medical, and educational agencies, that it too is a creature of environment, and that it neither has nor wants a splendid isolation. Organized to assist in the individual adjustment of children presenting problems in personality and behavior, employing to this end the techniques of psychiatry, psychology, medicine, and case work, it naturally enters a community as something formidably different from any of the other agencies handling children. This difference is real, valuable, and dangerous. For the very fact that child guidance clinic technique is a composite implies its fundamental dependence on each of the fields from which it derives. It has no final formulations to offer. It starts as an assimilator, an assimilator of many developing techniques into a balanced, coordinated whole which can be socially applied. It waits on further growth in allied fields for material to be placed at the service of case work. It needs the cooperation and understanding of specialized agencies to effect this assimilation, since the treatment which they will help it to carry out is the only laboratory at its disposal. It must begin, then, from the beginning to strip its techniques of strangeness, to make them part of the familiar thinking of other agencies, to submit them to the evaluation other agencies must give them, if the clinic is to discover where its work is of practical value and where it is not. All this entails community organization.

There is, of course, another side to the question. The clinic can only make itself understood in terms of its understanding of the methods, aims, assets, and

liabilities of other organizations. It cannot convey the relevance of its problems to theirs unless it first knows just what their problems are and how they regard them. Any agency is simply an aggregate of human beings, and it is natural for human beings to be defensive about even inevitable handicaps, to magnify successes, and dodge the issues raised by failure, to erect professional walls, and shut out interference. Isn't it this tendency which makes community organization a matter of truces and treaties rather than a super-case work in which agencies join for a persistent study of the whole situation?

Of course every agency, however independent it may be in its special field, realizes that its life is conditioned by community interrelationships, and that its professional privacy is only a nominal affair, but the child guidance clinic, by its very constitution, must face from the start the fact that its actual identity as a child guidance clinic depends on its integration into the group that it serves; that if it is to achieve its reason for being it must recognize itself as part of the community's nervous system, must discover the possibilities and limits of its function, and must adapt itself to the necessities of the organism that maintains it.

The central problem of a child guidance clinic is to define its diagnostic function, since it is this service for which it exists. Its rôle in the community and the policies on which its relationship will rest are very largely determined by the meaning attached to this word "diagnosis." It is perhaps the one surviving form of magic in which we moderns believe. The dictionary describes it modestly as an art, but about it hangs an enchantment the most sceptical of us still feel. We seek it as an open sesame, as the royal road to cure, and even when it comes to us in the elaborate guise of a Chinese puzzle we derive a certain satisfaction from having it in our possession. Possibly our respect for it as a final pronouncement springs from the primitive's superstition that difficulties could be banished by names. As a matter of fact diagnosis is an art, and not a single final opinion; it is merely a critical process, the running accompaniment to investigation and treatment, inextricably bound up with them, subject to the reversals and developments in situation they create, not final until there is nothing left to investigate and nothing left to treat. In actual practice, diagnosis is not an absolute, but a variable, a continuous changing series of analytical judgments formulated to clear the way for the next step. It serves us best when we realize that it is only a compass which tells us where we have arrived in following the circuitous path of treatment, and where we are going next. Dissociated from treatment, unmodified by the new perspectives treatment gives, diagnosis becomes a stumbling-block, an irrelevant signboard which hides rather than reveals the complicated progressive phenomena with which all case workers have to deal in treating human personality.

Real diagnosis means then that a child guidance clinic has to accept a responsible share in treatment, and that in serving other agencies in a diagnostic capacity it must participate in their work and must recognize an interdepend-

ence that will make cooperation not a mere diplomatic bargain but a dynamic flexible alliance of forces. It will want to deal in diagnosis as a recognized part of treatment, will want to discover with each agency the best ground for the exercise of a profitable diagnostic function, and will hope by mutual consent to steer clear of those hopeless cases in which diagnosis, from the point of view of social treatment, is simply a tombstone. All of this entails community organization, not as a single-handed engineering activity of the clinic, but as the union of all interested agencies in securing each for itself the maximum service the clinic can render.

In the best sense, any agency's policies are not simply defensive assertions of its own individuality, but the result of mutual agreement with those agencies in the community whose interest it is to preserve their stake in its activity. A child guidance clinic, a limiting its case load and selecting its cases, has again to take cognizance not only of its own situation but of that of its cooperators, so that its policies may be formulated not in a spirit of exclusiveness, or to establish property rights, but in the light of what other organizations can or cannot do in diagnosis and treatment. It cannot handle all the problem children in the community, even if it were asked to do so by the agencies responsible for them. It cannot bridge all the gaps in the social structure. It has to enlist the services of its community partners in determining for what immediate ends it may constructively be used if it is not to lose itself in trying to meet the millennium. The millennium is always with us, and if we concentrate too attentively on its demands, we risk our immediate function. That of a child guidance clinic is limited, largely because it depends on sciences and arts still in embryonic stages of development, and partly because it is not staffed to deal with all the cases that might conceivably fall within its jurisdiction. It can, however, compensate in some measure for its inadequacies by placing at the disposal of the agencies involved in its work all the data it accumulates which are relevant to their problems. It can enter into an exchange of techniques, and take part in that intercommunication of ideas which alone saves each agency from stagnating in its separate wilderness. It should be able to bring reinforcement to those agencies on whose growth its own depends. It might help the schools to make the community appreciate the need for grading facilities, special classes, free curricula, and vocational training. It might work with the family agency for resources which will strengthen pivotal work in the home, with the child placing societies for facilities for providing normal home life, with institutions for realizing real institutional functions, with medical groups for developing preventive work. Operating in four fields; medicine, psychiatry, psychology, and case work, the child guidance clinic should be able to give the specialized agency functioning in each field a perspective on its interrelation with the others, and assist in securing support for the full development of each group to whom it is organically related.

The machinery of community organization is relatively unimportant. Most

communities suffer from the natural tendency to erect machinery which eventually balks the ends for which it was devised, which is too rigid to be modified, and too expensive to be discarded. Community organization should be seen in psychological terms, in terms of modest social experimentation, functional give-and-take, mutual adjustment to achieve a common immediate purpose. We all agree about distant goals and uniformly disagree about how we shall attain them. We have to face reality. There is no reality but the immediate situation, and this we, as communities, have to face from a case work point of view, our plans tentative, our minds open, and all our tools common property.

COMMUNITY AGENCIES AND THE CLINIC

Edward D. Lynde, Secretary, Associated Charities, Cleveland

If one believes in case work he must believe in the child guidance clinic, for case work is one of its essential functions.

There are at least five ways in which the case work of the clinic differs from that of almost all other case working agencies: first, its case work reaches many more middle-class families and is, therefore, better appreciated by the public; second, it focuses attention on the child, studying his life from every aspect; third, it employs the case conference plan in a unique way, holding on every case a conference of the social worker, physician, psychologist, and psychiatrist; fourth, it utilizes psychiatry and psychology to a greater degree than the general case worker in her everyday work; fifth, and most important, its work is, on the average, more intensive. Let us address ourselves to each of these points in turn.

Case work ordinarily is not appreciated by the layman. It does not appear vital to him because he has not yet recognized that even he and his family may have a personal need for it. The most devoted supporter of an anti-tuberculosis movement is often the man or woman who has had in his personal life some bitter experience with the ravages of that disease. But organized case work has grown up largely in connection with dependency. The clinic is a means of bringing home to the average man, through a direct personal experience, its universal value. When a father has seen this type of case work effect a transformation in his own child, then he may more readily appreciate its value as applied to other families. He may become enthusiastic for the case work approach—the plan of dealing with an individual as influenced by his emotional make-up and by environment.

Those who are conducting clinics can render great service to the case work movement if, in their group education of parents in child care and their frequent talks before other lay people, they will make clear the connection between the case work of the clinic and that of other case work agencies; if they will

explain why their work is such as the local agencies also need to do and which those agencies are, under heavy handicaps, striving to do.

Secondly, the clinic is particularly helpful to general case workers because it aids us to focus on the individual child, causing us to practice to an even greater degree the thing we have always advocated and which, for example, the Cleveland Associated Charities has striven for several years to promote through a staff child study committee, namely, individualization in diagnosis and treatment. On the other hand, the clinic must exercise care that it does not minimize the importance of the lives of other members of the family.

The third distinctive feature of the clinic is the employment of the case conference plan in a unique and strikingly effective manner. The clinic has a staff conference on every case examined, in which the clinic's social worker, psychiatrist, psychologist, and physician all participate, together with any local social worker interested in the case.

True, without any such conference the local case worker might in turn consult a psychiatrist, a psychologist, and a general practitioner regarding Johnnie. But that method does not have the same effect that is obtained by group thinking on the part of these four workers after they have made a painstaking study of the mental, physical, and emotional make-up, and the social background of the individual child whom they are discussing.

Do not assume that this plan of theirs is entirely original. For years, case committees of the family agencies have likewise afforded an opportunity for the social case worker, the physician, often the psychologist, sometimes the psychiatrist, to meet with the lawyer, the minister, and the housewife in working out a plan of treatment on behalf of a family. Then, also, the staff conferences of many agencies, and even the case conferences consisting of representatives of different agencies, all interested in the same family, bear striking similarity to the clinic's staff conferences. But they must be less intensive. None achieves exactly the thing which the clinic staff conference accomplishes.

A fourth characteristic of the clinic is that it is employing psychiatry and psychology to a marked degree. For most case workers, no demonstration is required to convince us of the immense contribution of psychiatry to case work in problem cases, and in affording us a deeper insight into all human behavior. However, there are few, if any, other social agencies where a psychiatrist is participating in every case.

The clinic certainly makes the psychologist more accessible to the local agencies than he is in most cities, and it insures the availability of a social psychiatrist. In a talk which I gave last year in this section of the National Conference, I asserted that there are ordinary psychiatrists and social psychiatrists, and that the only one that is of much help to the case worker is the social psychiatrist. One or two people, after the meeting, challenged this classification, saying that one who is not a social psychiatrist is not a true psychiatrist. I cannot refrain from the retort that I know psychiatrists who seem

to be recognized as such by their own profession, who have a most inadequate conception of social treatment. The real social psychiatrist is a scarce article. The clinic imports several ready-made—saves the social workers of the town all the trouble of training one. The clinic, in fact, bridges the gulf between psychiatry and case work.

The fifth contribution of the clinic is that, on the average, it does more intensive work than other case work agencies and, incidentally, induces the other agencies to go more intensively into the problems which they bring to the clinic. Here is an instance:

A boy of fifteen refused to do anything in school, even to taking off his overshoes and coat. He had been obliged to repeat several grades, having been a chronic truant. At home he had stolen money repeatedly. Finally he was brought into court on charge of being incorrigible and a runaway. Today his attitude at school and in the home has completely changed. He has become fond of his teacher—the same teacher he hated—and he seems willing, even anxious, to please. For the first time he is trying hard with his school work, has been advanced a grade, and is doing the work well. This improvement has continued for several months now without one lapse. At home also he is now happy. For the first time in his life he has even offered to help his sister with the dishes. This conversion was affected by the clinic on the basis of the following diagnosis and treatment:

Handicapped early in life by the death of his mother, this boy had longed in vain for someone who would show him affection. His stealing was for the purpose of getting money to buy the affection of his comrades by treating them. He was lying as a defense, not to get anyone into difficulties. The clinic recommended that the teachers and social workers should not stress the incident when he was caught stealing, but simply make him return what he had stolen, and that his lying should also be overlooked. Other interests were supplied, instead, to occupy the center of his emotional life, replacing the scoldings and whippings. John's teacher was told of his longing for attention and affection. And the teacher, seeing the point, made him feel that there was a place for him in school, praising him whenever possible. John has mechanical ability, and is now being given a chance to express it. A "Big Brother" has taken him auto riding and is showing a real interest in him. John's older sister, after having the situation explained to her, has ceased to nag him, and is paying him more attention. Thus the affection and attention which he craved have been substituted for censure, and his delinquency has ceased.

Before the clinic, six social agencies were interested in this boy, including the attendance department, the juvenile court, and the Associated Charities. The clinic brought in the element which, in this particular case, made their work for the first time really effective.

Thus does the clinic help with a most difficult part of case work, namely, the establishment of a relationship between social findings. For example, here we knew that John stole, and we also may have observed that he had an in-

feriority feeling and a longing for affection. But we might not have connected these two facts, nor thought out the solution. The clinic helped us to see that stealing was simply the expression of his inferiority feeling and yearning for affection. And when the boy was given a chance to achieve in other ways he did not think of stealing thereafter.

Clearly such adjustments are a joint product. The clinic helps the agencies, and the agencies greatly facilitate the effectiveness of the clinic by placing at its disposal their great bulk of accumulated information and by applying in many other families the principle suggested in a few instances.

The social agencies are looking to the clinic to demonstrate results in case work. Even the most progressive general case work agency cannot practice so thorough a study of more than a small percentage of its cases. The clinic, with its very limited case load per worker, its comparative freedom from the exigency of a time limit, and its well-nigh ideal set-up is a strategic position to be a standard-maker.

In addition to the stimulation it gives in individual cases, the clinic is peculiarly equipped for research as to the effectiveness of various lines of treatment.

Even when it fails, we may learn from the experiment. For instance, I am most interested right now to learn whether heredity or environment will triumph in a case where the clinic is endeavoring, through environment, to change the character of a problem child of eleven with an Intelligence Quotient of 146, almost in the genius class, whose mother was epileptic and feeble-minded, and whose father was psychoneurotic and unstable. This girl is sexually precocious, and is manifesting other behavior difficulties. Such a struggle between heredity and the best case work, if recorded in many such instances, should indicate the future direction of our efforts towards prevention.

In instances where the clinic's case work succeeds in effecting a social adjustment where our case work has failed, we derive the tremendously valuable opportunity of studying our own previous failure. Here we can hold up a mirror before us. We can study wherein our unsuccessful treatment deviated from their more successful plan. Thus can we discern our weaknesses, and can at the same time absorb their more successful technique to be applied in other similar cases; of course, with the advice of such specialists as the psychiatrist and the physician.

We would not convey the entirely false impression that the clinic always suggests a more effective plan. Often its plan does not prove more effective than our own. Such double failure of both the local agency and the clinic reveals the even yet undeveloped stage of our case work technique, and demonstrates the need for a cooperative effort on the part of us both to delve more deeply into motivation and study more painstakingly our technique, until each group can reach its highest achievements with the aid of the other, until we are able to touch springs of human action now hidden, and assemble social forces not now known.

THE PROBLEMS OF A PERMANENT CHILD
GUIDANCE CLINIC

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The problems which daily confront a permanent child guidance clinic are so many and so complex that even to attempt an enumeration of them within the brief time which is allotted me becomes out of the question. It is, therefore, my task to select, from the many issues which present themselves, a few of those which have been most forcibly brought to our attention during the first year of our work in Minneapolis. These problems may be considered under the following heads: first, what is the permanent clinic? second, the financing of the clinic, involving question of personnel and intake; third, type of service—preventive or curative, complete or partial study; fourth, educational and preventive work; fifth, research work; sixth, unification of the efforts of the social agencies for a mental hygiene program.

The first question—just what is a permanent clinic? Is it a diagnostic and consultant service for the problem cases of social agencies and parents? Or is it an interesting experimental frill maintained so as to give an air of progressiveness to the public board which sees fit to maintain it? In either case, how can the community be convinced of the necessity for its continued maintenance? If such a clinic is supported by a community chest, then the probability is that its value would be recognized by the social agencies, its bearing on the solution of their problems appreciated, and its permanence not so vague. Its continuance would, no doubt, be assured as long as the community chest was adequately financed. Furthermore, its type of service and nature of intake would be chiefly indicated by the agencies which it serves. If, however, the clinic is maintained by a publicly financed board it must, in addition, have some results evident to the public at large to justify its existence; otherwise it becomes a matter of enlisting the power of the erudite and influential to keep the clinic in the public graces.

Aside from the necessity of obtaining visible results there are other difficulties which invade the realms of the publicly financed clinic, such as the question of maintaining satisfactorily trained personnel, and the exclusion of those desirable from a political standpoint; to avoid having the clinic used as a parking place for time-honored employees who need comfortable salaries and whose chief qualifications are age and life experience.

The problem of intake of a clinic so financed is also a paramount one, both as to number and selection. How much consideration should be given to the children in whom strategic people such as doctors, influential parents, etc., are interested? Often these children are referred to the clinic with some imagined behavior disorder or personality difficulty. This may cause the clinic to be surfeited with cases for whom, from a psychiatric standpoint, the real value of its

services is relatively small. On the other hand, is it not a valuable service to reassure parents, who feature minor difficulties, of the assets and possibilities of their children?

Though I hold no brief for the clinic financed by the public budget, there are many factors in favor of the clinic so supported. There seems to be a certain prestige which accompanies a public movement, and its right to make certain demands for the cooperation of other public agencies is recognized. Thus, when the clinic is under the direction of the school board, as ours is, the teachers seem to take a proprietary interest and, on the whole, are most willing to do any extra work incumbent upon clinic examination, treatment, or a research project initiated by the clinic.

Likewise, would not other public agencies, such as the juvenile court, child welfare boards, etc., have a certain fraternal feeling toward a clinic which, like themselves, has the public backing, with the perplexities which this entails? Our Minneapolis experience has led us to believe that they feel more free to discuss their problems, make requests as to the types of service most feasible for them, and offer constructive suggestions.

It would seem that if a clinic can be adequately financed by public boards without dogmatic restrictions as to service and type of work, and with the assurance that it is relatively permanent, not the hobby of some passing politician, then such maintenance would seem highly desirable.

A question that confronts all permanent clinics is the type of work which should be undertaken. In the first place, should the main efforts of the clinic be directed toward cases where the difficulties are apparently in their incipiency and may or may not become fixed and undesirable? Or should its main efforts be directed toward curative work where undesirable patterns of reaction seem fairly well fixed? In our present state of knowledge, are we able to distinguish definitely cases for which preventive work is needed, provided there is no asocial reaction and no overt behavior? If we cannot differentiate such cases, is it not better to concentrate upon an attempt to "cure," and from these data, eventually, can we not work out a technique of prevention?

Should the clinic have various types of service, or should a thorough and exhaustive study be made of every case, so that errors of treatment can be reduced to a minimum? Take, for instance, the case of a child who is exceedingly low-grade intellectually, yet both parents and teachers have expected the standards of the average child of him and he has been pushed and pressed at every hand. His behavior may be decidedly asocial. Is it fair to assume that his undesirable reactions are the result of this pressure and that, when his mental inferiority is understood and his environment simplified, desirable reactions can be substituted for his undesirable ones? If so, then would not partial study (a social history, a psychological examination, with perhaps a physical examination) be adequate? (Psychological facilities outside of clinics still do not seem easily available in many cities.) Similarly, in certain cases a brief social history

and a psychiatric examination may frequently serve the purpose. Is it feasible, as another rather extensive type of work, for the social service department to maintain an advisory or consultant service for parents? Is it possible for a wise selection of problem cases to be made by the social worker in this way? If it seems legitimate for the clinic to render such types of service rather than the thorough study of every case, its services thus can be greatly extended, which is most desirable in a publicly financed clinic, as numbers seem to talk. Is the risk involved great enough to justify the curtailing of this service? The Minneapolis clinic does not feel that it is, and, so far, followup on such partial service cases has not shown this practice to be undesirable.

What of the educational phase of clinic work? Certainly this is a most important phase, and how can a program of preventive education best be carried out?

All clinics seem to agree that staff meetings offer the logical means of giving the social agencies an insight into clinic methods and procedure. The question is how to make these staff meetings both alluring and educational. Unless the discussion is carefully guarded it is apt to drift into reminiscences and comparisons on the part of the social workers. If the discussion is too carefully guided, spontaneity may be lost, and an atmosphere of restraint prevail, which makes the meeting unpopular, dry, and boring. People in general, and social workers especially, take it as a personal affront if they are not allowed to express their opinions freely. Just how to stimulate this free expression and at the same time secure intelligent discussion is indeed a problem.

The group which can be reached by staffs is relatively small; hence, if possible, a consistent system of preventive education should be worked out with parents and teachers. Can courses in mental hygiene be made available, interesting, and practical for parents and teachers, or is a little knowledge a dangerous thing? The problem would seem to be to make the limited amount of information so acquired sufficiently intriguing that more would be eagerly sought for. The wisdom of Solomon might be necessary to achieve great success in this way; yet does not a fair amount of success, with the maximum precaution to prevent undesirable results, make the experiment worth while?

Since the Minneapolis clinic is working with the schools, an attempt was made to initiate preventive work by a study and advisory treatment of kindergarten children. These children will be followed as they progress through the grades, and it is hoped that some definite results of preventive work can be observed and further plans for this type of work formulated.

As a preventive, and also a constructive, measure in mental health, a course in mental hygiene was given to one hundred high school seniors. Results cannot be measured, but apparently there has been little adverse criticism, either from parents or pupils. Optimists would interpret this favorably.

Since clinical work is as yet largely in the experimental phase, the fund of material which is acquired should be made available to those working in similar

lines. Furthermore, definite research work must be done if a clinic hopes to develop and perfect the techniques at hand. The question of each worker or department following up a problem, or directing the united efforts of the clinic toward one large research project, is one to be decided. The amount of time to be devoted to research will depend upon the "set-up" of the clinic, but certainly a definite time should be allotted this important phase of work.

Then, a clinic should seek to unify the fields of experience. No one clinic working alone can hope to solve the problems at hand. If it can serve as a unifying center for the work of all the social agencies in its community, judiciously guiding their efforts toward the development of a constructive program for the promotion of mental hygiene for the community as a whole, its service will be greatly increased and its influence felt.

DIRECT AND INDIRECT METHODS IN THE TREATMENT OF BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS

(ABSTRACT)

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Since behavior depends not only upon the reacting individual but also upon the situations to which the individual is reacting, it follows that the study and treatment of unacceptable behavior involves an analysis of the total situation, both personal and environmental. The study has for its major object the finding of modifiable factors in this total situation. Not only these modifiable factors must be found, but methods must be evolved for minimizing the importance of the non-modifiable factors which have helped to produce the difficult behavior. It has been found useful to group the various measures which may be utilized to affect behavior into the direct, or those which are used directly upon the patient, and the indirect, or those which are applied to various elements of the environment, with a more desirable level of behavior resulting through changes thus produced in the situations to which the patient must react.

In the first, or direct, group of measures are included all medical, surgical, and psychotherapeutic procedures which may be indicated in the individual case, as well as special types of educational effort. These are not necessarily applied by the clinic staff. In fact, all medical and surgical work is done either by the family physician or by the dispensary or hospital with which the patient has a connection. Tutoring, special drill, and various other educational measures are carried by special tutors, by the schools, and so on. The psychotherapeutic work is carried by the clinic staff. All of this is in accordance with the general principle that the clinic should not attempt to duplicate any work going on in the community, but should supplement and coordinate for its specific case prob-

lems. The majority of cases studied demand some form of direct treatment, either physical or mental, and frequently both. Careful planning and excellent cooperation with various health agencies in the community are quite necessary if treatment is to be had for every case needing it.

The measures included under the heading "indirect" are for the most part those ordinarily called "social." Here there seem to be two distinct types of measure: those leading to placement in specialized (and usually simplified) environments; and those directed at various features of the child's usual environments. The great problems at the present time are in the latter field, and there is less and less tendency to depend upon special types of placement. Of course, there are definite groups for which specialized placement is continually demanded, but the general trend is away from such use except where the need is to meet certain very definite handicaps which can be met in no other way. Properly to deal with environmental factors requiring adjustment requires work from many fields: medical, psychiatric, educational, religious, recreational, and all those processes commonly grouped as "social case work." Thus medical or psychiatric treatment of a parent or other person who contributes to the production of behavior problem; education of parent or teacher in the meaning of behavior, with resulting change in their attitude toward the problem; change in educational placement; building up of group contact and life for the patient or parents; by various manipulations providing constructive rather than destructive outlets, etc.; some or all of these may be needed in connection with a particular problem. It is only in the sense that every case presents needs for environmental modification that the clinic can be considered a case working agency. And it uses directly many techniques employed only indirectly by case workers. Primarily it stresses the individual.

It seems clear that the effective carrying out of such a program for the individual case, and even more for what has been termed the "mass attack" upon the general problems of behavior, requires the utmost in community organization and cooperation, such that agencies in all fields give to the clinic and its patients what may be needed, while the clinic contributes all it can to their work as well. Such cooperation is splendidly forthcoming in all phases of the work. One of the most important features of such cooperation is its great educational value to the community as a whole.

TEACHERS AS BARRIERS TO MENTAL HYGIENE

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My own brief experience as a teacher in the public schools has put me slightly on the defensive in dealing with the subject assigned me for discussion. It strikes me as unfair to attach to teachers the stigma of being barriers to mental

hygiene. After all, isn't it the teacher's situation, rather than the teacher, which constitutes a barrier, and have we, as social workers and mental hygienists and, last but not least, as taxpayers, the right to call names? How many of us have any real insight into school problems? How many of us know anything about those modern educational methods we want the schools to adopt? The application of special psychiatric criteria and methods to education is still a novelty and we are quite hazy, not only about the institution we would like to see reformed, but about the reforms themselves.

Possibly one difficulty with us has been our failure to grasp the implications of the fact that the public school represents the most powerful agency in the field of child welfare, that it touches practically every child, and has jurisdiction over him during the important formative years. Yet, perhaps of all agencies dealing with the child, the school is farthest removed from the application of social concepts to its job, and continues bound hand and foot to purely pedagogical problems. The advanced courses in university schools of education and the contents of educational journals deal almost exclusively with school administration, and educational thinking has not yet squarely faced the issues of socialization. Perhaps the job of tactfully confronting educators, educational politicians, and teachers with mental hygiene and social issues is one that belongs to us, and the opportunity for an alliance between the schools and social work exists if we see fit to take advantage of it.

In the first place, the school situation has to be diagnosed if we are to know what should be done to realize the social possibilities of education. The schools are still quite generally in the hands of politicians who play football with school funds and divert public attention from their activities with oratory centering about the three R's, the poor taxpayers, and the necessity for preserving the federal Constitution. The teacher is ordinarily underpaid and, as a hireling, seldom consulted about school policies. Few school systems have sufficient plant, and many devote most of their thought to the problem of how many children they can squeeze into a certain number of seats. Classes are crowded and teachers are forced to consider the traffic duties of getting children in and out of classrooms and halls as one of their major duties. Moreover, school organization is an organization of hierarchies, based on feudal condition, and concerned not only with the discipline of children, but of teachers as well.

The teacher becomes a cog in the machine. She is subjected to a monotonous routine, carries a deadening amount of clerical work, and thinks of her own development largely in terms of examinations for small promotions. Put in charge of large, unsorted classes, she has to be a policeman, preserving law and order, establishing discipline as a necessary preliminary to teaching. She has little chance to know and understand her pupils as feeling and thinking individuals; she knows them only as a mass of pedagogical material, to be forced through the "learning process" in a given time. Her curriculum, laid down by a "system," is rigid and full. It gives her no room for initiative, depersonalizes

her and her work, and stamps out spontaneous expression of her interests and those of her pupils. She has to impose, year in and year out, the same standardized mold on diversified living material. It is strange that she is not a greater barrier to mental hygiene.

Very little in her training fits her for the struggle. Few normal schools and few university courses in educational psychology are prepared to give adequate instruction in mental hygiene. Most of them are poorly organized and show little appreciation of what mental hygiene means. Teachers, of course, need mental hygiene training for their own healthy adjustment and for the benefit of the special problems they handle. As matters now stand, the teacher has not enough insight to identify problems except as nuisances, and even when she has a natural interest in understanding and helping her pupils, the lack of clinical facilities in the school system and iron-bound scholastic regulations tie her hands. Add to the situation the fact that the teacher has no access to the home, and you will agree, I think, that there are obvious reasons why the teacher should come to see children simply as units. Of course, we all know teachers who are exceptions to the rule, who rise above the school environment, who realize their inadequacy in the classroom, and are willing to go beyond the prescribed routine to assist in an adjustment, but if they are to remain in the schools as obedient public servants they have to continue to hold their pupils to a system which denies their individuality, inhibits their interests, and thwarts their development as useful personalities in society.

The result is that the teacher frequently becomes a fixed, inelastic fixture, full of school prejudices, prone to narrow moral judgments, blind to child psychology. Her chief duty is to discipline and to run children through the educational mill. She develops into an authoritarian, the classroom overlord, and comes to defend the system of which she and her pupils are equally victims. Each child is given one-fortieth of her attention, and she forgets that to him her personality may be far more important than anything she consciously teaches him. The average child thinks and feels much more about her than she suspects. His whole life may be colored by his experience with her, for he learns more from her habits and attitudes than he does from school work, and the conscious attention he gives her is only a small part of his response. After all, his school tasks are not of his own choosing, and the energies the school fails to recognize nevertheless come into play. Sooner or later the teacher has to learn that the whole child comes into the schoolroom, and not merely an educable or non-educable mind.

For the most part, teachers have no conception of the causative factors of ordinary types of conduct, and look upon behavior symptoms as the whole story. They do not realize that children have to be helped to learn by experience, and they attach adult moral values to reactions largely determined by the child's environment. Because they must stand by their traditional rôle as disciplinarians, pouring knowledge into passive minds, teachers often fail to

see that much so-called "bad" behavior is perfectly good biological behavior, that the youngster's resistance to rigid authority may be essentially wholesome, that his failures in attention may be indictments of unsuitable curriculum, and that his restlessness may spring from normal but thwarted desires for physical and mental outlets the schoolroom denies him. That he is a sensitive personality, passing through innumerable phases of development, showing at times the emotional stresses of unadjustment, is something the average teacher cannot grasp. She is prone to make snap judgments and label the child for the term of his school career. A single slip may brand him as a thief, a liar, a pervert, and if he does not react to shaming or moralizing appeals he is dismissed as hopeless, and sent on from grade to grade with a growing legend. Sometimes he is damned by his so-called heredity, and not seen as an individual, with possibilities of his own, because his older brothers were school problems, or his parents ne'er-do-wells. Quite commonly, the school dodges its responsibility by resorting to the practice of expelling its unfit or by consigning them to such special scrap-heaps as truant schools and bad boys' schools, facilities of which it is, on the whole, rather proud.

The fundamental aim of the school in education should be the adjustment of the child to himself, and this adjustment includes not only his intellectual training, but equally the releasing of all of his energies for proper adjustment in life. Through the teachers and through the subject-matter they teach, through the social contacts which should be maintained with the home, he should be brought to see himself objectively and realize the relation between himself and his difficulties. Instead of allowing him to flounder in bewilderment in a special class, school, or otherwise, he should be helped to discover the connection between his behavior and other people's reactions to it. Understanding of this on the child's part would be the basis of a real moral and ethical training. The school, in cooperation with those dealing with the child in his home, should clear the way in helping him to realize his good points, develop his abilities, and express himself to the *n*th degree. The school should make it possible for him to face his weaknesses and disabilities without shame or inferiority and to compensate for these in a proper social way.

It is a recognized fact that many mental hygiene problems begin with the child entering kindergarten, and that all the school's further effort to educate him is futile. It is not too early on his first admission to the school system to discover what sort of educational material the child presents and what problems the school must expect to meet in dealing with him. By the time the child enters kindergarten his personality development may have been distorted by maladjusted parents, by inadequate habit training, by physical handicaps, and by his reactions to his own difficulties. The exactions made by the kindergarten may be too much for him, and his real possibilities may be obscured for the rest of his school career because his energies were not redirected when the school first got hold of him. The school's dealing with children is handicapped by super-

ficial knowledge of the individual as a whole and the conditions under which he lives. The boy who truants because he is inwardly protesting against a school law which makes it difficult for him to contribute to a meager family budget needs more than the casual attention of the truant officer. The girl who, through community contamination, has had sex experiences cannot be helped to adjust unless extra-school conditions are realized and met. The difficulties of the child for whom the school with its present curriculum has nothing constructive to offer because he has reached his academic limit are likely to be accentuated by a distinctive inferiority feeling that may express itself in characteristic adolescent desperation.

In short, the school attitude toward education should be profoundly influenced by the mental hygiene point of view. Should the rigid school formulations be made more elastic and teachers have training in the principles of mental hygiene, it would not be difficult to break down most of the barriers to mental hygiene in the schools. Undoubtedly the school should be the focus for attack in the child welfare field if we are going to control the situation and prevent dependency, delinquency, insanity, and general social inadequacy. As the schools develop more of a socialized viewpoint, more individualized instruction, and group children according to their personality needs rather than by an arbitrary system, as knowledge of the child and his environment is brought to bear on the school's treatment of him, the real purpose of education will be served. The dangers of partial understanding, pigeonholing the child on the basis of a group test, a snap judgment based on some passing symptom or fancy of the individual, can be averted only by the application of scientific methods of study to the human material which the school has been asked to prepare for citizenship.

All of this is a slow process. Here and there school systems have endeavored to meet their social problems. Certainly part of the responsibility for pressing upon them the need for socialized education is the social worker's. After all, socialization is our specialty, and whatever we have to offer in insight and technique should be conveyed to the school. This cannot be done on an external basis of criticism, nor will it be properly done if we wait for the school to seek us out. We shall have to understand the school's situation and, in terms of that, work for a common understanding of the relation that should exist between all social effort and that strategic institution we call the school.

CHILDREN'S TRENDS: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES PERSONALITY DEVIATIONS AND THEIR RELATION TO THE HOME

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In studying one thousand children known to the habit clinics in Massachusetts, we have been continually impressed with the fact that habits or conduct reported as alarming or annoying are, time after time, only the natural response to the stimuli these children have received from their home setting.

Many leaders of thought and action have, in early years, manifested deviated personality traits, yet, on finding their proper groove, have contributed largely to the world's advancement. Although a few of the "unusual" individuals will undoubtedly become geniuses and leaders, still the dividing line is narrow and frequently only a matter of chance. The rank and file will go to fill the roll of misfits unless circumstances permit many readjustments.

The mere fact that a child has been referred to the habit clinics indicates that to some one person, at least, he has appeared deviated from the normal in one way or another. The question may here be raised, What is a deviated personality, and what is normal? Let us say that a person whose conduct varies markedly from the established rule and custom of the environment in which he happens to be placed may be considered deviated from the normal.

Each one of us is the product of his inherent make-up played upon by the forces in his particular environment, and in the great majority of cases a study of the social setting of an individual will show quite clearly the causal factors which are producing the twists of personality.

If hampering characteristics are to be avoided, the start must be made in early years. During the first five or six years of life the home plays the most important rôle in the child's development. The personalities of those with whom he comes in close contact make up, to a large extent, the forces which are to play upon him during this formative period. Because of his plasticity and suggestibility it is most important that he be surrounded by those who are able to provide him with calm, wise guidance and an atmosphere free from friction. The home divided against itself often becomes the battle ground on which many a child's future is sacrificed.

In infancy the child is totally dependent on others for life as well as for comfort. Gradually this dependence must be thrown off until, as a well-rounded adult, he stands alone and self-sufficient. This growth of self-reliance in the child is one of the hardest things many parents have to meet. By making infancy too attractive, they may definitely, although unintentionally, hamper the child's development.

Undue concern on the part of the parents often causes marked changes in

the personality of a child. After a serious illness or accident which has placed him in danger and caused anxiety in the household, it is difficult for parents to control wisely. They may cease to exert authority, fearing harm will result, and it takes only a short time for a child to learn that with his symptoms he may control his environment.

Oversolicitude often defeats its own ends by creating such an intense emotional situation that the original difficulty is only exaggerated. Take the case of a distracted young father whose wife died of tuberculosis. Fear that his one child may contract the same disease has made him watch her physical condition closely. To him, gain in weight appears as the most important thing. Therefore three large meals a day are forced upon her; each meal becomes the occasion of coaxing, pleading, and threatening, and ends either in the father's feeding this child of six every mouthful she eats, or in a complete loss of temper on his part and the administering of a sound spanking, either result making the desired end harder to obtain.

The interference of relatives is always detrimental to children and makes wise and consistent discipline impossible. The danger is particularly great in families of the European and Eastern races, where the custom is for the relatives to live together, and for the grandmother to be looked to as an authority on all matters pertaining to the children. The older generation resents the introduction of modern theories in regard to the upbringing of the children, and is inclined to scoff at "American ways." A young mother must have strong courage of her convictions to try out new methods in defiance of the grandmother, for if anything goes wrong, the blame is sure to be hers. This lack of understanding tends toward constant friction and bickering.

One woman, after talking with the psychiatrist at clinic, went home determined to break the nursing bottle and so stop her four-year-old child from taking her milk in this way. This was to be the first step in helping the child to give up many infantile habits clung to tenaciously. The mother broke the bottle, but the grandmother arrived in time to see the little girl screaming in wrath. Declaring the doctor's suggestions were all ridiculous, the grandmother promptly bought two more bottles. The mother, with a weary shrug, says, "What's the use—I break these and she just buys more?"

In another family the little girl of five has learned skilfully to play her oversolicitous, meddlesome great-aunt against her father and stepmother to her own immediate advantage. The congested section of the city in which she lives has been kept in turmoil for months over the family rows. While living at home with father and stepmother—who were harsh and indulgent alternately—if things do not suit her, the child runs to her great-aunt nearby with lurid tales of the abuse she has undergone at home. When tired of living with her aunt, she returns home, again carrying tales. What one relative will not allow, the other is sure to permit. The neighbors add fuel to the fire by their gossip. Frequently there are actual "fist fights." Steeped in this atmosphere of strife there is little

wonder that this youngster turned up at clinic with her mental life partially disintegrated. She was unable to eat or sleep properly, and was incorrigible and domineering to an exaggerated degree, frequently giving way to paroxysms of temper. On her first visit to the clinic she became so enraged that she screamed, stamped, and finally stripped off her clothes and tossed them about the room. When she saw this behavior netted her nothing, she quietly picked up her things and put them on again, although still looking sullen and defiant. Upon a careful survey of her home and neighborhood setting it was decided to try placement away from home at once, while an effort was made to change the attitudes in the home. We heard just the other day that after a few months' stay in her foster home, the agency who has her in care would like to return her, as they wish to place only problem children, and she has presented no problems since placed!

The attitude which many parents take, of expectation of undesirable conduct and of inability to cope with it, has a strong influence on the children. If constantly given the suggestion that John is different and can't eat what the other children do, or Tom simply won't stay in the yard, or Mary is so shy before strangers, there is no cause for surprise when Tom bolts at every opportunity or Mary hangs her head. Children like attention, and will obtain it somehow. This is shown quite clearly in the case of a youngster who bears the reputation of being wilfully destructive and disobedient. At the age of three and a half, he rides roughshod over all the members of his family, and destroys anything to which he happens to take a fancy.

Upon one occasion he played quietly on the kitchen floor until pointed out to the visitor by his mother with the remark that, "He's a devil—we can't do a thing with him." From that moment he fully lived up to the rôle expected of him. He turned on the gas burners, broke the glass castors on the piano stool, smashed to bits a large, new doll belonging to his sister, and finally threw a wooden packing box at the visitor. During this scene the mother lay on a couch, complaining of a headache and saying weakly, "Oh! isn't he awful. He ruins everything, and I can't stop him." Discipline in this home is a most casual matter. One moment the child is scolded and threatened for his conduct, and the next moment it is the object of laughter. Repeatedly he hears his pranks talked over and retailed with an air of pride. He appears to care little for approval or disapproval, and takes delight in the act of destruction and the excitement it creates; with an eye on the audience and a joyful grin he demolishes whatever he can lay his hands on. He finds it quite satisfying to be "different," and "the despair of the family."

We speak of a child's environment, yet often the term "environments" is truer. Take, for instance, a Syrian lad of five, the oldest child and the only boy. His parents are young, American-born, and educated, and are trying to live up to American standards as they see them. On the first floor of the same house live the Syrian grandparents, holding to their old-world ideals and customs. They

idolize the children, particularly the boy, the future head of the family. He is pampered and waited on by them, and when obedience is demanded by his parents he is told by his grandparents that nothing is too good for him and that he does not have to obey. He soon learns defiance and disregard for his mother's wishes, and must be in constant conflict because of the clashing standards and demands of his environments.

We are apt to feel that the environment in a given home is the same for all the children, yet often it is totally different because of the attitudes of individual members. Special likes and dislikes and open favoritism all tend to foster jealousy and injured feelings, which are followed by varying results in the way of personality twists or deviation.

We have been interested in the study of two brothers. One, at two years, is vivacious, active, and pugnacious, striking and slapping his brother or playmates to gain his ends, and domineering over his brother two years older. He is responsive and friendly, readily drawing the adults to him because of his cheeriness and air of bravado. The other, at four years, is quiet and retiring. He gives way at once to his little brother's demands, making no effort to assert his rights, is shy and unresponsive, and inclined to be fretful and oversensitive.

The marriage of the parents has proved fundamentally unhappy. When the older boy was a year old, the parents separated, but, after several months, the mother allowed her husband to return because of her anxiety over the youngster, who had been devoted to his father and was apparently grieving for him. The children's earliest recollections must have been of constant quarreling. The family was lined up with the mother and younger boy opposed to the father and older boy, each parent defending the special favorite against punishment and discipline by the other. This continued until the father left home for good about a year ago. His going did away with much of the friction but left the older lad without his champion. After a few attempts to assert himself, he sank to his present state of letting things go without a struggle. He lives in an atmosphere of discouragement and discontent. He is the object of fault-finding, scolding, and blame, and he feels inadequate and discriminated against.

The younger one, on the other hand, receives praise and kindly interest, and is buoyant and aggressive. He has the backing of his mother, who turned her affections to him when unhappy with her husband. The mother and her relatives are unconsciously but steadily exaggerating and making permanent the markedly different personality traits of these two boys who are living in the same physical surroundings.

We have been able to indicate only a few of the many conditions in home life which have been factors in the creation of unusual personalities. There has been no time to show how attitudes have been changed or to tell of the improvements which have followed.

It is not the intent to leave the impression that the home is necessarily a destructive element in the child's life, but rather to show that it has tremendous

force, both destructive and constructive. We must, therefore, bend our energies toward giving parents every opportunity to develop themselves normally and unwarped, in order that they may be able to be the splendid factors for good which they should be in the lives of their children.

DELINQUENCY AND THE SCHOOL

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There is a standard joke about the college student who says, "Father, after all, the most important things one gets out of college are the social relationships." "Yes, my son—and what have you failed in now?"

The college boy is not the only one who believes that the most important function of the school is that it furnishes social relationships. It is with the school as a social group that we are here concerned. Lindeman has laid the foundation for an evaluation of social groups from the point of view of the individual's chronological experience with them. These are listed as follows: the home, the neighborhood, the school, the church, the play group, and the work group. Each true social group has certain outstanding characteristics: (1) Each is organized to help the individual get something done. (2) Each furnishes some outlet for expression. (3) Behavior codes, standards, taboos are set up. (4) Each fosters loyalty, which is based on the feeling of belonging together.

Lindeman further states that which is strikingly true of children: from a social point of view, the most important thing we can learn about a person is in which group does he most vitally live. In which group does he find that he gets things done in which he is interested, achieves adequate expression, formulates behavior codes that he can follow without too much discomfort; in which group does the feeling of belonging together give him the stimulating flush of loyalty?

For the young child it is the home. In the old days of the Clark University questionnaires it used to be asked: In cases of conflict of authority between parents and teachers, or other grown persons, whom would you follow? It used to be said that up to the age of eleven or twelve in boys, and twelve or thirteen in girls, the children answered that they would follow the home. But the older children would always take sides with the teacher.

When the child begins to question the authority of the home we may see the sign of the birth of individual conscience. We note the desire for more information, wider experience, the beginning of choices, and the exercise of discretion and independent judgment. In this passage of vital interest, from the home group to the school group, the greatest problems of the school arise. What does this mean for education, how can the new interest be developed? Unfortunately, neither psychology nor sociology can tell us completely. Someone has said that psychology is a young science—all data and no conclusions. Sociology is

also a young science—all conclusions and no data, so that the applied sociologist is "like a blind man in a dark cellar looking for a black cat that is not there."

In the school, in the matter of dealing with the problem child, we are in the prescientific stage; we handle emergencies as they arise.

These emergencies within the school group cluster around behavior in the following categories: disorder, rebellion, truancy, theft, sex, matters of dress and fashion. Until the advent of the visiting teacher no one tackled these problems in the modern spirit of social case work. The visiting teacher has contributed a new element. In her work we see the first step toward socialization of the school.

The most valuable contribution that we could make at the present time would be a survey that would answer the practical question: What do teachers now do in the following conditions? For example, what do you do when a child steals in school, when you discover a sex irregularity, when a child begins to play truant, when an adolescent desires to leave an apparently unfit home?

Until such a survey is made for the entire country we have no way of knowing how the individual child fares. We have, all of us, collected examples of what we may consider serious mistakes.

In the matter of theft, we see the hasty setting up of a tribunal in the teacher's room, or the office of the principal. There is an informal court, no summons, long questioning with scant regard for rules of evidence, charges, and incriminations as the child is placed in the rôle of defendant. Following denial there is cross-examination, often intimidation, and the use of threats and force.

One little girl was asked if she stole a necklace. In her answer we find illustrated the uselessness of this method: "No, I did not take it, but really, if I was the kind of girl who would do that kind of thing, I wouldn't be the kind of girl who would tell you about it now."

In the modern juvenile court we strive to escape such an unnatural, unchildlike proceeding. There is no pressure, no tenseness, no anxiety. Everything is considered first that has bearing on the welfare of the child, her physical condition, her mental age, emotional make-up, family background, and social situation. The offense is not the core of the inquiry. The child is not placed on the defensive. There is much patience and continued hearings until the child tells her story freely and with a sense of relief.

Take sex; here unlimited damage is done by unskilled treatment. Recently, in a large rural school, a girl of fourteen was accused of a sex offense and taken to court. Not the slightest evidence was found that the girl was delinquent. Her medical examination was negative. After the court hearing, the girl was reluctantly accepted back into the school. A week later a probation officer found her sitting alone by the radiator in the vice-principal's office. The girl attended no classes, and ate her lunch in isolation as a precaution, the vice-principal explained, against having the rest of the pupils contaminated by venereal disease.

Another girl of thirteen in a different school was found by the court to have committed a sex offense and was sent to relatives in a distant city. After a year and a half of good conduct, the girl having successfully kept all the terms of her probation, it was sought to re-enter her in school, and she was promptly rejected.

Too often the whole procedure of the school in handling delinquency problems is wrong, archaic, based on methods discarded ten years ago by all good juvenile courts. When the school attempts to handle its behavior problems it must do so in the light of the best modern social treatment.

Grotesque misunderstandings frequently arise when the teacher is blameless. For example, there was a little boy who refused to go to school because he was tardy. When his mother pressed him for the reason he was frightened, he told her that his teacher had said she would put him into the furnace if he was late again. The indignant mother hurried to the school. The teacher could recall no such horrible threat. When the small boy was summoned, he said: "Well, she said if I was late again, she would drop me from the register."

In addition to making a survey of what teachers actually do in conduct disorders, it would be extremely valuable if we could collect evidence of what is done in our best schools. In listing the blind, stupid, and ignorant things that are done we forget, or overlook, the splendid constructive things. It would be useful to collect the experience of certain outstanding school contributions and make them available to teachers and social workers throughout the country.

The experience of visiting teachers in communities remote from social agencies, the inspiring tale of work done for the adolescent girls of Pocatello, Idaho, by a visiting teacher who created interest in sewing by having an exhibit of garments made of sugar and flour sacks, and turned a whole class of backward, troublesome girls whom no one wanted into a group of busy, happy students; the work of the Denver junior high school, of Smiley Blanton in Minneapolis, and Elizabeth Woods in Los Angeles should be known more widely. It is this concrete record of achievement in difficult situations that the average teacher needs so much.

Generally speaking, what should be the outline map for a set of minimum standards for dealing with the problem child in the school? This question should be given consideration by some hard-working joint committee of educators and social workers. The details must come from experience. Such minimum standards undoubtedly should include: first, a social investigation of each individual case made by a qualified social worker; second, medical and psychological examinations; third, protection of the child, during the investigation and pending treatment, from any trace of penal procedure. No warrants for truancy, no ignorant questioning, no threats, no expulsions or punishment, no treatment of any kind until one can know with reasonable certainty that it will not do more harm than good, or at least until a diagnosis has been made and a plan of action agreed upon by those competent to decide. This would do away with so-called

school "discipline" of a revenge-taking sort, that discipline based upon the exasperation of an incompetent teacher confronted by the emergency of a troublesome child.

That this pause between the emergency and its frenzied removal will be exceedingly difficult we all know. But the trial-and-error method of common sense is destroying children. It must give way to scientific method. Someone has said, "We are all experts in the field of common sense—that is why we make so many mistakes." Mark Twain's view of the situation recognizes at least that it is something beyond the power of the individual teacher to solve: "Nothing is easier than to control a small boy. All that it is necessary to do is to call out the militia."

Fourth, use should be made of existing social agencies. Cases should be registered with the social exchange, if there is one, and referred to the adequate agency. That is to say, the school itself should not do child placing (find places as mother's helper for girls, nor arrange for boarding homes) unless there is absolutely no responsible agency in the community. Many an adroit girl has freed herself from the restraints of home by telling tales of abuse or misconduct of stepfather, or parent. The sympathetic inexperienced teacher is horrified by these stories—but no less horrified when she finds the girl has made them up. If they are true they need court action; in any case no child should be removed from home without a legal proceeding to determine guardianship. And what is true of child placing is true of hospital care, unmarried mother work, problems of poverty and sex misconduct; each must receive the attention of the group or agency qualified to deal with it.

Fifth, special attention should be given to the point of view of the child of foreign parents. So much lasting harm is done when the school contributes to the weakening of home life, the breaking down of old-world ideals. For example, one school had trouble with Russian truants. The parents kept the children home deliberately. Court hearings and fines did not convince the parents that they wished their children to attend school. By chance the teacher gave a Russian boy *Pilgrim's Progress* for home reading. Shortly afterward both parents appeared, bringing all their children, and said to the teacher: "We did not know that you taught our children about God in your school. We want you to keep our children." The school should make contact with foreign community thought and feeling.

Sixth, special attention should be given the child of school age in industry. He should not be penalized because he wishes to work, and at fifteen has absorbed all the academic study he can take in. This is perhaps the most complex adjustment the school must face.

It is instructive to note the marked mechanical ability of some delinquent children. A recent study by Mabel Jessup under the supervision of Dr. S. C. Fisher, of the Southern Branch of the University of California and clinical psychologist of the Los Angeles Juvenile Court, shows this: 138 delinquent

boys, from twelve to seventeen years of age, were studied in Juvenile Hall during the year 1924. Their mean Intelligence Quotient was 84.5 per cent. They were given the Stenquist mechanical assembly test which, as the report (about to be published in the *Journal of Delinquency*) sets forth, probably tests dexterity, accurate perception, and the ability to make judgments.

The results were compared with those of students of the New York public schools, non-delinquent boys of corresponding age (Table I). In these tests of mechanical ability the juvenile court boys did better, age for age; hence we may conclude that the delinquent boys exceeded the non-delinquent boys in success in the mechanical tests, although they were inferior to them in Intelligence Quotient:

TABLE I

Age	Delinquent Los Angeles Boys (Medium Score)	Non-Delinquent New York Boys
12.....	62	50
13.....	58	53
14.....	62	56
15.....	64	60
16.....	65	64

It is evident that the delinquent boys possess a type of capacity not reflected in the ordinary intelligence test upon which school classifications are so extensively based. This capacity or aptitude has social value which at present we penalize. The child of energetic nature of a manual, rather than verbal, sort is out of place in the ordinary schoolroom. He tends to revolt from irritation, and the strain of his failure sweeps away his margin of safety. He becomes a delinquent.

There is need for a revaluation of our goals within the school itself. Someone must find a social use for the emergency and capacity of the delinquent boy, for the charm, frankness, ability to please, and to "get along" of the delinquent girl.

The visiting teacher, that fortunate, skilled union of teacher and social worker, controlled by the school but working with the tools of modern social work, representing the most social aspects of both groups, without (we hope) the limiting viewpoint of either, is the most promising person on the social horizon today. But let us not be content with a label. We cannot take an untrained teacher or social worker "who just knows she can do the work," pin the sign "Visiting Teacher" upon her, and await results. In this field only the real article need apply.

Many of us have sympathy with the old colored mammy who raised her children so successfully that she was asked: "How does it happen that you have

the best behaved children in town?" "Well, you see I ain't had no education: so I jest naturally had to use my brains."

We sympathize with this type of parent, or teacher—but their day is passing.

THE CASE FOR THE MENTALLY RETARDED

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Experience has shown that not less than 2 per cent of the pupils enrolled in the elementary grades of our public schools are retarded mentally to such an extent that they cannot, in justice to themselves and to others, be educated wholly in the regular grades. Special classes have been formed in the public schools of our large cities to provide not only for the mentally retarded, but also for the blind, the deaf, the crippled, and other types of handicapped children. But the difference in the attitude of school officials toward the special classes for the mentally retarded as compared with their attitude toward special classes for other types of handicapped children is marked. They seem to feel that the primary purpose of forming special classes for the mentally handicapped is to get them out of the regular grades where they have been interfering with the progress of the normal child. Yet this argument is seldom advanced as the primary cause for the formation of special classes for the blind or deaf, although these children are more of a handicap to the progress of normal children than the mentally retarded. The true reason for this difference in attitude seems to be that school officials have grave doubts as to whether the mentally retarded child is worth educating.

But there are certain more specific reasons why the same enthusiasm is not shown for the education of the mentally retarded that is manifest when it comes to the education of the blind, deaf, and crippled. In the first place, so much has been said about the high correlation between mental retardation and delinquency that many feel it is a waste of money to provide an expensive education for individuals who are destined to become a menace to society. In the second place, since the intelligence quotient seems to remain constant or decrease, and since these mentally retarded children have demonstrated their incapacity by repeated failure in the regular grades, many cannot see why we should spend still more money on their education when they are going to turn out to be an economic burden to society no matter what may be done for them in special classes. In the third place, the eugenists have said so much about the deterioration of the race through the rapid increase of the mentally retarded that many feel to spend more money on their education is simply to increase the probability that they will marry and propagate their kind. For those who hold this view, the special class is just a makeshift to provide for the mentally retarded until

they can be drafted off into state institutions for the feeble-minded. In the light of these views it is not surprising that many school officials hesitate to make adequate provision for the education of the mentally retarded.

But let us consider these objections more carefully, to see to what extent they are well founded. In the first place, is it true that most of the mentally retarded are delinquent or in imminent danger of becoming so? While it seems to be true that most of the delinquent children in the public schools are mentally retarded, it does not necessarily follow that most of the mentally retarded are delinquent. In the large cities that have separate special classes for the delinquent and the mentally retarded the enrolment in the latter is almost invariably several times greater than in the former, although in the classes for the delinquent are found pupils of normal intelligence as well. This is all the more surprising when it is borne in mind that delinquency frequently originates in the discouragement and humiliation that comes from repeated failure, and usually the mentally retarded child has had abundant experience with failure before he is put into the special class.

In the public schools of Detroit in June, 1924, the enrolment in special classes for the delinquent was less than 400, and in special classes for the mentally retarded, more than 2,600. However, among the 2,600 there were 6 per cent who had been behavior problems during the school year. Counting in this 6 per cent with the pupils found in special classes for the delinquent, the total is less than 20 per cent of all the mentally retarded. In other words, more than 80 per cent of the mentally retarded are not behavior problems. Not only are most of the mentally retarded not delinquent, but the largest percentage of delinquency is found, not among those most seriously retarded mentally, but among those of less mental retardation.

However, it may be said that many of the lower grade feeble-minded delinquents are sent to institutions for the feeble-minded instead of being committed to reform schools or penal institutions. If this were true to any great extent, we should expect to find in these institutions a much larger percentage of males than females, for it is a well-known fact that male delinquents greatly outnumber female delinquents, yet the statistics for the country as a whole show that in institutions for the feeble-minded the sexes are almost numerically equal, 51 per cent being males and 49 per cent females.

In special classes for delinquents in the public schools the percentage of the mentally retarded who have an intelligence quotient under 50 is less than it is in the special classes for the mentally retarded. Furthermore, in the latter it is usually the pupils with intelligence quotients above 50 who are the trouble-makers. Looked at from almost any angle, it is evident that the most seriously retarded mentally do not furnish as large a percentage of delinquents as those of less mental retardation.

Let us now consider the second objection to the adequate education of the mentally retarded, namely, that it is a waste of money because they can never be

made self-supporting members of society. To what extent is this true? The followup work that has been done in Detroit and in other cities with the boys and girls who have been in special classes brings to light the fact that some of them with a mental age of eight, and a few of even a lower level of intelligence are law-abiding, self-supporting members of society.

But what shall be said of the 15 to 20 per cent who have an intelligence level, at the time of leaving the special classes, of less than eight? For with the best of training in special classes few of them will ever become self-supporting. Many feel that this group has no place whatsoever in the public schools, and should be excluded as institutional cases. In fact, many school systems refuse to take into special classes pupils with an intelligence quotient below 50 who have a mental age of less than five. This means that these children cannot even enter the public schools until they are ten or eleven years of age.

During this period the child remains at home, a burden to parents often hard-pressed to provide the necessities of life. Yet even under such conditions most parents are unwilling to send a young child away to a state institution. Would it not be a wiser policy to provide a class in the public schools for such children and put in charge of this class, not a high-priced teacher, but a matron who would look after their physical needs and teach them the simple practical things children of their level of intelligence are capable of learning?

If, under right conditions of training and instruction, 80 per cent of the special-class children possess the possibilities of developing into self-supporting, law-abiding citizens, the problem of special training has the greatest significance, especially when the other alternative is considered, viz., support in a state institution either for the feeble-minded or for the delinquent.

But it is evident to most of us who are engaged in the work of educating handicapped children that we have a long distance to travel before we shall be able to develop into law-abiding, self-supporting citizens 80 per cent of the mentally retarded who come under our direction. It is not enough that we provide proper physical training and health instruction, that we insist on the formation of desirable habits, and give them that knowledge which will be of most worth to them in those simple occupations that they are destined to enter. To be successful we must get them early. It is too much to expect us to take them, after they have become discouraged and delinquent through repeated failure, and convert them into useful members of society, when we have them under our control only five or six hours per day, five days in the week, nine or ten months in the year. Even those schools and institutions which have them under control twenty-four hours per day find it difficult to break up bad habits of long standing and form new ones that will stand the test of experience in our complex social and industrial life. It is the same old story: an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. It is even not enough if we get these children into the special classes during the first year of their school life, before they have become discouraged through failure in school. We must reach them during the

preschool period, for there is such a thing as disheartening failure long before the child enters school. We dare not forget that most of them come from the homes of the poor, the ignorant, the unintelligent. They come from homes where children are neglected through ignorance, or through poverty, or indifference. If those in charge of special education regard their domain as not extending beyond the school, the work is doomed to failure. The department of special education is the trouble department of a school system. We must go to the seat of the trouble, which in such a large percentage of cases is the home. Habits which may determine the entire future of the child's life are formed during the preschool period.

We must not forget that one-third of the feeble-mindedness is due to non-hereditary causes. But this knowledge will be of little value to us if we close our eyes to the fact that many of these children suffer from wrong feeding, insufficient clothing, preventable disease, and improper training during the years before they are of school age.

But how are these children of preschool age who stand in need of help to be found? One way is through the organized charities, for where a family is so poor that financial assistance is needed, ignorance and incapacity are also apt to be found. A second channel of approach is through the children in the special classes for the mentally retarded. One mentally retarded child is all too often a precursor of another in the same family. In some special classes there are at one time two or three children from the same family.

The third objection to special education is that it simply increases the number of mentally retarded boys and girls who will probably marry and propagate their kind. For we make the girls more attractive as wives by the practical training we give them in sewing, cooking, and laundering, and we make the boys self-supporting through the varied training we are offering them along manual lines. In other words, the more successful special education is, the more children we shall have who need special education.

It must be confessed that there is something incongruous in the more intelligent members of society spending their lives in educating the least intelligent without seriously attempting to remove the causes of mental retardation.

We have already suggested that much can be done through preschool training, especially for that large group of children whose mental retardation is due to environmental causes. But what shall be said of the larger group, constituting not less than two-thirds of the mentally handicapped, whose condition is due to hereditary causes? It is true that the special class affords an excellent opportunity for the discovery of the more serious of these cases with antisocial tendencies before they have committed crimes or reached the age of adolescence. These could well be confined in our state institutions for the feeble-minded. But even if those with antisocial tendencies were confined in institutions, there remains the problem of the much larger group of the mentally retarded who are reproducing their kind in large numbers.

We deprecate the increase in the birth-rate among the inferior classes and the decrease in birth-rate among the upper classes, and raise our hands in despair in regard to what should be done. The fact is, as everyone knows who has given any thought to the matter, that birth control is practiced by the middle and upper classes, but that this knowledge, which is current among the more intelligent, is not the common possession of those most inferior in intelligence. Then why not give the mentally retarded instruction in birth control? Why not recognize the fact that the sex instinct and the parental instinct are not the same? The sex instinct may be very strong with little or no desire for children. If free clinics were established where knowledge in regard to birth control might legally be obtained from physicians, the problem of the excessive increase in the number of defective children would in large measure be solved. For then nurses and social service workers could direct to these clinics those standing most in need of this information.

Can anything be more unintelligent than for the intelligent to go on caring for and educating the handicapped without attempting to reduce their number?

INDIVIDUALISM AND THE ORGANIZATION OF NEUROPSYCHIATRIC WORK IN A COMMUNITY

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It is just ten years since I discussed before the Conference on Social Work the organization of a community into districts with a constructive community program and a review of the available helps for mental health problems obtainable through district and community organization. When I undertook to review the problem again for this occasion I became very conscious of a profound change that has taken place—we might almost say a temporary revolt against organization of the type I looked forward to and an emphatic assertion of individualism.

I feel today the urge to deal with the new problems which have come to the front through the trend of the times in the direction of individualism and certain counter movements.

How can we learn to organize our work and forces in keeping with the ever more largely individualistic mood of the times? I hope to show that mental hygiene has, from the start, been headed in a promising direction by turning more and more to a dynamic conception of man instead of fixed traditional notions, and to a broad interest in the beginnings of difficulties in addition to its concern for the mending of full-fledged trouble.

Nearly twenty years ago Clifford Beers came to me, recommended by Dr. Stewart Paton and William James, with the page-proof of his personal experi-

ence in the land of mental disease. He was full of a zeal for reform, anxious to have the legislators of every state stirred to investigate the asylums. Fortunately, his fundamentally broad bringing up allowed him to rise enthusiastically to the suggestion of turning his whole energy toward the constructive task of what we then decided to call mental hygiene. Not that we turned our interest away from the so-called asylums and the full-fledged patients inside and outside of the institutions, but we thought more of each patient as an individual and of the conditions under which we might get at the root rather than at the consequences of troubles.

One of the first preparatory steps in practical spheres probably had been the introduction of the indeterminate sentence and the parole system in our prison reform. That which the older Christian teaching alone does not seem to have been able to bring about, i.e., a fundamental obligatory desire for understanding and forgiveness and a melioristic and helpful interest instead of punishment, was to take root in the reformatories on ground of common sense. There evidently were cases and spheres in which the doctrine of retaliation had to yield to the recognition that those who are caught are not necessarily worse than those who are not caught. The decline of faith in purely verbal goodness makes many of us realize more of our own undesirable tendencies and actions as well, and inclines us to be more patient with our less successful fellow-beings.

A most practical influence in the right direction came from such places as the juvenile court of our Judge Lindsey, with its introduction of equity principles and a spirit of helpfulness instead of prosecution. Then came the work of Dr. Healy and others, which pointed to the extension of the study of the behavior problems to schools and even to the preschool period. Our 1914 survey of a school district of Baltimore was followed by surveys of the school populations in numerous states, all of which have given us a demonstration of the need of attention to mental difficulties in their beginnings. It is not only the feeble-minded that constitute the 10 per cent of all children that ought to be studied before they are ruled or allowed to rule themselves. There is today a general awakening to all kinds of behavior problems, demanding a working together of school and parent. The habit clinics were developed, and since then the National Committee for Mental Hygiene has been enabled to establish its child guidance clinics, nominally for the prevention of delinquency, but really a step toward reaching the broader needs of health, happiness, efficiency and social adaptation.

We are at times made to believe that all our mental hygiene work and effort aims largely at the prevention of "insanity and crime," just as the early advocates of psychopathic hospitals made it look as if, through the creation of a psychopathic hospital in each state, the existing state hospital care would then be made less expensive and perhaps in part unnecessary. To be sure, early work means a heading off of some of the disastrous depth of aberration and deviation, and much unnecessary blundering. But the chief goal is much more direct: it offers prompter and more and more enlightened help to both

patient and family and the community in respect to really new problems, largely left to themselves before; it is a direct service to the positive needs and opportunities of the community in behalf of what I re-emphasize as health, happiness, efficiency, and social adaptation.

With the espousal of mental hygiene a totally new conception of problems thus comes before us, many of them problems concerning which the older generation was held in line by rules from above—by rules of authority and tradition, of law, and of strict group regulation, whereas today the individual claims his right to his own decisions and to freedom from domination and from the hard old principle of "bend or break." It does not do much good to debate which régime is better. We have them both, and rigorous scientific statistical methods will some day tell us what mixtures will do best for the various temperaments. Mixtures they will be.

In the days of our grandparents and parents, the measure of everything seemed to lie in tradition and in obedience to more or less unreasoned and undisputed standards of custom and undisputed spirituality upheld by the culture of the day. When explanation and change of behavior were looked for, it was only rarely that one thought of calling a physician. Today many issues that were formerly simple problems of morality and custom have become issues the individual wants to settle for himself or herself, but also issues in which the individual should be able to look to the physician as a helper and advisor, because the physician thinks and works in terms of study of cause and effect, and not in terms of mere tradition and authority. Medical help in life-problems may have started with tonsils and adenoids, but soon developed also regard for sleeping habits and for emotional maladjustments and the like.

A number of other developments conspired to bring home the dynamic-genetic trend of things. In the education of children we hear little today of "breaking the will" and blind obedience; and in the management of labor new principles of the maintenance of happiness and of efficiency came into prominence, no doubt to quite an extent feeding on, and in turn producing, new conceptions of philosophy and morality and biology in general. The example of economists like Carlton Parker, and of educationists like Colonel Parker and John Dewey, and a growing confidence in common sense, and perhaps also in modern psychopathology, put more and more emphasis on the inner needs of the individual and far less on the necessity of merely conforming to traditional authority-determined patterns. The child and the adolescent were ever more encouraged to develop confidence in their own nature. There is no doubt that with all this the retort "I can't help it" and "I can't change myself" became more and more general and also acceptable, or at least was condoned; excuses by heredity and by various external and internal influences began to count beside the traditional exclusive appeal to responsibility and obligation alone. The whole sense of discipline, that is, the ability to learn and to follow the leader,

was perhaps too hastily reversed into a doctrine of more growth and self-development. However that may be, the problem of happiness and success is becoming recognized to a greater extent as a problem of hygiene or health, and not merely one of conformity to the teachings of tradition and goodness alone; moreover, hygiene is found to depend to an overwhelming extent upon the condition of the organism, heredity and eugenics, the proper nutrition and growth, the habit-training—and not only on the acquisition of knowledge and of some practical resources, but also on the emotional attitude, the development of one's innate capacities, and a reasonable respect for the instinctive desires and tendencies. Not that we would claim that what we call hygiene should or could allow us to disregard all the wisdom of ages laid down in tradition. But many traditions, even when handed on under the authoritative stamp of revelation, have been found to have flaws and to profit from consideration and study, akin to the work or the problems of hygiene generally. Even the fundamentalist is willing to see imperfect, although sometimes very wise, attempts at hygiene in Deuteronomy, attempts which, with growing knowledge and insight, he has long adapted to new times. With the habit of studying facts in manageable parts and not mainly as whole systems of philosophy and of dogma which had to be swallowed as wholes, more people have become confident of their own ability to form reasonable opinions. (We have there the same evolution as in the attack of the sciences of physics and chemistry on vitalism.) This same evolution and growth is what had, during the last 400 years, led to the formation of new groups of religious and social denominations, and to some extent to greater individuality, especially among the Nordic peoples. But most of the groups still are held together through the venerable bonds of revealed authority, and the criterion of "fitness to belong" with the elect remained, whether or not the individual was able to swallow the prescribed dose of forced belief and dogma. With the recent change the force of these influences has lessened tremendously, and it is actually up to modern mental hygiene to bring back on the new basis a new respect for a new spirituality and morality and conscience.

The question now arises: How can we actually make good in such a situation? What is there that we can put at the disposal of the individual?

Individualism has brought us a remarkable gain in frankness and also in a demand for consideration of personal rights and dignity.

The first point we have gained is an assurance of respect for individual differences and the abstaining from invidious comparisons. Not that we have reached perfection on this important point. Last year I heard one of our leading officials explain the selective distribution of immigrant labor, based on the principle that we need foreigners to do the dirty work and to attend to the undesirable jobs. In any civilization there are all kinds of jobs adapted to all kinds of intelligences, and none so small or so big that it would not be honorable to anyone who does it honorably. It is a kind of snobbish reasoning that creates the

reverse foolishness, the idea that a chance for a college education should be called the ideal for everybody. Why not stand for the good sense of fitness and respect for fitness?

Most people are interested in Binet-Simon tests of others—and in their own only if they came out well. To get these tests on a level of acceptability and real usefulness we have to show that we do not use them to label and brand people, but to give them the right kind of start, help, and guidance for fitness and happiness, constructively and in a spirit of helpfulness rather than for any condemnation or for an invidious classification of inferiorities.

It looks very much as if there were developing a tendency to accept the fact of difference between individuals with a less brutally competitive attitude. We learn to be more objective and thoughtful. The intelligence test is but one line of human evaluation. No matter how keenly we may favor the more intelligent types from a eugenic point of view, it is about time that we recognize that there are perfectly good and useful imbeciles and that it is the use, and not only the quantity, of the assets which decides individual desirability. Similarly, we see wide difference in the lines of sensitiveness and capacity to do various things, and with the proper thought and understanding we recognize greater possibilities of finding and using opportunities for the unusual, as well as the ordinary, make-up.

Similarly, it is again the helpfulness and resourcefulness of the investigator that will determine the acceptability of inquiry into any blundering, and the study of personality problems and the need of advice, according to whether it is handled in a spirit of superiority or of service.

All this constitutes a fundamental and necessary adjustment of attitude.

To advise anyone to see a psychiatrist is less and less like a charge of insanity; it is an occasion to take stock with the help of one with a wider range of experience, used not for incarceration, but for helpfulness toward one's best place and one's health, happiness, efficiency, and social adaptation. The *New Republic* recently (May 27, 1925) added insult to injury with its discourse on an imputation of "insanity" in the request by the President of Princeton University that the writer of a scurrilous article in the college paper retire or have himself examined by Dr. Paton. The President would no doubt have done better to investigate the problems of the student quietly before suppressing the paper, instead of allowing the examination by Dr. Paton to be turned into a quasi-punitive measure. But why should a progressive journal indulge in rehearsals of archaic, superannuated and incorrect associations with the obsolete word "insanity"?

In the face of all the difficulties, there is no doubt that increasing numbers of people are reaching out for help, perhaps not always with complete simplicity of purpose. All those of us who are sometimes consulted in connection with problems of marriage know very well that one is oftener consulted for the corroboration of decisions already secretly made, or for the corroboration of doubts which

the one or the other has not the courage to utter, than with any genuine readiness to get a review of all the facts and to use them all for clearer thinking and clearer decision. There is an intrinsic tendency to favor the romance of the moment and to minimize the responsibilities of experimentation. One is too often consulted merely to strengthen the authority of the parent, and even the teacher, and that before all the parties concerned can have their say and their show. On the other hand, there is no doubt an immense amount of good coming from the widespread encouragement to seek at least discussion, and with this recognition comes a great sense of obligation on the part of us teachers to provide a body of advisors standing on well-scrutinized ground.

We have today an ever growing number of would-be helpful agencies and enterprises, most of which, however, have all the characteristics of pioneer work. They are exceedingly individualistic and in many ways an expression largely of what the leader would like to do for himself or would like to have obtained sometime for himself. What is needed is a clearer and clearer recognition of the objective needs, irrespective of one's own personal yearnings, and a singling out of problems which everybody can recognize as topics requiring objective study, a body of concrete facts generally applicable concerning such matters as the balance of work and play, and rest, the management of discontent, of disappointment, the acceptance of one's grades and the proper reaction thereto, the reaction to criticism, the family problems, the choice of time and conditions for pregnancies, the economics and practice in the care of the mother and infant, the care of the child in the family, in school, during adolescence, and the care of that greatest duty of the adult, that of being a reasonably helpful and steady, rather than disconcerting, example for the growing generation.

There is a great gain in concreteness, and with it in the possibilities of learning and teaching the needed facts.

None of us can boast of enough knowledge concerning human behavior and adaptation, and not enough opportunities have been created to learn more and grow more. Most of it is being learned on a more or less patient or impatient public by variously judicious beginners, unfortunately under all kinds of enticing futuristic propaganda, with an eager public looking for the millennium.

The best sources of training today are those which provide experience in the whole rank and file of pertinent problems, such as only few centers can bring within reach. Unfortunately, contact with every one of these fields requires considerable time. It may partly be condensed by attendance at the meetings and participation in the work of the welfare organizations, some contact with schools and with the juvenile court and domestic relations court work, some work with the habit clinics, and last but not least, some contact with the psychiatric dispensaries and with the psychiatric hospitals and their social work.

A number of ways are open to meet the natural difficulties. It may be some time before we can attain an organization of the community into the ideal

districts suggested by me ten years ago; but there are several nearer ways open to hasten progress.

First, the most perfectionistic scheme is that of the trial clinics imported with means and personnel from the outside. This no doubt is a favored situation, and it will succeed in proportion as it brings about also the coordination and utilization and training of local workers.

Second, a simpler scheme, not sufficiently used as yet, would be that of having a specially trained organizer bring about an organization of the workers and interested persons of the community, such as teachers, nurses, physicians, and various social agencies of churches and the like, for regular demonstrations and discussions of the common problems. A great deal of mental hygiene is like grammar and composition, something to be acquired incidentally in every branch of work. An experienced field worker could readily elicit from workers in all possible spheres the material for most stimulating discussions of the ever returning questions. Here and there a local leader will arise, and a group will form.

Third, in either plan one will have to see to it that as soon as possible we bring most of the trial work on a basis that can be maintained in any community, and not only in the specially favored ones. Much can be learned from the experience in spreading other health problems, such as the fight against hook worm, calling for an arousal of interest in all the active strata of a population.

Along with this principle of greater economy, I want to urge that of simplicity and the cultivation of sane common sense as the most telling measure of wisdom and balance of a program. I am a little bit suspicious of those who claim too much of a special "psychiatric technique." There is no doubt that experience teaches us certain procedures, but as soon as they fail to present themselves in terms of plain common sense, I wonder how much is sound in these theories and in their use. I advise the rank and file to keep hands off from both elaborate hypotheses and elaborate methods until the methods and procedures are sufficiently clear to be really incorporated in plain though critical common sense.

The wisest help will therefore come from developing specially talented field workers and field instructors, and these had best be trained in what I might call survey of surveys, i.e., in the dispassionate study of work performed under all kinds of conditions, including those that figure as models but also the simplest. Some good beginnings have been made in following up the usefulness of dispensary work, of the boarding out of children in contrast to institutional care, and the like. Yet we still are deplorably ignorant of the actual results of our good efforts and good intentions, and since our experiments take years to allow of an estimate of the final returns, we have to favor all the efforts to make the work controllable and fit for subsequent study, and to cultivate investigation and investigators. I am anxious that every organizing agency give adequate attention to providing a margin for the reviewing and evaluation of its work and the results thereof. We have to create the foundations for the work with the mod-

ern statistical methods that will bring us a necessary and helpful check, with a wholesome perspective of the needs and the available opportunities and the effectiveness of our efforts.

Hand in hand with improved organization of work and workers will have to go the development of a sane public opinion. Today the public is sadly overfed by propaganda and also by the specially fashionable present-day antipropaganda of sneering, always suspecting wholesale attacks upon the rights of the individuals, and raising the defense against so-called "uplift."

We no doubt have an exceedingly difficult task before us to live down the opprobrium of "uplift" and of "jobholder." It has become a very popular slogan used mercilessly by the press to gain popularity with the large numbers. There will always be far more potential victims of "uplift" than uplifters, and more subscribers to the newspapers to be gained by catering to the large numbers through flattering their supposed independence—from playing on the rights of the individual, up to the playing on states' rights. It is easy to speak of religious and political freedom, but fatal to help sinister forces use the strongest weapons in mass psychology, the spreading of vague fears and suspicions, against all those who have the courage of convictions and cannot remain everlastingly passive. The only dependable remedy on our part is a clear and intelligible demonstration of what we do and aim at.

It is always a good rule for missionaries to make sure that they succeed first at home, and certainly we social workers have to furnish a specially good accounting for what we stand for. It is especially and preeminently important that we should be able to prove ourselves well-balanced and especially thoughtful also in the great task of dealing with the accumulated wisdom with respect to habits of life and habits of thought and habits of feeling, aesthetic, moral, and religious; capable, when called upon, of a helpful vision of spirituality and morality and conscience.

We all have—or surely most of us have—almost instinct-like thought and feeling tendencies which represent the very soul of human nature, and which we want to learn to understand in each other and share with each other—if possible without dogma and without insistence on specific revelations, because others may have grown up to live by other "revelations" than those of our own personal leaning.

The social worker and mental hygiene worker has to meet and coordinate very heterogeneous elements. To do so he has to have an unusually well-balanced philosophy.

The problem of how to blend allegiances to group convictions and to the great ideal of political and religious freedom for which our Constitution stands is no doubt the most difficult problem to rise to. Yet I include it in the program of mental hygiene of community, town, state, and nation.

Present-day individualism unfortunately has a tendency to maximalistic extremes. In its Russian debauch it has landed in one of the most high-handed

forms of minority rule, akin to the "head-on" or "head-off" rule of the French Revolution. It becomes a more or less benevolent group despotism. In the Fascisti methods in Italy and in the Klan methods of this country, individualism loses itself in a more or less strongly organized and more or less well-intentioned, but after all very dangerous, usurpation of government by groups, and with principles not accountable to the whole. Sometimes it is Bryanesque self-sufficiency falling back upon sectarian assertions of revelations of the past. Sometimes it is the futuristic gospel of elimination of all "repression," and the idolatry of the instinct, where we might well develop more faith in the irrepressibility of real genius, remembering that real genius is not lawlessness, but shows in the natural and spontaneous espousal of what comes nearest to reality.

Here again I feel that our mental hygiene philosophy is ready to meet individualism without antagonism. We admit that groups have a right to enter upon agreements as to what they would like to take for granted with those who claim to "belong." But groups have to remember that they are groups among groups, and that conditions of belonging should be open.

It is not wise to talk too glibly of one-hundred-percentism. Nobody can know just what that is or should be. What we want is wholeheartedness and fairness and a willingness to learn to understand and know one's neighbor. But it is also our duty to try to make ourselves understood. This, I feel, we can do without the big stick of authority, and without enforced dogma, either political or religious.

One of the biggest conflicts today is that between two types of fundamentalists—those who seek their foundations and facts in revealed tradition and those who, with just as much respect for God and God's creation and true religion, seek the foundations and facts in the ever progressive revelations of objective experience. Even revelation has its growth from primitive to more mature forms. A sense of intuition and revelation will always be an essential experience of human nature. There have been inspirations at all times. Unfortunately, too many think of inspiration and revelation only where some mysterious influences claim to be at work, and they do not sense adequately the still greater happiness over every step that will lead us closer to observation and to the utilization of generally observable fact in constructive work.

I recently had my attention drawn to a dictum of Commodore Maury, one of our great government scientists: "When, after much toil," he says, "I have discovered a law of God's nature, I feel that I have thought one of God's thoughts, and I tremble." One might well tremble at such an exalted conception of science—calling it thinking God's thoughts. One might tremble at the thought that some one might want to see more in the thought than in the fact, and turn it into a dogma. Dogma is a law of agreement and acceptance of authority and discipleship, but it does not, or should not, take the place of our reverence for fact. It should fade when it ceases to point to clear and obvious fact.

To claim anything as revelation is a responsibility before which, to use Maury's phrase, it is becoming in man "to tremble." With all respect for intuition and revelation and the flights of aspiration, the social worker wants to keep, wherever possible, to what speaks in terms of facts that bring themselves to unrelenting scrutiny and test.

The alternative slogans of the day are Devolution, Revolution, or Evolution. Devolution is the assumption of original perfection and a struggle against a supposedly imposed wickedness of nature. Revolution is the costly application of a peremptory, impulsive policy of "head on, if with me" or "head off and decapitation, if not with me," repeating the terribly costly methods of world improvement of France in the eighteenth and Russia in the present century. Evolution is the faith in growth and development—neither optimism nor pessimism, but meliorism, an ever growing betterment. We have good reasons to mistrust any agency that wants to work largely with force and fear. We may well choose; and let us hope that we choose well in turning to the faith in that type of evolution which is the philosophy and gospel of growth.

If then I may sum up my discussion, it is that, in the organization of neuropsychiatric work in a community, the present-day rise of individualism urges us in a number of valuable directions. It keeps before us a philosophy of evolution and growth, an ever closer appreciation of the importance of the concrete components of real life; it cultivates a respect for individual differences and a desire to understand and use individual qualities. It encourages teaching by doing, and confidence in the worker, encouragement and fostering of the local efforts, training of teachers by the study of old, seasoned, and new experience and, if I may give a new meaning to a misused word, a cultivation of a truly fundamental and creative and progressive new fundamentalism, as I said, with faith in that type of evolution which is the philosophy and gospel of growth.

ENVIRONMENTAL HANDICAPS OF FOUR HUNDRED HABIT CLINIC CHILDREN

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The select children who formed "the four hundred" were chosen quite democratically from the first 492 applications to the habit clinics of the Massachusetts Division of Mental Hygiene in the first eighteen months of their operation. Every record was taken except 92, which were slight service cases lacking a social history. A distribution by age showed that 67.5 per cent were under six years, 84 per cent were under eight years, and all but 2.5 per cent were under twelve years of age. The children were referred to the clinic by visiting nurses or social workers, or, in a few cases, by their parents.

The home backgrounds of the children studied may be roughly indicated by the fact that 66 per cent came from homes where foreign customs were predominant, and from neighborhoods made up largely of people of their own nationality or race. In 43 per cent of the whole number this was Italian; in 23 per cent, Jewish. About 25 per cent of the children were from American-born parents. In spite of the fact that the first four clinics were started in so-called poor neighborhoods of Boston, only one in ten of the whole number of children was found to be suffering for lack of the physical necessities of life.

A meager environment, however, did handicap to some extent 322 out of the 400 children. Suppose that we assume that a normal home should give to a child not only food and shelter and cleanly care, but some home training in conduct; some idea of the orderly control which we expect government to exercise toward its citizens, and which a young child must get through parental discipline; some of the culture of the group to which he belongs; some religious training; an opportunity to express himself in play or in simple duties; affection from his own circle, and some chance to mingle with other children of his own age. In this expectation 80.5 per cent of the 400 children failed to get what a home should give. The remaining 19.5 per cent were considered to have homes adequate for their needs, and were habit clinic cases for other reasons, physical or mental defect or disease or some lack of understanding by their parents being the most prominent. In other words, not quite 20 per cent were problems for the psychiatrist uncomplicated by serious defects in home life.

Only 13 per cent of the children whose homes failed them suffered from poverty. In 280 cases, or 87 per cent, the failures were in some wise spiritual rather than material. Eighty-three per cent of these got from their parents no teaching that the historian could discover of what right and wrong behavior means. Seventy-eight per cent received no effective control in the home. Nearly half, 47.8 per cent, lived in homes that, outwardly at least, showed no cultural interests; 41 per cent lacked opportunity for normal play; 23.6 per cent were cut off from the social give-and-take of their fellows, and 10 per cent were children unloved in the place they called home. What do these figures mean, interpreted in the light of day-by-day experience in case work?

In the first place, lack of training and discipline must be understood in its racial setting. The first two clinics were started in Italian neighborhoods, where the belief prevails that children under school age are "too little" to discipline, and where there is sometimes even a superstitious fear that a little child will die after punishment, leaving his parents to lifelong regret. The clinics have had to face the question of whether this attitude, combined with the Latin temperament, may be able to justify itself against a more rigorous northern system. Conceivably, delay in training while the habit-forming years slip by may be more easily made up for in an Italian village, with early responsibility for still younger children, close contact with unyielding natural forces, and comparatively stable organization of family life and customs, than in the welter of readjust-

ment of an immigrant home in a city tenement. As far as we can judge, the parents whom we meet are themselves handicapped in their parenthood by their lack of self-control, which may or may not be due to lack of early discipline. Some who have thought about the subject want better training for their children, but find it hard to achieve against the public opinion of their group. The particular barrier to discipline in a Jewish community, the next most largely represented foreign group, will come out in the study of oversolicitude in parents.

The figures for lack of educational advantages in the home, though the product of careful consideration in each case, mean little in themselves. They signify absence of reading in the home, other than a foreign or American daily newspaper. They may conceal much folklore and common-sense philosophy which the children may glean from the conversation of their elders, much fine appreciation of music and art, and, in Jewish families especially, an urge to know which sends the children of barren homes eagerly to the opportunities of the school. Practically, the fact that 38.5 per cent of the 400 children studied lacked educational opportunities in the home, or that 225, or more than half, had parents whose handicap of ignorance was a serious one, means simply that these children will bring to their school opportunities either a culturally barren soil or one already preempted with a culture other than the one they there meet, and we must at best expect some difficulties as these children have to make school adjustments.

There are no figures on which to base conclusions as to the religious training received by these children. In view of the fact that, as a state department, we were approaching parents, many of them foreign born, with a form of service which they were hardly prepared to understand at first, it was thought wise to make the approach as far as possible a medical one, and to avoid detailed inquiry in any field where prejudice or suspicion might be aroused. From the large number of homes where training in conduct was distinctly lacking, and from impressions gained in visiting the families, it seems fair to assume that the children studied were meeting very little vital religious influence in their homes.

The problem of play is even more serious than that of discipline. One-third of all the children studied lacked normal opportunities for play. In every case, a congested city neighborhood was at the bottom of the difficulty. Let him who despairs of the value of safety campaigns try urging mothers to let their little children out to play even in the comparative safety of a block play yard. Children are kept prisoners in homes and on doorsteps till the desire for active play is gone out of them, or they get old enough to defy their distracted jailer. Parents have seen children picked up bleeding from the path of a truck, and they fear. They have not seen the connection between playless childhood and warped, inefficient adult years. Some mothers mention fear of moral corruption of their children. Some, in keeping their children in, provide toys, and the child gets on with home play, suffering only a cramping of physical activity. In a quarter of the cases, however, a poverty that gave no stimulus to the play spirit,

or a repression that made any activity in the home impossible, cut off from the child even the restricted play-life there.

Since a child gets his best social contacts in play, it is not surprising that, of the seventy-seven children lacking contact with others, fifty-six were also shut off from play. The remaining twenty-one played, but alone or with adults in close supervision. Ten of them had no brothers or sisters to play with; two were excluded from association with others because of bad habits; nine did not get along well with other children.

Out of four hundred children, we found thirty-three who lacked an opportunity to learn the meaning of affection normally in daily life. Twelve of these were placed out in frequently changing homes or in institutions. Some of these had serious conflicts to remember in their broken homes. Thirteen were definitely disliked by father or mother, six others were victims of the unwholesome emotional attitudes of mentally abnormal parents, still others, loving both father and mother, were in constant conflict because of parental quarrels. Such children could hardly know the meaning of normal family affection.

An effort to learn why homes fail to furnish the essentials of good child care showed certain menacing factors at work. Predominant was friction between parents or relatives in the home, in fifty-one cases. Conflict of ideas about child training in thirty-five cases, although in nineteen of these the parents were quite amicable about their differences, made a division of authority serious for the child. Early exposure to sex knowledge or experiences was present in at least twenty-seven cases. In scattering instances bad conduct in the children, such as destruction of property, running away, and violence against others, could be traced directly to examples furnished in the home or immediate neighborhood. These instances are much more frequent in the older group of children. What the seeds are in early childhood which bear fruit in delinquency from eight or ten to twenty years is still largely unknown. The friction in the homes studied was, in half the instances, connected with drink, gambling, or lack of parental responsibility on the father's part; with mental defect or disease in one or both parents in eleven cases, and with temperamental differences between parents in ten. In fourteen families, strife had already resulted in a separation of parents, not always, however, with elimination of the absent parent from the child's circle of influences. A marriage to patch up illegitimate parenthood left seeds of conflict in seven homes. In eight cases the discord was between parent and child or, to an extreme and chronic degree, between one child and another; six were cursed by jarring relatives. Racial and religious differences between parents and a wide disparity in age made up among them eight more sources of irritation. Sixteen pairs of parents quarreled over methods of training the children, although in every case there was some other factor present, such as interference of relatives or a conflict between old- and new-world standards.

It is impossible to say how many of the four hundred children studied had been the victims of exposure to sex knowledge and experiences. We know

that sixteen were noted as sharing the room with their parents, where the habits of the latter made it unlikely that the child could escape such knowledge. Eight children were known to have had sex experience with brothers or sisters or companions. Carelessness at the time of the birth of another child resulted seriously for at least two children.

To view the failing or menacing home from another angle, we studied the handicaps of the parents represented. Two hundred and twenty-five of the children had parents who were prevented by ignorance from making a success of their parenthood. This does not mean ignorance of child training alone, but lack of general educational background so that new knowledge could find a foundation. They were not counted ignorant if they could think about their problems even crudely, and express their thoughts sufficiently to interchange ideas about them.

Forty-eight children had parents who were handicapped by physical illness, the fathers so as to be unable to work, the mothers so that housework and the control of the children were at times impossible. This does not include non-disabling syphilis or chronic poor health which gnaws away at one's patience and self-control. The mothers suffered most often by far from gynecological conditions, with heart disease and tuberculosis next in order. The fathers furnished only a quarter of the number of disabled parents, and most often with diseases of the digestive system or injuries to the spine.

Mental defect in parents had been diagnosed by psychological examinations in eleven cases, and informally in twelve more. Mental disease was known in eight cases and believed to be present in four more by the clinic physician. In addition, seventy-five children had one or both parents who were considered by the clinic staff distinctly neurotic—parents whose own mental difficulties made an effective relation to their children impossible. In all, mental or nervous disability in the parents was a disturbing factor in the lives of 110, or more than a quarter of all the children.

Aside from those whose parents were suspected of mental disability, eighteen children had one parent at least who was distinctly irresponsible in relation to the child. Seven of the mothers seemed indifferent to their children; five more were the victims of habits of loose living; two were young, and so dependent on their mothers as not to count in their own homes. Seven fathers indulged in bad habits and took their family cares lightly.

Is it possible to be too good a parent? Eighty-five children were considered by the clinic to be the victims of oversolicitude. There were certain conditions which seemed to accompany this misfortune fairly often. The child was an only child in nineteen cases, and the only boy in 23. The mother was neurotic in one-fourth the cases. Loss of other children, widowhood of the mother, advanced years of the parents, unhappy married life, accounted among them for another quarter. One-fourth of the children had had much illness or had met with some injury.

A bit of racial background comes out in the study of oversolicitude in

parents. The Jewish mothers made up 58 per cent of oversolicitous mothers, or two and one-half times their proportion in the whole number of cases. There seems to be a good reason for this in the ideals of the Jewish community. Mothers are proud to tell the clinic worker of their untiring devotion to their children, especially in sickness, and loath to undertake measures recommended to cure a child of peevish self-absorption lest their neighbors think them "without a mother's heart." One of the educational tasks of the clinic is therefore to show this group of mothers, the most devoted in the world, how they may sacrifice to make their children wholesomely well, instead of rendering them unfit for joyous living.

What of the children themselves? One of the surprising things about the clinic work was to find the large proportion of quite normal youngsters who became patients solely because of abnormal homes and training. Thirty-two and one-half per cent showed some physical disease or defect, frequently enlarged tonsils or adenoids, or were in rather poor physical condition; only 6 per cent had a diagnosis of mental defect or disease; 13 per cent more were estimated by the social worker to have a poor personality make-up for social living, constituting them a special problem in adjustment.

The position of the child in the home seemed to have some, though not marked, significance. Forty-seven were only children, eighty had no rival children of their own sex in the family. One hundred and eight were the oldest, eighty-three were the youngest, twenty-four were adopted or placed-out children. Twenty-six were cursed by being the favorite child, usually of one parent—in three cases, of both. Eighty-five were regarded as peculiar by their families and usually advertised as such among their parents' friends.

The tragic fact about the homes represented in this study seemed to be that the children were not harmonious elements of a happy cooperative family, but combatants on a battle field where usually the laurels were pretty much on one side. In 209 cases they were with the children. The methods used fall into three classes, which we may call the method of violence, the method of stubborn resistance, and that of playing on the weaknesses of parents through appeal to sympathy or weariness or fear. A resourceful child might use all of them. One hundred and four relied prominently on noise, destruction, kicking, and striking, 109 on stubbornness, while 152 whined or cried their parents into submission. Twenty-seven of the 152 had developed some terrifying physical symptom which made it imperative that they be given their way. More than half of these had fainting attacks, or "blue spells" without physical cause, while others vomited, stayed awake at night, or otherwise awakened parental solicitude.

In what percentage of cases the parents were the victors is impossible to tell because of the difficulty of distinguishing between normal parental direction and the mistaken control that warps a child's life. Only those cases were listed where parental domination was so clearly unwholesome as to constitute a problem, being either cruel, a manifestation of parental bad temper, and hence

not a method of discipline at all, or else a control by fear. In the latter instance statistics mean little, since obedience is not a test of the child's being really controlled. Fear based on threats which amount to nothing sometimes evaporates, leaving a cynicism which may obey but leave its possessor quite the victor in the contest. However, we felt that twenty-two of the four hundred children were dominated by fears, of which the most common were those of punishment or the bogie man in some form; twenty-one by physical punishment, twenty-four by lying promises, and a few, seventeen, by sheer force of will or by emotional appeal to be good because mother was ill or for love of her. This latter form is capable of great abuse, as in the case of one fine lad with a good mother, whose need of wholesome play and companionship with other boys of his age was being placed in false conflict with his real love for his mother. The fits of stubbornness by which he reacted to the pull in two directions were still further used against him as evidence that he was not a loving son. Mother love may curse as well as bless. If it does not fit its dear one for other loves and sterner realities, it kills instead of giving life.

This study reveals a tremendous educational problem. If more than half the parents of these children were too ignorant to live understandingly in the world of common life, if 80.5 per cent of the children failed to find adequate home care, including training in conduct for living with other people, what can be done about it? Almost universally the parents were ignorant of some of the simple, common-sense principles of child training. In addition to trying to furnish a skilled diagnosis of what the real trouble might be underneath a bewildering complex of symptoms, the clinic was kept busy teaching such simple ideas as, "You cannot lie to your child and expect him to go on believing you," or, "Bribing is only payment for wrongdoing," or, "Fear controls for a little while, but either hardens the child or makes a coward of him in the end." These ideas ought to be as much a part of common knowledge as the use of milk for babies, and, if they were, would make a large part of the habit clinic work unnecessary.

When we, as a people, care supremely for the upbringing of our children, care enough to provide training for young people in parenthood as carefully as in reading, writing, and arithmetic, when we believe in play enough to see that no child misses it because of the accident of living in a city wilderness, when we learn enough about living together to prevent our quarrels from embittering our children's lives, or our foolish love from sapping their vitality—then perhaps we shall be fit to be the guides of the children of the future.

VIII. ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

HEALTH AND HOSPITAL SURVEYS: LOUISVILLE'S CASE HISTORY, 1924

Haven Emerson, M.D., New York City

Introductory remarks.—Before a health and hospital survey can be made, certain understandings should be arrived at between the agencies or institutions to be studied and the committee, group, or individuals who are to be responsible for the collecting and interpretation of facts, such as the following:

First, all facts bearing upon functions, costs, and amount of service shall be supplied willingly on request. The open-door policy is essential. Fault-finding "investigation" is not part of the undertaking.

Second, official and volunteer agencies, the public officers of government and the people, through the press or in other public manner, shall be informed of the objects and scope of the survey before it starts.

Third, the survey is primarily a fact-finding procedure for purposes of interpreting the community services to the people, and to permit of intelligent development of programs for protection of health and care of sickness, which will not be limited to one or another individual agency or institution.

Fourth, the survey is not to be thought of or used as a "selling campaign," although its findings may later contribute to such a purpose for fund-raising purposes.

Fifth, the attitude of mind of the community and its representatives must be favorable, or at least informed, welcoming and open-minded as to the need of analysis, possibilities of error or inadequacy, lack of proportion in its social performance of health and sickness services.

Sixth, the study, or at least the essential facts, conclusions, and recommendations, should be published.

Seventh, the cost of the survey should be published in some such terms as percentage of chest budget, health budget, or hospital costs, as well as in dollars and cents.

The survey I am requested to report upon is of health and sickness services in a large city. I must begin with the collection of facts and opinions. Reasons will be offered for the kind of facts collected. Most of the forms and schedules for collecting facts are to be found in published surveys.

The method of collection will be indicated. The facts which are usually available, even if not commonly correlated for use, and where they can be found,

will be distinguished from those rarely found at hand and requiring special means to assemble.

The second step is that of analysis and interpretation, including the submission of recommendations based partly upon comparison with experience in other communities and partly upon the judgment of the surveyor, the committee in charge, or the consultant.

The final stage or desired end result is the putting into action or use of the program, the policies, the changes in function, structure, and proportionate costs suggested and agreed to as desirable, after publication and public discussion.

Surveys of health and hospitals have been made to suit special needs, such as to offset the attack of partisan politics (Buffalo), to permit of a decision as to building, financial, professional, and district problems of a particular institution (New York Nursery and Child's Hospital), to guide a denominational hospital system (Catholic Hospitals of the Diocese of Brooklyn), to clarify racial and administrative situations (Memphis), to assist in deciding the basis of participation in central funds to meet institutional deficits (San Francisco), to provide a general survey when requested by a community chest (Cleveland, Louisville, and Bethlehem).

The value of any such attempt at community diagnosis, whether general or special in character, will depend upon the extent to which the methods of fact-finding and study can be used by communities themselves, whether they have the "chest" system of operating or not, and the success in convincing the agencies and the people they serve of the essential interrelation between health, the care of the sick, and industry, home life, and recreation.

A community's medical case history.—For our purposes a community is any group of people with a representative form of social organization which provides, either through official or volunteer, i.e., by tax supported or voluntarily contributed, funds for those common services upon which the prevention and relief of dependency and disease are based.

A medical case history, among the oldest forms of human records, is the story of past events and the description of present conditions upon which an intelligent opinion may be formed as to the causes, probable duration, possibility of improvement, practicable remedies, and means of prevention of a disease, disability, or defect.

The art and the science of the practice of medicine deal chiefly with the individual. Epidemiology concerns itself with disease as it is expressed in a group of persons among whom there is some common factor, such as susceptibility, age, sex, race, occupation, housing, geographic or climatic situation, etc.

A community can be studied as a great macrocosm, as a demos or crowd, as a cosmos, and the part of such a study which deals with health, its development and protection, and with sickness and its prevention and care must be built, as every other social science has been, upon facts so assembled as to be

capable of analysis and comparison widely and in terms commonly used in an exact sense.

No description of a human life or of any temporary phase of it is adequate when merely related as an assemblage of facts, and the same may be said of a community's case history, but since I have neither the wisdom nor the art to offer a picture of the personalities of communities, I shall limit my effort to a description of what seem to me to be some of the essential health and sickness facts which every city, town, county, or consolidated political unit should have available, the ways in which these are readily obtainable by the community itself through its own agencies, and some of the uses to which such facts may be put for improvement of the quality, the depth, and breadth of life, as well as for saving the spark of life and prolonging its duration for those who are members of the community by accident of birth or by intent.

What I have to offer has been assembled in collaboration with many of you in a number of American cities, and to each of these composite public patients I wish to acknowledge the debt I owe them for the opportunity to attempt a diagnosis of their manner of life, and for their courtesy in allowing me to disclose their symptoms to the critical eyes of you, the national body of practitioners of applied sociology.

In the preparation of illustrative charts and tables, as in the actual work of collecting and analyzing the original information in Brooklyn, San Francisco, Louisville, and Bethlehem, and in particular in the field of hospitalization and visiting nursing, Miss Anna C. Phillips, my associate, has done the greatest part of the field work, and her conclusions and opinions are expressed in this paper as well as my own.

The Louisville Community Chest, which has just published its health and hospital survey, asked me to use their record as a means of carrying the accumulated lessons of this and other cities as widely as possible for the benefit of officers of community chests and of groups or individuals interested in expenditures, methods, and results in the field of health. While items used in drawing the complete picture of a community have been taken also from records of various cities, it will be Louisville in particular that we must thank for much of our present material.

It is assumed that an audience of such responsible technicians as this is familiar with the literature on surveys so conveniently assembled for reference in the library of the Russell Sage Foundation. There is probably nothing I have to offer which cannot be found in the publications there listed. My hope will be that in simplifying the problem and indicating what seem to me the essentials in one line of professional effort many communities will find it desirable and wholly practicable to collect and to study their own facts with the means ready at hand, as has recently been done in Augusta, Georgia, for health, and Cincinnati, Ohio for hospitals. I believe it is as essential for official and volunteer agencies spending the money of the public to take the case history, make the

physical or factual examination of the community, and arrive at a diagnosis before they embark upon policies of treatment, or prevention, as it is that a personal and family history and complete medical examination of the individual patient be made before medicine is prescribed and operation performed or a régime of diet and hygiene be advised for any one of us by a physician.

With this introduction on general principles, let us now look at a composite picture of several communities.¹

Numerical increase in population, rate of growth of the community.—For basic material we must know our community quantitatively first. What is the age and size of the city? Its rate of growth? When did it grow fast or slow? Has it had periods of malnutrition, or suffered from the weaknesses that accompany sudden

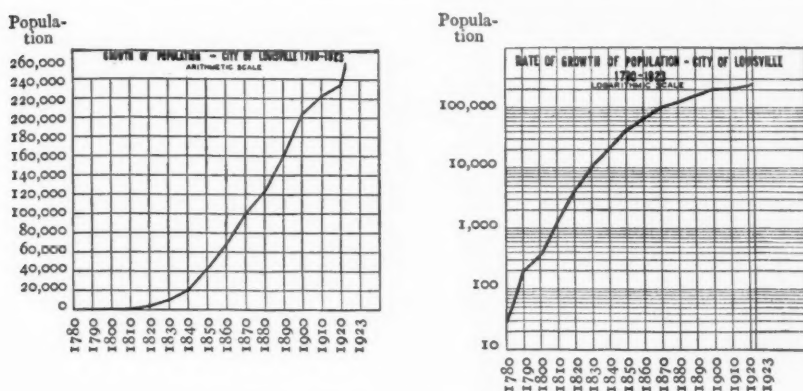


FIG. 1.—Louisville Health and Hospital Survey

expansion? When did it absorb its neighbors? Is it showing the normal slowing in rate of growth of maturity and age, or is it having the monkey glands of advertising and realtor's hopes used to prolong an artificial youth? What is the concentration of persons on lot, in homes, per acre, or per square mile? These questions can usually be answered from local or United States Census Bureau records, but are rarely known to any officer of public or private health agency.

Permanent area basis for population studies.—By use of the equalized permanent area basis for enumeration and tabulation of population data it is easy to study, as has been done by the Cities' Census Committee of New York, the trend or direction of growth. This permits us often to say where and why a community is growing. Without this, a long distance, honest, critical service on the district basis cannot be carried out.

Population by race, age, sex, etc.—Distribution of population by race, age,

¹ In presenting the paper, Dr. Emerson illustrated the text with fifty-three lantern slides of maps, graphs, diagrams, tables, etc., only a few of which can be reproduced here.

and economic conditions should determine the location and character of hospitals and dispensaries. The value of investment in permanent health and sickness plants often depends mainly on population drift and composition. The

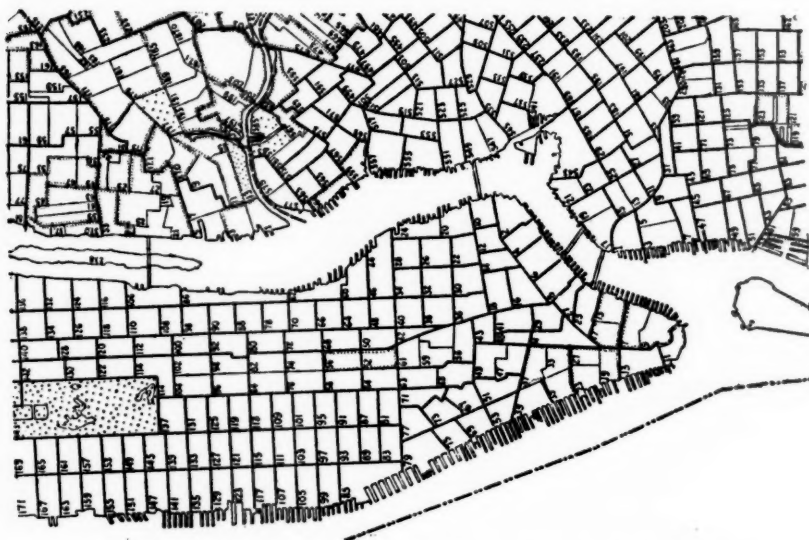


FIG. 2.—Permanent Census tracts or Sanitary Areas of lower Manhattan and parts of Brooklyn and Queens boroughs, New York City.

TABLE I
PROPORTIONAL AGE AND RACE COMPOSITION OF LOUISVILLE'S
POPULATION (1920)

Age Groups	Percentages in Total Population	Percentages of Native- Born White	Percentages of Native White, For- eign Parent- age	Percentages of Foreign- Born White	Percentages of Negroes
Under 5 years.	7.7	10.3	2.3	0.0	5.9
5 to 14 years.	16.2	20.7	6.7	1.4	12.9
15 to 24 years.	17.9	20.4	10.1	4.6	17.6
25 to 44 years.	33.8	32.6	31.7	27.3	40.3
45 to 64 years.	19.5	13.3	42.4	40.2	19.3
65 and over.	4.8	3.3	6.7	26.3	3.7

accompanying tables (I-V) illustrate the kinds of information obtainable and desirable.

Morbidity and mortality.—Federal and state census bureaus can usually provide the facts upon which the amount of maternity care, chronic invalidism,

TABLE II

POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS PER 1,000 OF TOTAL POPULATION FOR NEW YORK AND SAN FRANCISCO (1920)

Total Population (1920)	Number Under Twenty Years	Ratio Per Thous- and	Number Between Twenty and Forty Years	Ratio Per Thous- and	Number Over Forty Years	Ratio Per Thous- and	Number of Years Un- known	Ratio Per Thous- and
<i>New York:</i> 5,610,048	2,945,984	364	2,109,049	375	1,457,210	259	7,805	1
<i>San Francisco:</i> 506,676	132,591	262	204,750	404	166,444	328	2,891	6

TABLE III

BIRTH-RATES, CANCER DEATH-RATES, AND PERCENTAGES OF POPULATION OVER FORTY IN SAN FRANCISCO AND NEW YORK

City	Birth-Rate Per Thousand of Population	Cancer Death- Rate Per Thous- and of Popu- lation	Percentage of Popu- lation Over Forty
San Francisco.....	16.6 (June, 1922-May, 1925)	1.51	32.8 (1920)
New York.....	23.2 (1921)	.97	25.99 (1920)

TABLE IV

PROPORTIONAL AGE AND RACE COMPOSITION OF WOMEN OF CHILD-BEARING AGE AND OF CHILDREN IN THE POPULATION OF THE SECTION OF NEW YORK CITY SERVED BY THE NEW YORK NURSERY AND CHILD'S HOSPITAL

HOSPITAL'S NEIGHBORHOOD	TOTAL POPULATION	WOMEN 16-44 YEARS		INFANTS UNDER ONE YEAR		CHILDREN 1-4 YEARS		CHILDREN 5-15 YEARS	
		Number	Per- cent- age	Number	Per- cent- age	Number	Per- cent- age	Number	Per- cent- age
District No. 1...	168,880	1,238	27	5,259	28	10,118	26	16,150	17
District No. 2...	143,523	2,436	50	9,391	47	18,398	46	38,845	38
District No. 3...	132,392	1,162	23	5,036	25	11,407	28	45,249	45
Totals.....	345,392	4,836	100	19,613	100	39,923	100	100,244	100

and separate provision for different races in hospitals depends, and also reveal the relative importance of morbidity and mortality rates in the several districts of a city. We must know how to anticipate births by districts, and the expected prenatal, maternity, and preschool burden.

In Louisville it was of some significance as to the need for a wider knowledge of population data among social and health workers that, following the public showing of the population charts, three separate groups requested help in securing neighborhood population data in connection with a projected recreational survey. They had had no idea of how to find out the percentage of children of various age groups in the different neighborhoods in the city.

Because in New York City we have, since 1900, adopted a system of equalized area districts with all vital statistics assembled by the same districts, we can

TABLE V
WOMEN OF CHILD-BEARING AGE BY RACE

LOCATION	TOTAL WOMEN 16-44 YEARS	WHITE		NEGRO	
		Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
District No. 1	16,150	14,718	91	1,432	9
District No. 2	38,845	34,817	90	4,028	10
District No. 3	45,229	42,965	95	2,264	5
Totals	100,224	92,500	92	7,724	8

make studies of hospital traffic, extent of disease and dependency, and probable local demand for care not possible in other cities. Thus, for three districts into which we divided the area served by the New York Nursery and Child's Hospital, we could show that 38 per cent of all the babies born in that area were born in the Sloane, and Nursery and Child's hospitals—16 per cent in the Sloane Hospital, and 22 per cent in the Nursery and Child's Hospital. We could show with some accuracy the percentage of women of child-bearing age in the chosen areas, and their nationalities, literacy, and housing, as well as density of population by acre.

Information as to climate, soil, wealth, taxation, and portion of each appropriated dollar spent for health, schools, hospitals, are useful and usually obtainable, and these facts are as important for social organizations as familiarity with the atmosphere of the home, the family budget, the kinds of food and clothing bought by individuals.

Communicable diseases.—What are the prevalent communicable diseases of the community, and how are they distributed? Typhoid and tuberculosis are conveniently and profitably used as examples which reveal the extent and quality of medical, social, and educational standards for disease control. We

can use the infant death-rate as well. We often find the negro death-rate falling faster, or white rate rising faster, in different parts of the city. A very striking observation to be made in most of our cities is the rapid shift in the relative importance of the first ten causes of death, the fall in tuberculosis being accompanied by a rise in diabetes, for instance. The following tables (VI and VII) must serve to illustrate the simplest type of information desirable for each of the important diseases.

TABLE VI

TUBERCULOSIS MORTALITY STATISTICS BY RACE AND SEX (1923)

RESIDENCE	TOTAL NUMBER OF DEATHS	RACE		WHITE		COLORED	
		White	Colored	Male	Female	Male	Female
Jefferson County.....	18	15	3	7	8	2	1
Louisville.....	360	242	118	119	123	58	60
Non-Residents.....	29	24	5	11	13	5	.....
Totals.....	407 (100%)	281 (69%)	126 (31%)	137	144	65	61

TABLE VII

TUBERCULOSIS DEATHS IN LOUISVILLE BY FORM OF DISEASE
AND RACE (1923)

DISEASE	TOTAL	COLORED		WHITE	
		Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Pulmonary Tuberculosis..	303	198	65	103	35
Other Forms.....	57	44	77	13	23
	360	242	67	118	33

The distribution of typhoid fever cases is invaluable as a means of educating the people in the significance of water and milk control, of sewer and housing standards. Commonly the improvement in the typhoid death-rate of large cities in recent years can be featured to the public as a brilliant example of the direct relation between the purchase of sanitary environment and the safety of human life, i.e., between bond issues for water works or salaries of milk inspectors and fewer sick people.

Evidence of failure of the health authorities to obtain full reporting of the notifiable diseases is found when the ratio of deaths to cases is studied. We rarely have reported seven cases for each tuberculosis death per annum, or ten cases for each death from typhoid fever. If we are to grasp the significance of

disease and deaths and plan for care and prevention we must study cancer, heart disease, infant mortality, mental disease with the same minute conscientiousness which has characterized our campaign against tuberculosis and typhoid.

Now that reasonably accurate and thorough methods have been tried, in almost two hundred American cities, to reach a quantitative and qualitative measure of health services, those who survey cities or, for that matter, countries or states, will find in the appraisal form issued for experimental practice among health officers by the American Public Health Association useful schedules, adequate to cover the health activities of both public and private agencies. Discussion of each health function and its graphic expression is impracticable within the limits of this paper.

Services for the sick.—Services for the sick include hospitals, dispensaries, homes for convalescent, chronic, and incurable patients, visiting nurse service, social service, for each of which activities we must establish the extent of probable need and the degree to which this is met, and with what quality of service and at what cost.

While general experience of such needs is important, the determining factors will always be local, such as the local birth-rate, accident rate, economic level, distribution of disease, non-resident load, etc.

A preliminary balance sheet of hospital needs for Louisville is seen below:

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF HOSPITAL BEDS NEEDED (POPULATION 260,000)	
General medical and surgical conditions:	Beds
Children.....	130
Maternity.....	117
Others.....	1,053
Total.....	1,300
Acute communicable diseases.....	130
Tuberculosis.....	500
HOSPITAL BEDS (PRESENT AND PLANNED FOR)	
General medical and surgical conditions:	Beds
Children.....	140
Maternity.....	174
Others.....	1,012
Total.....	1,326
Acute communicable diseases.....	37
Tuberculosis (including additions building).....	437

We thus see Louisville with a sufficient number of general hospital beds to provide for the expected amount of sickness needing hospital care, with an adequate provision for maternity patients and children, markedly inadequate provision for the hospitalization of the acute communicable diseases, and ample provision for the hospital care of the tuberculous available in the near future.

Louisville, however, as the one city of the first class in the state and the medical center of a large area, is called upon to furnish hospital accommodations for a much larger population than that of the city alone. The situation in this particular warranted a special study of hospital traffic in order that the extent of the non-resident demand might be ascertained. As the City Hospital is maintained for residents of Louisville and receives a relatively small percentage of non-resident patients, an analysis was made of the home addresses of patients admitted to the voluntary hospitals in a recent six-month period (exclusive of the Baptist Hospital, which opened in the fall of 1924, and the two hospitals caring only for colored). From this study we learn that 36 per cent of the private hospital patients come from outside of the city. As this relatively high non-resident patient load is not a municipal responsibility it is believed that the private hospital facilities should make provision for at least 25 per cent (324) more beds than are needed for the city's population alone (1,300). We must count, therefore, on a total of 1,625 general beds as the number required in Louisville, that is, 300 more than the present facilities, 1,326.

Degree of use of hospital beds.—Not upon the number of beds alone, but the extent to which these equipped facilities are used, must be based an opinion as to need for more or larger hospitals. The demand by physicians, hospital trustees, and others who may inadvertently have developed a personal or institutional point of view, for more hospital beds must be clearly distinguished from the need for such services as is shown by the use of beds already provided.

A good degree of use for a hospital would be 75 per cent of its possible bed facilities, and 80 per cent of use would be considered excellent. Rarely one finds hospitals under great pressure (Bellevue, Mt. Sinai, Presbyterian hospitals, New York City) using their beds to 90 per cent of capacity throughout the year.

Central financing of hospital budgets or balancing hospital deficits through chest funds or indorsement of new hospital building projects depend to some degree upon such a record as is presented in the accompanying chart, where it is revealed that only 67 per cent of available beds were used in the hospitals of Louisville in 1923, and only two of the hospitals showed good percentage of use. The reasons, often quite different in each hospital, are of much importance to the community, whether in regard to quality or cost of service, location of hospital, or restrictions as to kind of patients accepted. Low percentage of occupancy rarely coincides with economy of administration or superiority of service. One denominational general hospital in an industrial and wage-earners' residential district of a large city recently studied has for the past ten years shown a percentage of use of its beds of not over 50 per cent. This hospital represents an investment value of \$800,000 as it stands.

Seasonal variation in use.—Analysis of the degree of use over several years and for each month in the year for the hospitals as a group and separately usually reveals the relationship between seasonal incidence of disease, shifting in local populations in summer, or, for particular institutions, the entire justifica-

tion for an appeal for expansion of facilities. The time of peak load, the possibility of a more even distribution of hospital traffic, with resultant uniformity of burden on the personnel are all of importance to the community which supports and uses the hospitals. One rarely finds a more uniform distribution of bed use by months than is shown in Louisville's record. For separate hospitals the story is quite different. In one rapidly growing city borough a hospital with high percentage of bed use increased its capacity by 50 per cent, and in six years again showed 90 per cent of its beds in use and planned to double its capacity for service.

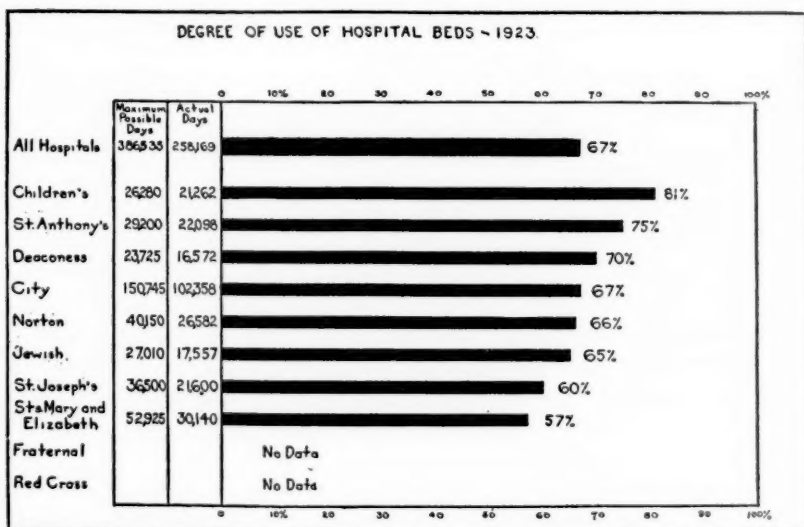
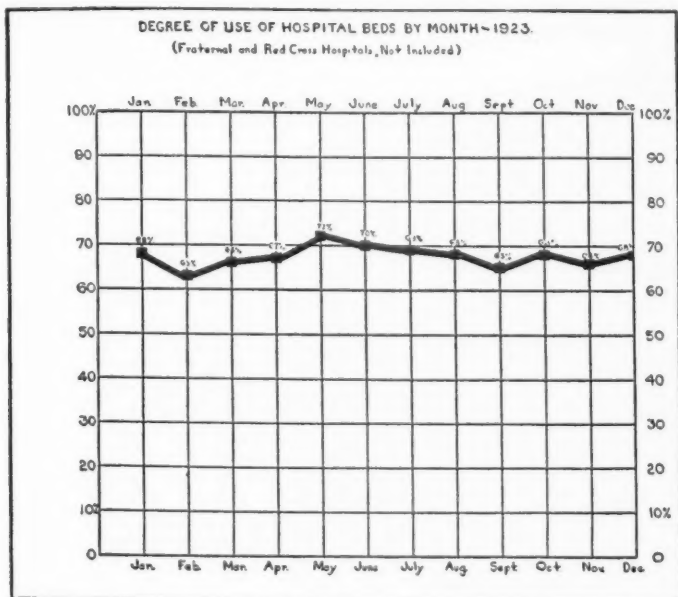


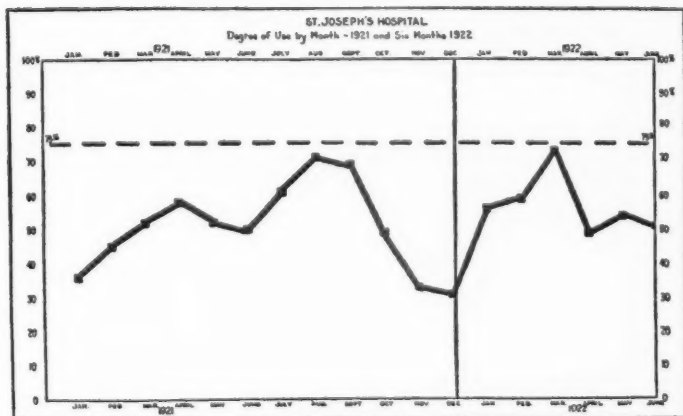
FIG. 3.—Louisville Health and Hospital Survey

Resident and non-resident patients.—Almost every large community plays the part of Good Samaritan to considerable suburban or rural areas, which rarely make any direct contribution to the support of city hospitals which serve them. In Louisville it is seen that 36 per cent of all hospital patients were non-residents, the proportion varying considerably in the different hospitals. Knowledge of this non-resident load is essential in estimating the desirable hospital capacity for the future, taking into consideration rate of growth of intra- and extra-mural populations. Where hospital records are well planned and kept it may well be that the percentage of days of care of non-residents is even a higher proportion of the total than is the number of non-resident patients, as the problems of convalescence at home, return for dispensary care, social adjustment, etc. often require a longer hospital stay for out-of-town patients than is

needed for the resident of a nearby city district. Furthermore, this non-resident load, when studied according to the ability of the patients to pay all,



A



B

FIG. 4.—A. Louisville Health and Hospital Survey. B. Brooklyn Catholic Hospital Survey.

part, or none of the cost of their care, often shows where much of the burden of the local community's charity falls.

Per capita cost and per diem, and sources of hospital revenue.—While the practice of hospitals in keeping track of costs on the departmental or functional

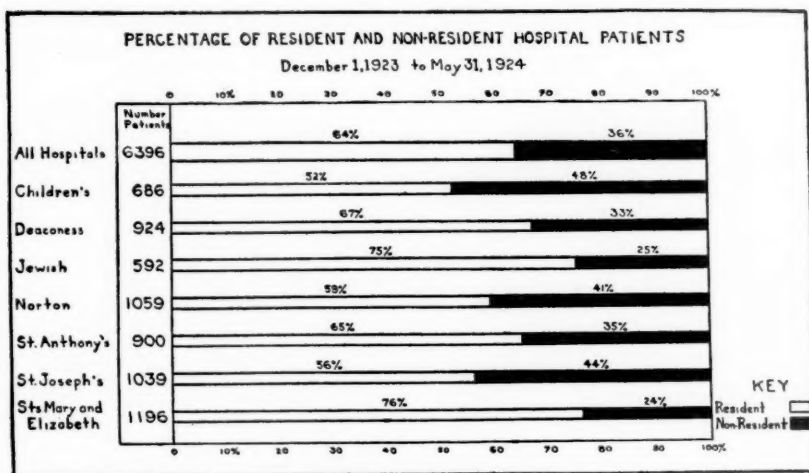


FIG. 5.—Louisville Health and Hospital Survey

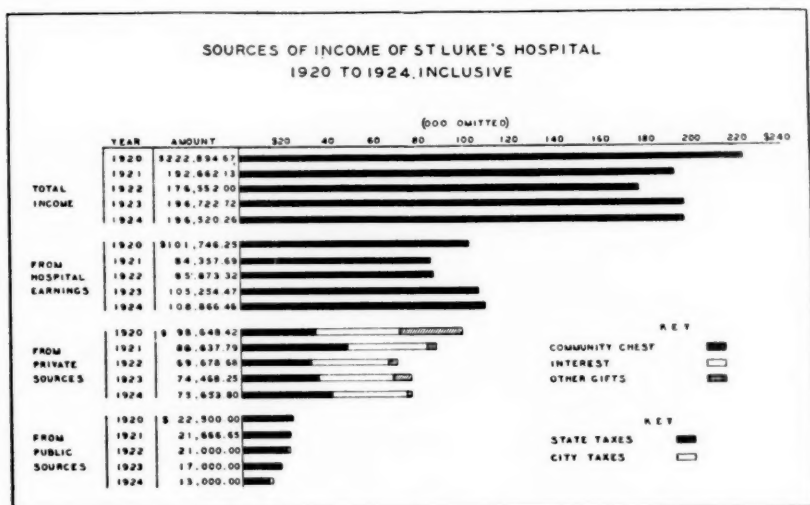


FIG. 6.—From forthcoming Health and Hospital Survey of Bethlehem, Pa.

basis, an accurate way of building a total cost of a day's service for a bed patient, is increasing, the great majority of hospitals reach a rough cost estimate by dividing the total cost of operation of the institution by the number of days' care provided. All days' care do not have the same cost. The private patient, paying full cost charged, may use space and services costing really much more. Part-pay patients, or children, or tonsillectomy cases may be a source of revenue, rather than expense, when costs are accurately distributed. The community which pays the deficit in hospital operations should know the true cost of each aided institution and its sources of revenue. The record on page 472 of the sources of revenue of St. Luke's Hospital, at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, gives an

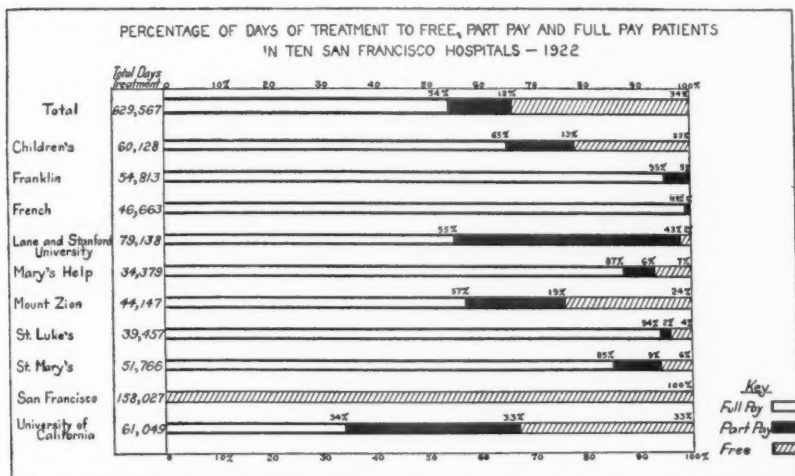


FIG. 7.—San Francisco Health and Hospital Survey

illuminating picture of the shifting and rather uncertain elements upon which hospital support depends. With such a record as this to offer, a board of the hospital trustees can make their appeal to the public or to the budget committee of the chest with good grace. A range of per capita cost per day, among the hospitals of San Francisco, of from \$4.08 to \$7.04 does not necessarily imply similar inequalities in character of service or in economies of administration.

Days of care by economic status of patient.—It is not the number of beds, nor the number of patient days of care given to the indigent which determines a hospital's claim upon the community's respect and support. Quality of service and the number and reason for rejection of patients turned away should enter into an estimate of a hospital's worth. The simplest tabulation of data which each hospital should show to the supporting public is the percentage of all days of care provided for indigent patients who can pay nothing; to self-respecting, but temporarily embarrassed, patients who can pay but part of the cost of care;

and to those who can pay the entire cost. City hospitals and some denominational and other especially endowed hospitals never refuse admission to indigent sick (St. Peter's Hospital, Brooklyn, Children's Hospital, Louisville). The chart on page 473 of San Francisco's hospital work in 1922 gives a typical city experience.

It is, of course, a species of institutional fraud upon the public to charge to charity uncollected bills, and a sort of self-deception to include as pay and part-pay patients those who claim they can pay and are carried indefinitely on that status although even brief inquiry shows the accounts to be uncollectible. While

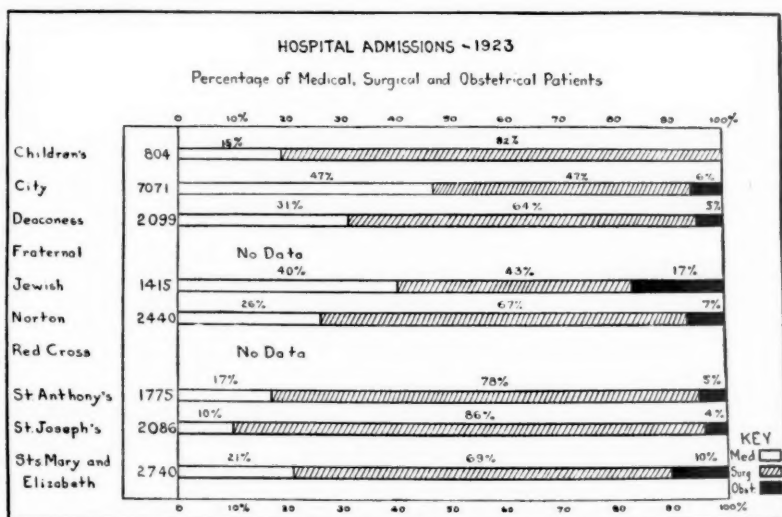


FIG. 8.—Louisville Health and Hospital Survey

almost all hospitals do some free or part-pay work, the number of days' care to the three economic groups received has a bearing upon the amount of social service required.

Hospital services according to type of patient (medical, surgical, obstetrical, etc.).—In general it can be said that where the surgical patients (or days of care) exceed in number the medical patients, either there is a definite lack of beds, or the community is less educated to the value of hospital resources for diagnosis and treatment of non-operative conditions than is desirable. All communities seem to be increasing their use of hospitals for maternity patients. Hospitals with a preponderance of surgical work and a poor medical service are unsuitable places to train nurses. Dominance of popular surgical personalities often interferes with the full value of a hospital for the physicians and the sick of a com-

munity as a whole. Hospital use by type of patient obviously is better recorded in terms of days of care than by numbers of patients.

Hospital traffic according to religion, source of reference, and district of residence of patients.—Of relatively minor importance, but of much use as a means of awakening a common interest in community support of hospitals, is the grouping of patients by religion, and under these headings, perhaps, by economic status. Furthermore, when hospital admissions are plotted on a district map of the city, much light is cast on the location of dispensaries, nursing, or social service routes. Where, as is quite common, hospitals make note of the source of reference of

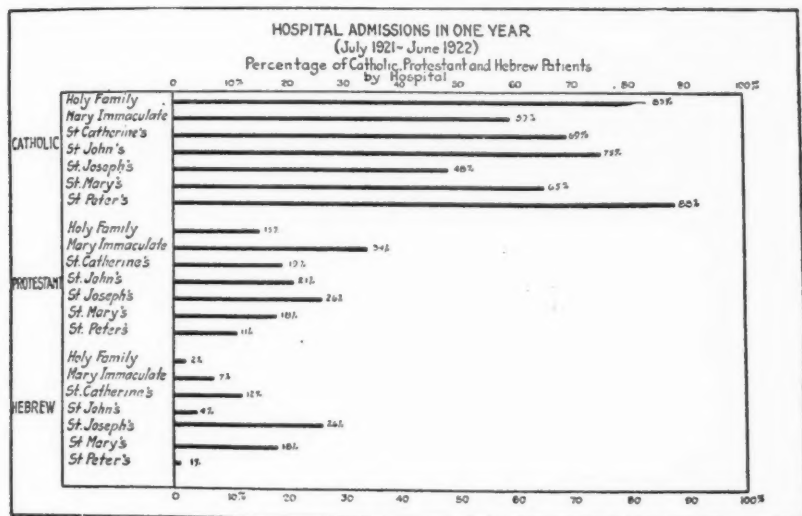


FIG. 9.—Brooklyn Catholic Hospital Survey

patients, as by physician, visiting nurse, social agency, or former patient, a helpful picture of the status of the hospital, its basis of popular support, its recognition among the professions can be sketched. One soon becomes convinced that most liberal hospitals in the United States act on the principle that their services are for the sick, "regardless of race, creed, or color," except for the separation of the colored patients in southern cities, whether or not there is a sign to this effect upon the walls of their buildings. The religious grouping of hospital admissions is more commonly determined by the population in the nearby district and by popular affection than through any selection by devotees of some particular religious creed.

Dispensary traffic.—If only because of the possibility of reducing the amount and duration of hospital care of the sick, or solely as a means of prevention of disease by timely medical examination of tuberculosis contacts, or of expectant

mothers, or of the general run of the population of all ages, the dispensary, free or pay, is a community institution, primarily for the indigent, of the very first importance. Complicated as the subject is by the dominant interest, support, and expense of the hospital bed patient in the minds of hospital administrators, and by the use of dispensaries for the training of medical students and physicians, there is, nevertheless, a mass of information and evidence of social or community need in the study of dispensaries which can be obtained from no other source. The single fact that the number of dispensary visits in five years

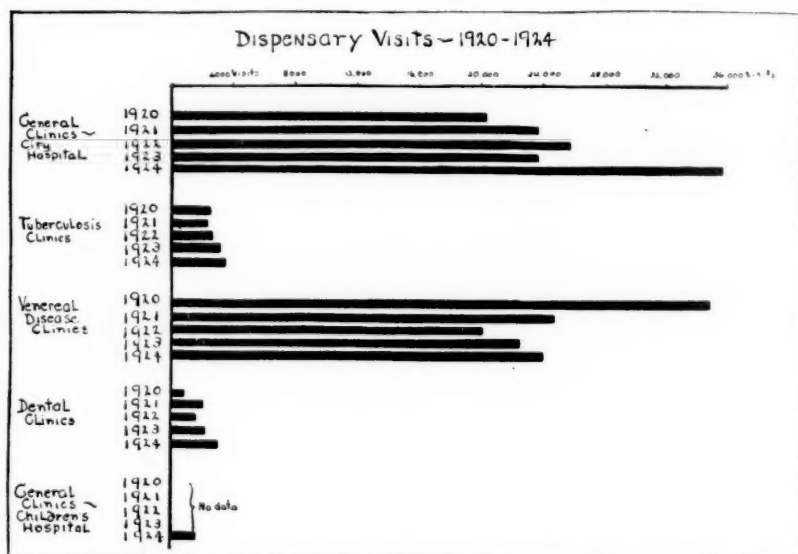


FIG. 10.—Louisville Health and Hospital Survey

in Louisville increased 75 per cent is sufficient to arouse our curiosity as to causes and trends in social and medical practice. Seasonal, economic, regional, clinical type, and sources of reference of patients, as well as number of return visits, success in holding the interest of patients until permanently bettered or suitable care given elsewhere, distance traveled to reach dispensary, hours of service in relation to hours of work of wage-earner patients—all these points of departure for inquiries lead to a better distribution and use of dispensary services when their significance is clearly explained to hospital and chest executives.

Convalescent patients, chronic and incurable sick.—While the need of hospital care can be reduced considerably by appropriate early and preventive services of dispensaries, much can be done to relieve hospitals of unnecessary periods of

bed treatment by unloading to more suitable institutions many of those who now drag out a delayed convalescence under unfavorable surroundings or pass their last months of life facing inevitable dissolution in the presence of many acute

TABLE VIII

SAN FRANCISCO HEALTH AND HOSPITAL SURVEY (LONG-TERM PATIENTS
IN GENERAL HOSPITALS, JUNE 21, 1923)

TIME IN HOSPITALS	PATIENTS		AGE		SEX		RATE OF PAYMENT		
	Number	Percent- age	Adults	Child- ren	Male	Female	Full Pay	Part Pay	Free
10 to 15 years....	2	1	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	2
5 to 10 years....	2	1	1	1	2	.....	.....	.....	2
1 to 5 years....	41	24	26	15	22	19	13	10	18
8 months to 1 year	17	10	13	4	12	5	5	1	11
4 to 8 months....	66	40	48	18	39	27	28	11	27
3 to 4 months....	41	24	34	7	28	13	15	7	19
Totals.....	169	100	122 (72%)	47 (28%)	104 (61%)	65 (39%)	61 (36%)	29 (17%)	79 (47%)

TABLE IX

LOUISVILLE HEALTH AND HOSPITAL SURVEY (PATIENTS IN HOSPITAL ON
MAY 29, EXCLUDING NEW-BORN INFANTS)

HOSPITALS	TOTAL PATIENTS	UNDER THIRTY DAYS		THIRTY-ONE TO SIXTY DAYS		SIXTY TO NINETY DAYS		NINETY DAYS AND OVER	
		Num- ber	Per- cent- age	Num- ber	Per- cent- age	Num- ber	Per- cent- age	Num- ber	Per- cent- age
Children's Free.....	54	15	28	7	13	4 ^b	7	28	52
City.....	270	202	74	32	12	15 ¹	6	21	8
Deaconess.....	44	36	82	4	9	.....	.....	4	9
Fraternal.....	10	8	80	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	20
Jewish.....	47	43	92	2	4	2	4	.....	.....
Norton.....	73	66	90	2	3	.....	.....	5	7
Red Cross.....	21	13	61	3	14	1	5	4	20
St. Anthony's.....	78	70	91	2	2	.....	.....	6	7
St. Joseph's.....	72	61	85	7	9	2	3	2	3
SS. Mary and Elizabeth.....	107	83	77	7	7	1	1	16	15
Totals.....	776	597	77	66	9	25	3	88	11

and self-limited sicknesses and recoverable operations, to the psychical disadvantage of the young and hopeful patient.

A simple tabulation of the duration of stay of hospital patients shows usually, as in Table VIII for San Francisco and in Table IX for Louisville, the con-

siderable number who are properly classified as convalescent or chronic patients.

When one finds 12 per cent of hospital bed patients remaining in the institution for from one to three months, and a further 11.3 per cent who have been inmates for from three months to ten years and over, as was the case in Louisville, the importance for the hospital and the community lies in the certainty that at half the cost of hospital care or less, and with much greater happiness and medical benefit, these patients could be provided for in country hospitals or convalescent homes or institutions for chronic invalids. What is bad or poor for the patient and unduly costly to the community should be corrected. The convalescent home and the home for chronics and incurables are

TABLE X
CLEVELAND HOSPITAL AND HEALTH SURVEY (ADEQUACY OF HOMES FOR
CONVALESCENCE OF 200 PATIENTS RECENTLY DISCHARGED
FROM HOSPITAL CARE)

Home Environment	Number of Cases	Percentage
Favorable and adequate.....	25	12.5
Favorable with minor adjustments, economic or personal.....	71	35.5
Unfavorable, but remediable by economic or other assistance.....	48	24.0
Unfavorable and not remediable, needing institutional care in convalescence home.....	44	22.0
Entirely inadequate—relapse after return from hospital—acutely needing further hospital care.....	12	6.0
Totals.....	200	100

necessary to supplement the best type of acute general hospital service, and will save the community initial cost in building, reduce expense of daily maintenance, and improve the conditions of the sick.

Evidence of the failure of hospitals adequately to provide for convalescent discharged patients is easily read from the records of the studies in Cleveland and in Louisville, Brooklyn, and San Francisco, which are typical of conditions prevailing in all our cities.

Few of the devices for surveying in the field of medical services are so productive of constructive criticism of our present machinery of hospital, visiting nursing, social service, and institutional coordination as a systematic study of recently discharged hospital patients.

Summarized records of visits upon recently discharged hospital patients (Brooklyn case).—Man, aged thirty-two, free case in hospital for ten days with infection of right thumb which necessitated partial removal of tendons; was

not referred to the one social worker on discharge; told to come to dispensary if any further trouble. Family—found to be without funds and with almost no food in the house—consisted of wife, five months pregnant, but receiving no prenatal supervision, child of three years, and baby of fifteen months who had a temperature of 101 and a bad bronchial cough. Patient's hand still very painful, feels he will never be able to go back to old occupation of cobbler. Family unknown to any relief or church organization.

San Francisco case.—Woman, aged twenty-seven, \$1.50 a month dues to mutual insurance company operating hospital pays for hospitalization. In institution fourteen days for operation for appendicitis; discharged cured. When patient first came to city a few days ago, was receiving salvarsan at one of the

TABLE XI

LOUISVILLE HEALTH AND HOSPITAL SURVEY (SOURCES OF INCOME OF PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING ASSOCIATION, 1920 TO 1923)

Source	1920		1921		1922		1923	
	Amount	Per- cent- age	Amount	Per- cent- age	Amount	Per- cent- age	Amount	Per- cent- age
Donations etc.:								
Community chest...	\$31,367.41	80	\$31,568.13	75	\$35,443.14	69	\$39,023.00	72
Interest etc.....	2,483.69	6	673.00	2	483.51	1	343.50	1
Total.....	33,851.10	86	32,241.13	77	35,926.65	70	39,366.50	73
Earnings:								
Met. Life Ins. Co...	4,470.60	12	5,871.75	15	8,994.25	18	8,565.25	16
Other income.....	828.72	2	976.40	2	2,214.79	4	2,165.45	4
Total.....	5,299.32	14	6,848.15	17	11,209.04	22	10,730.70	20
City of Louisville....			2,000.00	5	4,000.00	8	4,000.00	7
Jefferson County.....			500.00	1				
Total Income..	\$39,150.42	100	\$41,539.28	100	\$51,135.69	100	\$54,097.20	100

university dispensaries, but as the treatments made her sick she discontinued them. Was under supervision of the prenatal clinic of the hospital from which she had just been discharged, received urine examination but no blood examination. Baby lived four months. Was always sickly and carried as a free case in another hospital for many weeks, where it died. Patient is not at present receiving any treatment for syphilis.

Louisville case.—Man, unmarried, aged twenty-five, a free case in the hospital for fifteen days. Discharged improved. Diagnosis: chronic myocarditis with decompensation; chronic nephritis. Lives in a rooming house in a very poor neighborhood. Man looks badly and says he is feeling miserable. Prior to hospital stay was able to do odd jobs about barns, but now is unable to work and has almost no money left. Teeth in miserable condition. Given some medicine when discharged, and told to come back to clinic if not well. Needs medical care, dental care, and upbuilding care in a convalescent institution.

Bedside care and public health nursing.—Last among the services for the sick, because more recently developed on a community basis than either hospital or dispensary care, is that of the visiting, district, or public health nurse, indispensable alike to institutions for bed patients, for out-patients, to family welfare agencies, to health departments, and for education of the people in all the homes upon matters of hygiene and preventable diseases. Usually their records are so appropriate to the need of professional, economic, and social analysis that little new inquiry is needed. Samples of information readily obtained in their simplest form are given in Table XI.

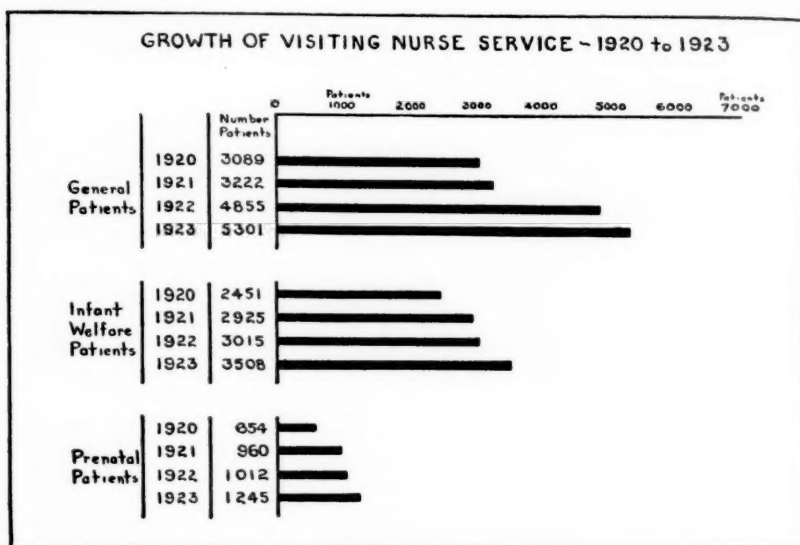


FIG. 11.—Louisville Health and Hospital Survey

Visiting nursing, whether generalized or specialized, is the coordinating service upon which most of the institutional health and sickness agencies depend, and through whose records much of the failure or success of a complete job is to be traced. In Louisville an increase of 62 per cent in volume of work, (nursing visits) with an increase of only 44 per cent in staff, resulted from better supervision and transportation. A sort of index of a community's education or appreciation in the value of visiting nursing service is the percentage of total costs which is met from fees of individuals served and from appropriations through the city treasury.

When all the facts that appear useful and obtainable have been assembled, conclusions offered and discussed, and perhaps published, the test of understanding of the diagnosis and treatment proposed for the community is the

organization and putting to work of a health council, structurally expressed in some such diagrammatic way as the following:

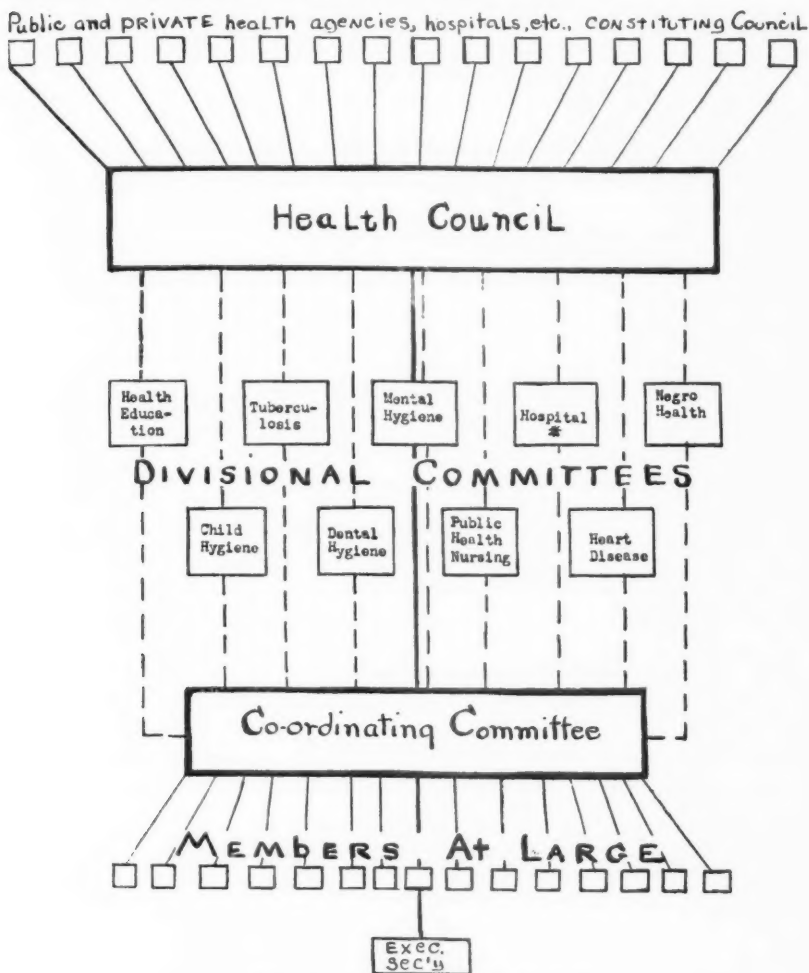


FIG. 12.—Louisville Health Council

*NOTE.—Hospital Committee subsections: Dispensaries, Medical Social Service, Convalescent Care, Care of Chronically Sick.

Unless there is a committee including persons of critical and analytical minds, as well as capable of understanding the significance of trends, averages, percentages, and rates while still keeping their sense of proportion and their

social imagination, the study and report of facts, whether by local personnel alone or with the aid of visiting specialists, will be merely a mass of undigested material, and of little value.

Better service for prevention and care of sickness will depend upon the continuing activities of some body of men and women which may act as a deliberative forum where policies and plans of work are discussed, where inquiries as to fact and results are started, and to which the public will turn for advice in seeking improved public and private work in the field of health and hospitals. Such councils have been developed in Cleveland, Cincinnati, San Francisco, and Louisville, where they are recognized as indispensable.

The origin of so much dependency and delinquency is in preventable disease, and so large a part of the cost of charitable and relief agencies is due to the failure to develop and protect health, and so heavy an annual levy has to be raised to care for established and quite avoidable disease, that it would seem as if professional and financial interests in our organized communities must find it profitable and enlightening to apply social diagnosis to this field before committing themselves to policies of action or programs of construction.

HOW BOSTON MEETS AND SUPPORTS ITS FAMILY SERVICE PROGRAM

William H. Pear, General Agent, Provident Association, Boston

If there is any special warrant for the presentation here of the story of organized family helping service in Boston, it is perhaps to be found in the example it may offer of, first, effective interaction between private agencies in the conduct of case work; second, interaction between private agencies and public tax-supported departments making their work supplementary; and third, the development of the case work laboratory with its second objective, service to community along with the old service to beneficiary.

I shall try, by the use of actual case stories, to illustrate the first two points, and then will give instances of the use of case material for preventive and constructive purposes. (And before proceeding let me explain that while this paper deals with the work of the agencies called family helping, I am not unmindful of the fact that some of the best family helping case work in our community is done by agencies specializing in child helping. A general recognition of this fact is due, if not overdue.) In order to present the picture in a proper light it seems necessary to set it over against a background of local conditions and facts. As to this background:

According to the latest census (1920), Boston proper is a city of 748,060 persons set down in the midst of a group of residential suburbs, making a metropolitan district of forty municipalities. Thus it happens that the effective community concern of many of its most influential citizens is diverted to the

FAMILY SERVICE COMPRISES
TWO PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS AND TWENTY-SEVEN SOCIETIES

Family
or
Friends } applies to Agency—Public or Private

Agencies' Use of Exchange shown by—

Case
Units

Amount
of Relief

C H U R C H	F R E E L A M I L V E S	PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS:				
		† 1. Overseers of the Public Welfare	S	5,081	\$1,286,326	
		2. Soldiers' Relief Department	O	4,485	276,883	
				9,566	\$1,563,209	
		PRIVATE SOCIETIES:				
		A. GENERAL WELFARE AND RELIEF AGENCIES:				
		† 1. Family Welfare Society	I	3,315		
		† 2. Boston Provident Association	A	1,913	43,199	
		† 3. Roxbury Charitable Society (united with 2)	L			
		B. RELIGIOUS GROUP AGENCIES:				
		† 4. St. Vincent de Paul Society	S	6,841	61,515	
		* 5. Jewish Charities, Federation		2,802	52,091	
		6. Roxbury Ladies' Aid—Jewish		1,200	19,917	
		7. Episcopal Charitable Society	E	68	7,160	
		8. Episcopal City Mission			8,689	
		* 9. City Missionary Society—Congregational	R		9,063	
		C. NATIONAL GROUP AGENCIES:				
		† 10. German Aid Society	V	213	1,537	
		11. British Charitable Society	I	182	1,568	
		12. Charitable Irish Society		25	1,375	
		13. Scots' Charitable Society	C	200	2,200	
		14. Women's Auxiliary of Scots' Charitable		33	1,855	
		15. Swiss Benevolent Society	E	5	118	
		D. INDUSTRIAL GROUP AGENCIES:				
		16. Boston Leather Trade Benevolent Society	E	7	2,566	
		17. Oliver Ditson Society—for musicians		20	1,970	
		18. Shaw Fund for Mariners' Children	X	11	1,655	
E. PENSIONING GROUP AGENCIES:						
19. Boston Fatherless and Widows' Society	C	167	14,618			
20. Howard Benevolent Society	H	625	24,992			
21. The Widows' Society in Boston		134	18,919			
* 22. Home for Aged Men—outside aid	A	52	15,408			
* 23. Home for Aged Women—outside aid		108	13,270			
* 24. Home for Aged Colored Women—outside aid	N	50	4,060			
F. MISCELLANEOUS:						
25. American Invalid Aid Society of Boston	G	214	1,594			
* 26. Salvation Army (relief work)	E	2,872 (?)	6,902			
* 27. Volunteers of America		2,475	10,454			
				20,730	\$ 384,812	

* Family help only one phase of work.

† Housed in Welfare Building.

suburban towns where they reside, or at best their interest is divided. One-third of our people are foreign-born, while a second third are of foreign parentage. Of the foreign-born there are 57,000 Irish, 59,000 English and Canadian, 38,000 Italian, 38,000 Russian, and of smaller groups of various nationalities, 46,000. Of native-born whites there are 181,000; of Negroes there are 16,350; the number of persons over sixty-five years of age is 33,100.

Census returns show that of 164,785 families in the city 80 per cent live in rented homes. In Old Boston, with land values forced up by encroaching business, there is more congestion, and many of the early dwellings have remained in various stages of decay, to become features of Boston's outstanding tenement house problem. These, with the newer tenement houses of cheap construction in crowded sections of the old city, house colonies of the newer comers from foreign lands. In such quarters they are near their fellow-countrymen, and often within easy reach of the factories or shops where they work. Indeed, such is the attraction of these little communities that there are all too many instances of Italian farm laborers working in the market gardens eight or ten miles out of town, but preferring to live in the crowded city. Our agencies well understand the problems that grow out of these poor housing conditions and from time to time have lent support to legislative measures for their improvement.

Boston's industries are well diversified, wages are usually fair, and, generally speaking, workers have the protection afforded by well-advanced state legislation. There is a workmen's compensation law, a minimum wage law, and a law limiting the hours of work for women and children.

Health conditions in Boston will compare favorably with those of other large cities. There are substantial provisions for hospital treatment and for home nursing of the sick, and both public and private agencies for the prevention of tuberculosis are active. But, notwithstanding all this, illness is probably the factor which appears oftenest in our case work, year in and year out.

Having thus seen the relation of the part to the whole, the next step is to study the make-up of the family service group, and at once it will be noted that the private agencies do not work alone. Two public departments, tax-supported, are added, for Boston has a system of outdoor relief and a "mothers' aid" law administered by the Overseers of the Public Welfare; while public aid is given to soldiers and their families through a second department, the Soldiers' Relief.

This is a feature of much importance, for with this disbursement of over a million and a half of public outdoor relief, the group of private agencies faces a more limited but no less interesting task. They turn their attention more to service and to the service of special groups; to filling the gaps, supplementing and rendering the work as a whole more elastic than it could be otherwise.

Of course it is hardly necessary to point out that no such result would be possible without the closest contact and cooperation between public and private agencies. The question of the division of the task is always an open one and is subject to routine periodical discussion between the executives of the various

departments. Furthermore, we depend upon the Social Service Exchange as a first essential. This "Exchange" of ours, which is still operated and underwritten by the Family Welfare Society—15 per cent of the cost being contributed by some of the agencies using it—is housed in the city's Public Welfare Building. Here also the Family Welfare Society, the St. Vincent de Paul Society, and the Provident Association with its allied agencies, the Industrial Aid Society and the Cooperative Workrooms. These two latter supply a free placement service to handicapped men and women respectively, and the Cooperative Workrooms gives workshop training to women and provides home work opportunities for "shut in's."

In viewing the work of this group of family helping agencies, two facts should be kept in mind. First: that any family is likely to have its natural sources of succor: relatives, friends, church, etc., helpers we are accustomed to turn to in our case work, but the value and extent of whose help we may nevertheless fail to realize. The spontaneity and kindness and true generosity of it makes a chapter we are apt to leave out of the story of the city's charity. Any such summary of our assistance as is here given necessarily omits the very substantial aid from those sources which there is no way of estimating. We only begin where they reach their limits.

And then on the other side, there is the part taken by the agencies cooperating with us to bring in some specialized service. If there is one thing which may make worth while the telling of the Boston story it is the ready and effective cooperation of these services. For example, in one of the cases here cited, there entered at various points: the Psychopathic Hospital, for observation and diagnosis of mentality; the Legal Aid Society, for court action to protect a mother and children; the Children's Aid Society, for temporary care of the children; the Cooperative Workrooms, for training and placement in remunerative employment; the Boston Dispensary, for medical attention.

In all this varied service I think we may say that it is possible to proceed without any duplication, each agency taking its part according to a definite plan which, when necessary, is made a matter of case conference. Indeed, the bi-weekly "difficult case" conference is a matter of routine with the Family Welfare Society and the Provident Association; and representatives of the Jewish Federation and the Overseers of the Public Welfare commonly join in the discussions. Difficult cases involving industrial placement are considered by another such committee which is conducted by the Federation of Placement Work. With full understanding, therefore, of the importance of these inter-related services, I propose by the statement of a few case stories to describe how the family helping agencies themselves work.

Families in need of slight assistance may be supplied by their friends in the industrial or racial agencies of Group D or C. Those in Group B are able to do more. If Jewish, they or their friends will commonly apply to the Jewish district station where thoroughgoing aid and service may be had. If Roman Catholic,

and the need is not too extensive, St. Vincent de Paul Conferences in the different parishes will visit and help, or the Catholic Charitable Bureau may cover the need through some department of their extensive organization.

The Group A agencies, however, until recently five in number, but now reduced by combinations to two—the Family Welfare Society and the Provident Association—accept any and take entire charge up to the limit of their capacity. Of Jewish cases they are called upon to take but few, because of the willingness of the Jewish Federation to take care of Jewish people. But all others are accepted and are helped, with the incidental cooperation of the various denominational agencies.

The two agencies, Family Welfare Society and Provident Association together, carry on a case service which may be said to be “dovetailed.” The former has district offices in various parts of the city, conducts local case conferences and uses volunteer visitors; it does not hold precollected relief funds. The Provident Association, which is the older, was organized as a relief society and does hold such funds. Its service is rendered entirely by a paid staff in which changes are not frequent. In many instances its relief funds are used in cases carried by the other society, whose district secretaries will then report to the case supervisor of the Provident Association, who follows and helps to shape case plan and procedure.

Case citations.—I will first cite a case where the necessary assistance is given by a private society, though at first referred to the city’s public welfare department: Police officer Murray is accosted one morning by Jones, a promising young man of twenty-seven years living on his beat. Jones has a wife and two little ones and has been out of work for several weeks; his scant savings are used up and the rent is due. He can’t find work, and neither he nor his wife has relatives to turn to. What is he to do? The officer advises him to apply to the Overseers of the Public Welfare. He goes to them, but when their inquiry at the Exchange shows that the family has never before been registered, they at once confer with the Provident Association to see if a private agency’s help may not tide the family over this emergency. This is quickly agreed to; the family is visited; assistance, which the man wishes to consider a loan, is given; and within three weeks work is found.

As distinct from the foregoing type, let me next call attention to those where long-continued unemployment involves a load too heavy for the private agencies to carry. These are helped by the Overseers so far as to cover actual food, rent, and fuel items. For this aid the men are required to work two days a week in the wood yard, allowing them the other four days of the week to seek employment. On these four days they must present themselves at the Boston Municipal Employment Bureau, with which the Overseers have established a checking system to ascertain whether the men are actually looking for work through an established bureau.

Now here a very interesting problem arises: There was an opening for some

laborers on a construction job in a suburb, and forty of those on the aided list were offered the work. Only two accepted the work, however, as the rest felt the hours were long and they were to receive only fifty cents an hour, which would amount to little more than their aid through the Overseers. The Board of Overseers then authorized a flat 25 per cent cut in all aid to families of the unemployed, and they are now considering whether they would be justified, where a man refuses a job which they feel satisfied that he can do, to refuse further relief unless the wife takes out a warrant for non-support.

The next is a case which illustrates cooperation between public department and private agency: The Macbeth family was referred to the Provident Association by the employer of the oldest boy. Mr. Macbeth was seriously ill in a hospital, while Mrs. Macbeth was approaching confinement and was in a critical condition owing to a serious heart complication. There were six children, and the mother needed the aid and sustaining helpfulness which our visitor quickly supplied. Not long after, Mr. Macbeth died, and then the baby came, and after Mrs. Macbeth had recovered, mothers' aid was secured through the Overseers of the Public Welfare to the amount of \$20 weekly. This, with the \$12 weekly earned by the oldest boy, would make up an adequate income.

But matters went badly with the family. Mrs. Macbeth has never been well since her confinement; the little baby has had a hard struggle for life; measles have been epidemic among the younger children; a ten-year-old boy has been ill for over two months with rheumatism; the oldest boy showed wayward tendencies and lost his work. In all the physical difficulties the family doctor has given almost unlimited attention without pay; the Judge Baker Foundation has offered expert psychological advice as regards the oldest boy; the church has furnished the "Big Brother" recommended for Edward by the Judge Baker Foundation, and is now giving special diet for Jack, who is ill with rheumatism; a social settlement has given vocational guidance and placement for Edward.

During all this time the Provident Association's visitor has continued her oversight and has correlated the work of the different helpers. She and the Overseers' visitor—in this case a man—have had a clear understanding as to the part she was to take, and from time to time when the pressure was greatest our society has supplied the services of a competent woman to lighten the mother's burdens.

Here is an instance where an application for mothers' aid had been made to the Overseers, but where an equity of more than \$500 in real estate was a bar: Mrs. Barbour, with three children to support, had applied for mothers' aid when her husband suffered a mental breakdown and was sent to the insane hospital with a very unpromising prognosis. Mr. Barbour had worked for some years at the Navy Yard, had earned good wages, and had been buying a two-family house which was heavily mortgaged. However, the rental of one apartment covered interest on the first mortgage, taxes, and water rates, leaving the interest on a small second mortgage to be covered, and though possession of this

property gave the family a home for much less than they would have had to pay for rent, it made Mrs. Barbour ineligible to receive mothers' aid. This was due to a very proper state regulation, which in this case worked a hardship. The Overseers referred to the Provident Association and, since on study it seemed best for Mrs. Barbour to retain possession of the property, the private society accepted the case.

So much for case procedure and the interaction of agencies in service to the beneficiary. There is today—taken for granted—a second objective in our work, viz., service to the community; an objective that is by no means secondary in importance. It involves the "reinterpretation" of every case; seeing each in terms of the significance of the causal factors involved, and making available for constructive uses the material therein contained.

Twenty-five years ago the writer, in a report descriptive of the aims of a work which he was then directing, made this statement: "Beside the sympathetic treatment of the individual case, we believe that there should be a constant effort to discover the real causes of distress and the attempt to remove them." This sounds trite today. At that time that which impressed the group of workers in the Boston Children's Aid Society more than anything else was the potential value of the facts buried in their case records: facts bearing on the causes of the troubles they were trying to alleviate; facts regarding which an informed public ought to be greatly concerned. There was an impressive repetition of certain causal factors, but with the pressure of the case work there seemed to be no time, and there was no laboratory method yet devised for handling them. A beginning had been made by cataloguing in a topical index certain special feature cases; but it did not go very far, and revealed only feature and nothing of mass or weight of evidence.

Ten years later the Boston Provident Association, then under my direction, had developed a system for making serviceable laboratory material of all its case records, each case jacket bearing a factor analysis which, when checked, revealed not the cause, but the presence of certain important factors in the situation. (It was in this same year that Mrs. Kelley made her ringing appeal for the prevention of widowhood.) Soon it became possible to show interesting facts, and within a short time the first real fruits of our laboratory studies were presented to the public, not merely for reading, but for action. The assembling of all cases involving desertion and non-support and the subsequent study made by a group of executives (including the secretary of the city Overseers of the Poor) led to the writing of a new state law on desertion and non-support. (It is significant of method that this statute, written by social workers, was not presented to the legislature by them, but was offered by the Massachusetts Commission on Uniform Legislation as its own. This body and the District Attorney of Suffolk County jointly made the cause their own because of the impressive character of the facts presented.)

So far as I am aware, this was the first instance in our city of this sort of

joint effort by our family helping organizations. Studies of certain types of cases by individual agencies there may have been; but here was concerted action to produce material from a field which was the social worker's own. Laboratory method made possible the massing of evidence; and its convincing quality, with perhaps a bit of diplomacy added to persuade certain public officials to make the cause their own, gave the final results in a piece of preventive, or shall we say, constructive, legislation. (In the year 1923 Massachusetts probation officers collected \$1,010,480 under court orders in non-support cases.) A new law passed—but let no one infer that Boston's social workers are deluded by the assumption that after the passage of such a helpful statute no further concern need be felt. Let me make this clear by relating one further instance of the use of the case laboratory study as a means of checking up the failures or deficiencies in a useful law:

Massachusetts for more than a year had had a workmen's compensation law when our workers with families in need became keenly aware that there still followed in the train of industrial accidents much distress calling for charitable assistance. A conference with the state industrial accident board was followed by request for case evidence. What was the nature of the needs uncovered by our case work? At what points was the law failing? How extensive were the appeals from families of injured workmen?

Again the laboratory yielded the data, showing that 13 per cent of the year's intake was made up of families where industrial accident or occupational disease was a factor. The cases were assembled and classified, and a report was made to the state board indicating three points wherein the law failed to meet the need, and giving the number of families in each of the three groups, with the citation of a typical case for each group.

In this instance it may be noted: first, that the social workers were not misled by an assumption that the passage of the workmen's compensation law would of necessity yield all the relief needed—their laboratory gave them confirmation that it did not; second, that they only presented the facts which they were qualified to give without any accompanying argument which they might not have been qualified to give; and finally, that the material given was taken by the state-board to the legislature to be used by them in advocating amendments to the law.

The description of Boston's family helping group in legislative action should not be ended without brief reference to the part they took in the passing of a mothers' aid law in Massachusetts, in its effects one of the most momentous and far-reaching of recently enacted statutes.

In 1912 a commission had been appointed by the Governor to investigate the need of state pensions for widows, and in the following year a report was filed recommending such a measure. Our own workers in the meantime had been examining case records, and extensive case studies were made to discover how far economic pressure in the home had been a prime or sole cause of the removal

of children from their mothers' care. In the course of this examination we became convinced that not alone widows, but many other distressed mothers, needed consideration. Furthermore it was clear that private charity could not begin to supply relief to any such extent as the public was demanding.

The final outcome was the acceptance by the legislature of our alternative proposal: a statute written by a committee of social workers, providing for aid to suitable mothers with dependent children—not merely to widows.

This "mothers' aid law" was a relief measure, and it very properly gave to our local public welfare departments the administration of the aid. It called for relief that should be adequate, and it added the very important provision of state supervision along with a sharing of the expense. But the feature that is, perhaps, of most interest to social workers, is its explicit requirement of case work standards. This was deliberately written in with malice aforethought, and it has not been without effect upon the entire relief administration of local public welfare departments.

Twelve hundred and ninety-six of the 4,680 families aided last year by the Boston Overseers of the Public Welfare were "mothers' aid" cases, and to them was given \$721,000 out of total relief disbursements of \$1,286,000. Two hundred and three such families were added during the year, and 290 were discontinued, leaving 1,006 at the close of the year.

There are uses other than legislative to which we have put our case material. It is sometimes given us to observe certain facts the revelation of which may serve to correct mistaken impressions on the part of the public. Here we have not only an opportunity but an obligation, and it was such a situation which led to the publication of *John Doe's Budget*.

It may be recalled that after the war, at the time money wages were rising to unheard of figures, there was a ready assumption that workers generally had large surplus earnings; that if they would they could save, but that reckless expenditure was the rule. This feeling was quite pronounced in Boston, especially among our business men. Their question quite commonly asked was, "What occasion is there for charity when there is plenty of work and wages are so high?"

Of course it ought not to be necessary to have to explain that the size of prevailing wages is of little consequence to people who are too old or too sick to work; but when, moreover, the social worker knew the unfairness of the assumption in the face of the fact that actual wages were not high, and that the worker's margin for emergencies was really scant, it seemed a matter of obligation as well as expediency to present the facts.

The little seven-page leaflet, *John Doe's Budget: The Wage-Earner's Margin*, made plain what living on five dollars a day meant for John and his family, with their ordinary demands for rent, food, clothing, etc. at prevailing prices, and its experience was most interesting. It went to contributors and prospective givers, of course. But it went also to many large employers of labor, and that

it proved enlightening was evidenced by the following incident: Among others who received John Doe's story was the president of one of the largest manufacturing concerns in New England, whose name had never been conspicuous on the lists of supporters of our social agencies. This man's response came in the form of an appreciative letter inclosing a substantial check and requesting a dozen copies to be sent to the superintendents of the company's various plants.

The instances which I have cited are indicative of the kind of service to be rendered through the reinterpretation of case material—seeing it in terms of its economic significance. I can recall the time when fears were expressed lest such studies should divert our attention from our case work, but the result has been found to be quite the reverse. It has helped case workers to gain perspective, and, as they have felt their contact with the movements which found use for the material under their hands, there has been an added zeal and enthusiasm for their daily work.

Furthermore, it has led some of our allied agencies into new paths of usefulness, as when the Boston Legal Aid Society in 1916, in the words of its counsel, Reginald H. Smith, announced "a new conception of the work which will result in new and hitherto unperformed service to the community—preventive work through law." In that same year, out of its case experience, the Legal Aid Society assembled material which it used in a campaign for new and improved laws to regulate small loans and wage assignments. In a later reference to this new development in legal aid work, Mr. Smith¹ described it as following the lead of social work.

Let us take a few moments to note the significance of some of the figures we are obtaining (p. 492). I have taken the factor analysis of the family case intake of the Boston Provident Association for the year before the war, 1913, and set the figures down alongside similar statistics, for the last fiscal year, of three leading family helping societies and the Overseers of the Public Welfare. The Provident Association's figures are the only ones available for the earlier date. (Note the size and persistency of the "Illness" factor, and of "Unemployment." Note the substantial reduction of the "Tuberculosis" factor, which may be set alongside the recorded decline in our tuberculosis morbidity figure which, in the same period, dropped 44.5 per cent. Note "Intemperance," which dropped from 20 per cent to 1 per cent in the Provident Association analysis in 1919, then rose to 9.9 per cent last year, and is now falling to 7.5 per cent. Note that "Industrial Accident" appears to but one-half the extent it did in 1913.)

Following close upon the discovery of potent factors in the maladjustment of families has come the more definite organization of joint effort for prevention. In our city there has been in the past decade a steady development of the idea of united service, and it has gradually led, through the more limited experiment of our League for Preventive Work, to the broader and more inclusive Council of Social Agencies.

¹ Carnegie report.

There are several interesting stories of our joint action which might be told: of the brief, with case citations, entitled, *The Menace of the Feeble-minded*, followed by later studies, presented to the legislature in yearly campaigns, for early discovery and better protection of mental defectives; and latest of all, this past year's effort, by a group of no less than eight private and public agencies, to deal with the problem of the beggars on our streets. To tell this, however, would be to repeat the excellent account, in the May issue of *The Family*, by Stockton Raymond, who actually initiated the movement.

COMPARISON OF STATISTICS FOR THE YEAR 1923-24 OF THE CHIEF
FAMILY HELPING AGENCIES (3 PRIVATE, 1 PUBLIC) WITH THE
BOSTON PROVIDENT ASSOCIATION'S FIGURES FOR 1913

NATURE OF CASES	OVERSEERS OF PUBLIC WELFARE		PROVIDENT ASSOCIATION*		FAMILY WELFARE SOCIETY		FEDERATED JEWISH CHARITIES		TOTAL		PROVIDENT ASSOCIATION (IN 1913)	
	Cases	Per-centage	Cases	Per-centage	Cases	Per-centage	Cases	Per-centage	Cases	Per-centage	Cases	Per-centage
Industrial accident.....	50	1.06	53	6.3	96	2.8	19	1.0	218	2.01	103	13
Intemperance.....	88	1.8	84	9.9†	270	8.1	.....	.....	442	4.1	180	20
Unemployment.....	690	14.7	370	44.2	1,066	32.0	435	21.0	2,561	23.6	245	28
Illness.....	665	14.2	331	39.5	2,108	63.5	929	46.2	4,033	37.1	269	30
Tuberculosis.....	148	3.1	39	4.6	128	3.8	112	5.5	427	3.8	129	14
Desertion and non-support.	512	10.9	97	11.5	331	10.0	168	8.3	1,408	10.2	135	15
Total number of case units.....	4,680	.....	837	.....	3,315	.....	2,011	.....	10,843	.....	875	.....

* Intake only.

† Rate declining the past seven months to 7.5 per cent.

Social workers in Boston feel that our city is fortunate in one respect. We have gone through various stages of the development of group consciousness and group action, through dealing with case laboratory material, to the point of securing our functional federation before approaching the mooted question of joint financial support.

Whatever may be the result of Boston's action upon the recommendation of the Chamber of Commerce relative to financial federation, she has already secured the thing of fundamental importance in her Council of Social Agencies—a council table at which her social workers can sit together, and together plan how to render their joint service to the community.

Before drawing this statement to a close, I wish to say just a word about relief—so much dreaded by us and yet so generally expected by an ill-informed public. We well know that relief giving is at once the easiest and the most difficult of the social worker's tasks. We know that it is our keen desire to reach a family's side in time to avert the necessity for it, and that happily these oppor-

tunities for constructive work are coming in increasing numbers. We talk of preventive work; of family rehabilitation; of giving service rather than relief; but have we yet made our position sufficiently clear? Do we not need more and better publicity for our message?

To the warm-hearted Irish poet, charity organization three decades ago was nothing but cautious and statistical. To the public generally it has too long remained enigmatical and lacking in warmth. It has too often seemed inclined to repress, rather than to stimulate, generous impulses; and all the time it has appeared to some to have an amount of self-assurance quite unwarranted by the results attained.

Of course we like to think all this due to lack of understanding, and quite unmerited; but is it not true that the very directness of our aim to reduce pauperism, added to our zeal for efficiency, has given the charity organization movement the appearance of giving a stone when asked for bread?

Even if we do object to having our agencies referred to as "relief societies," shall we not do well to make it perfectly clear that we do give relief and give it promptly when there is need; that we try to make our gifts more nearly adequate to need; and that we have experiences without number wherein we have occasion to thank God, as do our beneficiaries, that we have the wherewithal to help and to make our help substantial?

CHICAGO'S PROGRAM FOR MEETING ITS RECREATION NEEDS
(Recreation Philosophy and Practice Expressed through Public and
Private Agencies, Schools, Zoning Supervision)

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On June 10, 1924, William E. Dever, mayor of Chicago, in an address on "Problems of a Great City," before the One hundred thirty-third Convocation of the University of Chicago, among other things, said: "The federal, state, county, and municipal governments are spending annually in Cook County not less than \$40,000,000 for supervision and correction of crime. I wonder whether, if one-fifth of this sum were set aside to provide preventive measures in the way of parks, playgrounds, and organized athletics, such constructive policy might not, aside from its social and human value, provide for an even more efficient police service."

It is very largely this utterance of Mayor Dever's that was responsible for the gathering of the leaders in recreation work in the city of Chicago some months ago, to discuss the timeliness of urging the Mayor to appoint a recreation commission for Chicago, whose function it would be to think in terms of Chicago's recreation needs.

The constantly increasing tendency of reducing the number of hours of work, as the result of intelligent and far-sighted legislation, has created the problem of the need for constructively filling the leisure time. America has greater leisure than ever before in its history—eight hours of work, and in many trades even less than eight hours, eight hours for sleep, eight hours for doing whatever we will, which means, for the whole United States, 720,000,000 leisure hours per day for the 90,000,000 population over five years of age.

The question is, "What shall we do for these eight hours in which we can do what we will?" To the end of this problem thoughtful persons in the field of education have given much time and attention as to how to fill the leisure hour gap in such a manner as will bring the greatest amount of good for the individual as well as the community.

The leisure hour period contributes most to the development of the individual, provided that the leisure is filled with worth-while activity which will help to ennoble the individual rather than to drag him down, for it has been said that it is just as easy to form habits for using leisure time for things worth while as it is for things not worth while, except that the one makes for a better man, and a better woman, and a better citizen, and the other for the type of individual of whom the community is not always proud, and who, in a great many instances, does not lessen the correctional burden. For let us see: It is noted that a hundred thousand youngsters go through our courts on delinquency charges each year; that the total losses from robberies, thefts, confidence games, and frauds of all kinds run up to about three billions a year. In a recent seven-year period 59,377 murders were committed, which is 9,050 more than the number of American soldiers killed in the battles of the Great War.

When we realize that about 75 per cent of all the incarcerated criminals are found to be, not fifty, sixty, or seventy years of age, but under twenty-five years of age—veritable youngsters, indicating clearly that present-day criminality is a problem of youth—youth gone wrong, as a rule, in quest of adventure, companionship, misdirected or undirected recreation—we must admit that it is due to a lax community, ignorant of its social responsibility toward its youth.

I think it is the Playground Association of America that was responsible for the statement that our crime bill at present is about \$1,250,000,000 per year, and that we are spending \$0.09 per capita for recreation to help keep young folks straight, while we are spending 43,000 cents per capita to deal with those who go wrong, all the time knowing that prevention is better than cure, and knowing, too, that, as most of our cities go, the correctional institutions that house our delinquents—our prisons, our jails, our police stations—are, instead of correctional institutions, or institutions that cure, actual schools for crime.

Let us look at this problem for a moment from quite another point of view: There are some forty-two million men and women gainfully employed in the United States, each of whom loses on the average of eight days annually from illness and other physical disabilities, or a total of 336,000,000 days, a tremen-

dous social and economic liability which could certainly be reduced considerably by wise and adequate recreation.

What we are here for very largely this morning is to picture an experience covering some sixty years of recreational development in Chicago—to learn what this city of some three million people has to offer as a recreational program, and here again I am confronted with a practical difficulty, namely, that of just barely touching upon the facilities and the program of the fourteen park commissions, any one of which could easily take an hour to describe, and to much advantage.

The park commissions referred to include the South, the West, Northwest, North Shore, Lincoln, Fernwood, Calumet, Old Portage, Ravenswood Manor Gardens, Ridge Avenue, Ridge, River, and the West Pullman park commissions. These are separate taxing bodies; they levy their own taxes, and through these taxes maintain their services, including their lighting, police officers, etc. Besides these park commissions, the city of Chicago itself conducts a Bureau of Parks, Public Playgrounds, and Bathing Beaches, which includes the Municipal Pier. The Board of Education conducts, under its auspices, a bureau of recreation, and there are the private agencies, the settlements, the Young Men's Christian Associations, the Young Women's Christian Associations, the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, the Camp Fire Girls, the American Sentinels, and the many other agencies.

This is not the time to discuss the advisability of having so many taxing bodies to look after the recreation of a community. Suffice it to say that the recreation commission referred to in the fore part of this paper, when it will be appointed, will make it its business, it is the hope of those who are much concerned in the matter, to study the entire mechanics of recreation operation in Chicago.

On April 30, 1869, five commissioners appointed by the circuit judges qualified and organized as a board. The acts creating the park board gave to the commissioners exclusive control of all the lands selected and acquired for parks and boulevards, making the board a separate and a distinct municipal corporation, with authority to levy taxes, and make rules and regulations for the control of the territory under its direction, such board being entirely independent of the city or county authorities, and having power to create and maintain its own police force.

The area of the South Park District is approximately 93 square miles, including within its limits the South Town of Chicago, Hyde Park, South Chicago, Grand Crossing, Englewood, and the Stockyards, extending from the Chicago River south to 138th Street, a distance of $16\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and from Lake Michigan west to 48th Avenue, a distance of $10\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The population of this district includes approximately one million people.

The original act provided for the acquirement of Washington Park, Jackson Park, the Midway Plaisance, Grand Boulevard, Drexel Boulevard, Garfield

Boulevard, and Western Avenue. Subsequently other boulevards and parks were acquired. The South Park System contains twenty-six parks, with an area of approximately 2,160 acres, and 19 boulevards, aggregating 36.28 miles in length, all of which are fully improved. The land cost of these parks is \$5,038,572.84, and the improvements to date represent \$15,615,364.71, plus \$661,251.57 for the Midway Plaisance, or a total of \$21,315,189.12.

There are a total of 3 golf courses, 382 tennis courts, 73 baseball diamonds, 27 football grounds, 16 skating houses, 14 swimming pools, 2,660 booths for bathers, 18 wading pools, 25 sand courts for children, 6 boathouses, 16 shelters, 4 lunchrooms, 12,145 lockers for men, and 10,074 lockers for women, 15 inside gymnasiums for men, 15 inside gymnasiums for women, 500 showers for men, 381 showers for women, 19 outside gymnasiums for men, 19 outside gymnasiums for women, 16 running tracks, 22 children's playgrounds, 15 assembly halls, 13 libraries, and 5 bathing beaches.

The Superintendent of Recreation of the South Park Commission, in his last report, speaks of the fact that the year before last 9,000,000 people took advantage of the facilities for a period of twelve months, and for the year that is just past he includes the following tabulation for over 11,000,000 people:

Playgrounds and sports division	197,135
Assembly halls	495,699
Sports	2,441,042
Showers used	1,690,489
Five bathing beaches—total attendance	578,015
Three golf courses	342,246
Clubrooms	288,353
Game rooms	27,746
Reading rooms	648,641
Circulating libraries of the playgrounds*	808,161

*The parks furnish the space and the city library department furnishes the books and the attendants.

There is a very carefully developed program of activities, very carefully supervised, under the direction of Mr. V. K. Brown, unquestionably one of the ablest men in the recreation field, particularly on the practical side. Comparatively few of the citizens of Chicago realize the great work that is now being undertaken by the South Park Commissioners along the lake front, extending from Grant Park to Jackson Park. This work is being carried out in accordance with the Burnham Plan. In 1920 an initial bond issue of \$8,000,000 was voted for this purpose, and in 1923 a second bond issue was passed.

The plans here provide for filling in the lake, and building a park varying from 1,100 to 4,000 feet in width. When entirely completed, this stretch of park will contain 1,139 acres of land and 343 acres of enclosed waterway. With a land and water acreage of such magnitude, park activities will be developed on such a scale as was never before possible—lagoons, boat landings, yacht harbors, bathing beaches, walks, golf links, picnic grounds, baseball fields, football

fields, and all other outdoor activities will be given ample space in which to function.

One of the latest additions to the equipment of the South Parks service is the stadium in Grant Park. This stadium is designed by Holabird and Roche, who were the winners in a contest among the leading architects of the city for this design.

The first section of the stadium, constructed out of the original bond issue of \$2,500,000, has already been completed. The stadium is being used quite freely by the schools, the parks, the playgrounds, the various civic organizations, the police department, the fire department, and other similar groups. Every Saturday during the football season the stadium is used for football games, in addition to festivals, circuses, and gigantic city demonstrations, concerts, etc., and it is planned that it will be so used in much greater degree as time goes on.

The large attendance at the various activities in the stadium during the year 1924 convinced every one that the stadium is inadequate to meet the demands of the city, and accordingly a referendum was held at the November election, and the citizens of the South Side voted \$3,000,000 to enlarge the original stadium in accordance with the original plans of the architects.

The possibilities of this stadium, situated practically in the heart of the city, in the downtown section, practically on the lake front, and very happily situated in back (or in front, if you wish) of the great Field Museum, are immeasurable. At last we are offered an opportunity of creating a taste and a demand for community expression as exemplified in ancient Greek open theaters and coliseums, where on occasions the poem competitions took place, and where competitors poured out their souls in verse before the multitudes who judged it. And so here, too, at the Chicago South Park Stadium, because of its excellent location, equally as far from the citizens living in the extreme north, as it is from those living in the extreme south of the city, as well as those living west, there will be tens of thousands of people witnessing the great community enterprises which are bound to result in a stimulation for higher and better things of life.

Think of the mass choruses, the aesthetic dancing, the dance pageants, the open-air dramatic performances, the music contests, the athletic contests—what a wonderful opportunity! As to how well this opportunity will be taken advantage of depends only on the element of time to judge. I can say with assurance, however, that when this stadium is entirely completed, and Chicago will be favored with the semi-official recreation commission, which, it is hoped, will have in its personnel some of Chicago's leading recreation thinkers, that a real program of a community interest will be developed. It is my earnest feeling that, through the opportunities that the stadium affords, the next ten years will tell a story which the country as a whole will listen to with much benefit and gratification.

Another very interesting enterprise of the South Park Commissioners is the rehabilitation of the old Fine Arts Building, the landmark of the Chicago World's Fair. A number of Chicago's citizens undertook an extensive program of propaganda along the lines of rehabilitating this unusual institution, and it was decided to place the matter before the electorate of the South Side, in the form of a \$5,000,000 bond issue. The bonds were voted with an overwhelming majority.

Believing that an expenditure of this kind would not be justified unless the structure could be put to practical use, as well as being a work of art, considerable study was given to the matter. As the result, it was found that the interior could be made into a mammoth convention hall,

In addition to conventions, the building will be used for industrial exhibitions, athletic games, basketball games, indoor athletics, and many other mass activities. Clubrooms are to be provided, and space for art and sculpture exhibitions will also be incorporated into the restoration of the building. One of the wings may also be used as a community center.

Marquette Park is one of the twenty-six south parks, containing 323 acres, located at Sixty-seventh Street and Kedzie Avenue, in a rapidly growing neighborhood. The development of this park is an indication of the South Parks' vision into the future.

This park has an eighteen-hole golf course, and it is planned that the park will be equipped with the latest type of park field house, containing indoor gymnasium, assembly hall, classrooms, clubrooms, game rooms, and every other type of facility that would logically come into such a building.

An open-air amphitheater, with the two islands as a background, and leading down to the water's edge, will be built. This will be an ideal background for pageantry, Venetian Nights, musical events, etc.

In each of the smaller parks there are two indoor gymnasiums, one for men and boys, and one for women and girls. These gymnasiums are equipped with modern apparatus, steel lockers, and ample booths and showers.

There are also outdoor gymnasiums or playgrounds, and at least one baseball diamond in each of the parks. All gymnasiums and playgrounds are in care of trained instructors who conduct classes in gymnastics, games, indoor sports from October to May, and games in athletics and sports outdoors from May to October. Playground equipment has been selected with special reference to the play instincts and tendencies of all groups and ages. Gymnasium classes, sports, and pastimes are organized for school children, young working boys and girls, and adults. The buildings are open for the use of the people every day all year long from 1:00 P.M. to 10:00 P.M. in the winter, and from 10:00 A.M. to 10:00 P.M. in the summer. Shower baths are in use every day in the year.

The parks furnish bathing suits, towels, and soap, for which there is no charge made. Neither is there any other charge for the use of any of the facilities in the buildings, except the refectory, where the prices are very low.

The following (Table I) is a list of swimming pools in the South Park District:

TABLE I

Location	Dimensions (Feet)	Maximum Depth	Minimum Depth	Dressing Booths	Shower Baths	Spring Boards	Diving Towers
Mark White Square....	65.5 X 107	9'	3'	192	10	2	1
Armour Square.....	50 X 88	8'6"	3'	90	8	2	1
Cornell Square.....	76 X 60	9'	2'6"	85	8	2	1
Davis Square.....	70 X 100	8'6"	3'	125	8	2	1
Russell Square.....	45 X 85	9'	3'	.....	10	2	1
Sherman Park.....	80 X 150	9'	2'9"	209	20	2	1
Ogden Park.....	80 X 150	9'	2'6"	224	10	2	1
Bessemer Park.....	90 X 140	9'6"	2'	133	16	2	1
Palmer Park.....	92 X 140	9'	2'6"	228	12	2	1
McKinley Park.....	34,800 sq. ft.	8'	.....	206	16	3	.....
Calumet Park.....	Lake Michigan Beach	.....	.....	100	.....	.....	Raft

About 50,000 bathing suits and 72,000 towels are available for the free use of the public.

The West Park Board consists of seven members appointed by the governor. The first board and district were organized in 1869 in accordance with a restoration act. This act provides for the creation of the West Park District territory, the greater part of which lies west of the North and South branches of the Chicago River, popularly called the "West Side." Further, the act makes the district a distinct municipality in itself, independent of the city, and confers upon the board powers which involve matters of policing, lighting, taxation, maintenance, and the passage of ordinances regarding the use and supervision of all the parks and pleasure drives under its jurisdiction.

Today the board has under its jurisdiction four large parks, four small parks, fourteen playgrounds, four refectory buildings, ten recreation center buildings, thirteen swimming pools, thirteen skating ponds, one large conservatory, twenty-seven athletic fields, 32½ miles of boulevard pleasure drives.

The large parks are provided with 4 assembly halls, 7 baseball diamonds, 4 boathouses, 1 bridle path, 2 children's playfields, 13 football fields, 2 golf courses, 5 public lunchrooms, 2 large playfields, 5 roque courts, 2 sand courts, 4 skating ponds, 5 swimming pools, 62 shower baths, 3 wading pools, 133 tennis courts.

The playgrounds are provided with 7 assembly halls, 23 playground ball diamonds, 200 children's gardens, 8 children's playfields, 9 football fields, 9 large playfields, 6 libraries, 5 men's indoor gymnasiums, 8 men's outdoor gymnasiums, 10 recreation center buildings, 6 running tracks, 10 sand courts, 23 shower-bath rooms, 9 skating ponds, 8 swimming pools, 22 tennis courts, 9 wading pools, 5 women's indoor gymnasiums, 8 women's outdoor gymnasiums.

One million two hundred fifty thousand persons bathed in the swimming pools in 1921.

The activities conducted in these parks may be summarized as follows: physical, educational, and social. Under physical are included aquatic tournaments, athletic efficiency contests, baseball, basketball, boating, boxing, croquet, football, fly casting, golf, gymnastics, handball, hikes, horseshoe pitching, indoor ball, jack stones and O'Leary tournaments, life saving, longball, miscellaneous games, quoit pitching, playground ball, soccer, skating, swimming, tennis, tobogganing, track and field athletics, volley ball, wading, and wrestling.

Under educational activities may be included: artificial flower making, basketry, bead making, boat construction, Boy Scouts, choral work, clay modeling, concerts, cooking, crocheting, dancing (folk, aesthetic and interpretative), debating, doll house construction, dramatics, English classes, exhibitions, gardening, Girl Scouts, handicraft work, health talks and service, kite making, lantern making, lectures, library, movies, orchestra, sand modeling, sewing classes.

Under social activities would come: checkers, circuses, clubs, dancing, entertainments, festivals, free play, "get together," marble play, minstrels, picnics, pool and billiards, recitals, roller skating, socials, sings, story telling, stunt nights, table games.

Through these activities the West Park System serves about 1,000,000 people, or about one-third of the total population of Chicago.

Lincoln Park is one of the most popular and well-known parks in the country. It was established in 1864 by the city of Chicago, and was known as Lake Park until 1865, when the name was changed to Lincoln Park. In 1869 the legislature of Illinois passed an act giving exclusive control and management to the commissioners of the park, and provided for its maintenance by taxation in the Lincoln Park District, an area of 64 square miles, bounded on the north by Devon Avenue, on the east by Lake Michigan, on the south by the Chicago River, and on the west by the north branch of the Chicago River and North Western Avenue

The park, originally a sixty-acre tract, has been extended from time to time by appeals, condemnation proceedings, accretions, and reclamation of submerged lands, and now it contains approximately 800 acres, and is being enlarged continually by filling in northward along the lake front.

The park is open from 5:00 A.M. until 11:00 P.M. It includes an aquarium, athletic fields, bathing beaches, band concerts, boating, boat moorings, a conservatory, a field house and refectory, a free sanatorium for the benefit of needy sick babies, free buses for carrying mothers with children to and from street car line, tennis courts.

The Chicago Academy of Sciences, which is a museum of natural history, exhibiting growths of animal and plant life in the Chicago region, is situated within Lincoln Park.

The small parks are equipped with field houses, gymnasiums, assembly halls, libraries, clubrooms, sewing rooms, shower baths, locker accommodations, athletic fields, running tracks, outdoor gymnasium apparatus, wading and swimming pools, sand beds, etc. These parks are open from 9:00 A.M. to 10:00 P.M. daily.

The attendance at the small parks was 3,500,000 for the past year; for the four bathing beaches and two swimming pools, 1,000,000; the nine-hole golf course, 108,000; tennis players, 400,000; skating-pond attendance, 800,000; and the rowboat attendance, 320,000. Thirty-two hundred individual baseball permits were granted.

The scope of the Bureau of Parks, Playgrounds, and Bathing Beaches is so large, and recreation and community service is written around so many branches of this department, that to give a detailed account of all of it would be most difficult within the time allotted. The jurisdiction of the department extends over seven small parks, fourteen playgrounds, six athletic fields, four public bathing beaches, four natatoriums, twenty public baths, ten comfort stations, city forestry, the municipal nursery, and the recreation end of the Municipal Pier. The idea of recreation and community service is promoted in the activities of every one of these departments.

The public playgrounds and the work carried on therein, except for the fact that they are very small and rather poorly supervised, are somewhat similar to the play portion of the small parks conducted by the West Park System. These playgrounds are situated very often in the middle of a block, and occupy no more than what the middle of a block would permit. In spite of the fact that these playgrounds do not, to any large measure, meet the requirements of the community from a highly organized point of view, we cannot help but feel that there is an additional open space in the congested part of the city, where the immediate child population may have access to swings and indoor ball, and various other types of outdoor activities.

These small playgrounds are also provided with a miniature field house, used very largely as the office for the keeper or attendant of the grounds, and, during winter weather, as a shelter for those who use the grounds for skating.

Some of these athletic fields are established on leased property, leased by the city for a nominal rental of one dollar a year and the remission of taxes. So far, the department has been able to get the Board of Assessors to remit the taxes on the property used by the city for recreation purposes.

The bathing beaches are, of course, used intensively by hundreds of thousands of people in the summer. A charge of ten cents is made for the use of a locker, no charge being made for bathers not using lockers. An excellent corps of lifeguards, appointed after rigid tests, patrol the beaches and insure the safety of the bathers. This service is also extended to about eighteen street-end bathing places used by the public. Three natatoriums are used the year around.

The bathing beaches and natatoriums are used as extensively as possible the

year around as community centers, every available facility being offered to the public for community interests. Rogers Park bathing beach is an example of this, being equipped with meeting rooms, reading rooms, and an excellent gymnasium.

Twenty public baths have lately been taken over from the health department, and plans are under way for the use of some of these as community centers. Already two or three of them are being used for meetings by the American Legion and by the public welfare organizations for infant welfare work.

The municipal nursery, which provides the trees for street planting, is, of course, a recreation of a passive nature, but its promotion leads the citizen by example to the improvement of his own yard, thereby keeping him out in the open, spading and working on his own land.

The recreation end of the Municipal Pier is used intensively from May 30 until late in September. Before and after that time the auditorium is used at a nominal cost by any public-spirited or civic organization that desires to use it. During the active season every possible form of entertainment is provided for the public. Last year there were nineteen band concerts, ten evenings of community singing, twenty-eight free motion-picture shows, seventeen special entertainments, seventy public dances, twenty-eight performances of the Children's Civic Theater, seven special contests, and one sane Fourth of July fireworks display.

The large auditorium on the pier seats 5,000 and is used five nights a week for supervised public dancing. On Monday and Wednesday afternoons and on Friday evenings the Children's Civic Theater, under the auspices of the Drama League of Chicago, gives excellent programs by the children, who are brought from all parts of the city. Community singing is held every Sunday evening in the large auditorium under the direction of a trained community-singing leader.

On the pier also is maintained a large playground for the children, and thousands of comfortable benches are provided for adults. There are also hundreds of tables on which the people eat their lunch, obtaining coffee or other necessities from the lunchroom.

The attendance on the playgrounds conducted by the Bureau of Parks and Public Playgrounds and Bathing Beaches during the past year, which was, the country over, a cool year, follows: Playgrounds, 2,300,000; Municipal Pier, 2,095,000; beaches and pools, 1,174,000; parks, 2,000,000. In April, 1923, this city was conducting activities in seventy small parks, twelve playgrounds, and eight beaches and natatoriums.

The municipal playgrounds which have been established in the school yards have been turned over to the Board of Education by an act of the legislature in October, 1921. The playground activities of the city are extended toward the establishment of playgrounds only in that section of the city where they were greatly needed, and where the school board would not ultimately build.

Since that day the Board of Education has been conducting sixty year-

around fully equipped playgrounds, five recreation schools operating for eight weeks during the vacation period, eighteen community centers operating from October 1 to May 1.

Starting in September of this year, a new two-year course of physical education and playground training will be offered by the Normal College of the City of Chicago, to train workers for recreational departments of the schools. The problem of securing trained employees, temperamentally suited to the work, is perhaps as pressing in the playground service as it is in any other field of social work. Well-grounded people, capable of handling individual and social problems arising in the neighborhood playground centers, are needed.

The department found that the turnover was enormous. Of the 120 instructors' positions in the playgrounds department during the year, very few were suited for the work—they were students in the various training work, who left for other positions with larger salaries and more convenient hours. Some went into physical education positions for the same reason. It is for that reason that the department has realized the importance of inaugurating in the Chicago Normal College this two-year physical education and playground course. It hopes ultimately to put the playground worker's position on the same basis as that of the public school teacher, both from the point of view of civil service and of salary, and in that way we can hope, in the sixty or more playgrounds which are now being conducted by the department, to offer a real service to the 11,106,464 children who used these playgrounds during the last year.

The board of education has, during the last year, developed a new building program in order to meet the constantly growing needs of the community, with the result that there are contemplated seventy-five additional junior high schools; it may take about fifty years to carry out this program. The plans of these new junior high schools, six of which are already under construction, will include facilities for community purposes. Among these facilities are branch library with outside entrance, large reception hall at the entrance, boys' and girls' gymnasium with separate lockers for each, swimming pool, large auditorium, with a seating capacity of 800 to 1,000, cafeteria rooms, which may be used for dancing floors, and two music recital rooms, a statuary hall and art gallery, with overhead lighting, on the top floor.

These facilities will be put in use probably through community center associations, who will cooperate with the school board and the principals. These activities will be self-supporting, that is, a membership charge, or a special fee for each activity, will probably be made in order to cover the cost of maintaining them, and the board of education will pay for the lighting, heating, etc.

The following is a list of projects and athletic activities that were promoted by the playground department during the year 1924: ice skating tournaments, snow modeling, wrestling tournaments, valentine parties, whittling contest, poster contest, junior police, radio contest, wrestling, O'Leary, baseball pitching contest, top tournament, Girls' Week pageant and athletics, marble tourna-

ment, junior Olympics, Clean-Up Campaign, jack stones tournament, Boys' Day in athletics, hikes, low organization game contest, horseshoe contest, folk dance contest, pet shows, stilt contest, playground rodeo, efficiency tests, playground baseball, original doll show, pushmobile races, knothole club, playground Mardi Gras, Chicago Olympic track and field, sand craft exhibition, baseball, Defense Day athletics, lantern parade, playground circus, volley ball.

TABLE II

Activities of Groups	Total Periods	Total Attendance for Year
Gymnasium (boys).....	12,218	174,213
Gymnasium (girls).....	2,103	31,366
Competitive games (boys).....	3,852	109,888
Competitive games (girls).....	562	13,496
Dancing.....	959	30,046
Boys' clubs.....	6,407	97,237
Girls' clubs.....	5,825	107,086
Mothers' clubs.....	1,519	39,203
Kindergarten.....	2,966	82,429
Miscellaneous.....	1,961	160,232
Citizenship and English.....	4,342	121,746
Dramatics.....	1,031	34,120
Manual Arts.....	1,091	23,809
Printshop.....	431	6,553
Sewing.....	1,787	42,161
Domestic science.....	1,550	20,747
Music instruction.....	4,604	85,398
Orchestra or band.....	267	14,708
Community singing.....	951	44,021
Forum.....	125	5,579
Religious work.....	1,708	138,642
Moving pictures.....	160	55,916
Library.....	3,450	268,103
Spectators at games and entertainments....	988	169,159
Totals.....	60,857	1,875,858

An attempt was made so to vary the types of activities that they would appeal to every child, no matter what his preference might be. Not only did each activity make a special appeal to different groups, but it also made a very fine definite educational contribution to character and physical development.

Twenty-three of the entire group of the Federation of Settlements members, last year, spent \$657,400 for the combined services listed in Table II.

If the full number of settlements had responded, the probability is that this number would have easily doubled, for there are a total of thirty-nine settlements that are members of the federation.

It is impossible to gather the magnitude of the miscellaneous activities along recreational lines by boys' clubs, girls' clubs, the Camp Fire groups, the

Scout groups, both boys and girls, etc. As an example, however, because of the tremendous work that is being done by the Young Men's Christian Association along recreation lines in Chicago, a statement regarding their activities might prove of interest, and helpful.

There are thirteen separate branches of the Young Men's Christian Association throughout the city, and the buildings and property are valued approximately at \$7,000,000. All these buildings have the standard equipment, including gymnasiums, athletic field, swimming tanks, etc. In addition to this equipment, the Association owns eight summer camps.

During the year 1924, 43,340 different members availed themselves of the privileges of the Association. The total attendance at gymnasium classes for the year was 267,000, a total of 658,000 making use of the physical recreation privileges. Thirty-eight physical education teachers are employed during the year to carry on that end of the program. The 43,340 membership just referred to represents 33,806 men and 9,533 boys.

At a meeting of public-spirited people of Chicago, held December, 1920, for the purpose of discussing problems relating to boys' work, it was decided that inquiry into existing conditions was necessary. This resulted in a study which was made under the auspices of the Council of Social Agencies, and included in the study committee members of the outstanding boys' clubs. The inquiry concerned itself, among other things, with Chicago's boy power, destructive influences, crowded living conditions, commercialized amusements, independent clubs, and many other similar phases.

The inquiry showed that there were approximately 325,000 boys between the ages of ten and twenty in Chicago, and that influencing this army of boys there are numerous destructive, as well as numerous constructive, agencies. The purpose of the committee was to get information concerning the constructive work being done for Chicago's boys, but in the process of the inquiry attention was called to the many destructive influences. Among those were the difficulty of crowded living conditions. Membership in an organized boys' club is a wonderful influence in the life of a boy living in the crowded quarters of a big city, but when one remembers that the boy comes from a neighborhood where there are 7,000 people in one square mile, that in spite of the excellent facilities spoken of in this paper, the street is still the usual background for a large proportion of them where most of the families are so crowded, one realizes that no matter how many and how efficient boys' clubs in the city are, they cannot do the whole job.

The committee further discovered that there were, at the time of the inquiry, 445 public dance halls, 432 public poolrooms, 387 picture shows, and scores of penny arcades; that the number of dance halls referred to, conducted in an orderly and decent fashion, are decidedly in the minority; that these dance halls are usually poorly ventilated and supervised; and that often young men attend them with the sole purpose of meeting girls for immoral purposes.

In the 102 poolrooms recently visited by the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago, there was a total of 69 violations, 18 admitting minors, 41 allowing gambling, and 4 permitting disorderly conduct.

The following observations were made of moving picture advertising on one day, late in the month of January: Within one block on Madison Street, in 250 full-length photographs and drawings of people used in display posters and advertising at the front of the theatres, four were shown playing cards, four drinking, twenty-four spooning, thirteen using revolvers, seventy persons in fighting attitudes, and twenty-three showing various parts of the nude human body. In the penny arcades the pictures are quite generally suggestive.

And then, too, there were discovered a great many independent clubs, or so-called "athletic organizations," composed of older boys and young men. These represent the gradual transformation from the gang stage in which they existed as a group of younger boys. Some of these clubs have formerly been members of the settlements and of other boys' clubs, but when the demand of the club for a room of its own and more athletic privileges could not be met, the group left and rented its own rooms. The Stockyards Community Clearing House knows of twenty-three of these independent clubs in its immediate neighborhood. A boy-work leader on the North Side observed six of them along three miles of one street.

Few of these athletic clubs have athletic equipment of any sort, though some have gymnasium privileges in the neighborhood organizations. Most of them could probably be better termed "pleasure clubs." They hold picnics and dances, both for pleasure and financial gain. Police officers tell of a few which practice holdups and robbery inside of the clubrooms.

The United States Census of 1920 tells us that there are in Chicago 111,565 girls between the ages of ten and fourteen, and 104,533 between the ages of fifteen and nineteen, making a total of 216,098 between the ages of ten and nineteen. Practically all of those between the ages of ten and fourteen, and many of those between the ages of fifteen and nineteen, go to school. Most of them use the parks, playgrounds, public libraries, museums, and recreation centers open to them, and many of them take part in activities directed by both the public and private enterprises. There is, however, the commercial recreational lure. The entire task of caring for the leisure time of the young girl is not taken care of wholly by the tax-supporting agencies. The commercial agencies, run by private individuals or corporations for private gain, make contributions toward the whole subject of recreation, and cannot be entirely disregarded.

The 387 moving picture theaters previously referred to have a seating capacity of 205,511 and an estimated daily attendance of 325,000 people. Eleven of the dance halls referred to have a floor capacity of 1,500 and over, and one of them is said to accommodate as many as 10,000 persons. There are four halls with a capacity of from 1,000 to 1,500; thirty-nine ranging from 500

to 1,000. None of these halls are open every night in the week, to be sure; Saturday and Sunday nights are the most popular, and attract the largest attendances. Dance halls attract approximately 125,000 every Saturday and Sunday night. They are not localized places of amusement, but draw patrons from all over the city.

Public cabarets also attract a large number of people. Although they do not reach as many young girls as picture theaters and dance halls do, they carry a far more insidious influence, and present a problem that is harder to solve.

There are, beside the two kinds of recreational facilities provided by the public taxation and private enterprises, a group of privately endowed and supported agencies, some of which are practically self-supporting from dues and other sources, which provide a great many different educational and recreational opportunities for the people of Chicago. Among these, a report of the girls' work in Chicago cites settlements, neighborhood centers, institutions under religious leadership, churches, clubs, and young people's organizations, and such other national groups as the Young Women's Christian Association, the Girl Scouts, and Camp Fire Girls. They provide an extensive and varied program of interest, from which the girls have only to choose what most appeals to them.

The Young Women's Christian Association has a central branch in the downtown district, which is equipped with women's gymnasium, swimming pool, and lunchroom, where the girls in business may come during the noon hour and eat lunches they have brought from home. In addition to the central branch there are two West Side clubhouses and a health education center, which likewise has the usual recreational and physical facilities.

An exceedingly interesting study of the whole girls' problem of Chicago has been prepared under the direction of the Committee on Girls' Work of the Chicago Council of Social Agencies, by Harriet Jane Comstock, only a few months ago, and is fully worthy of your attention.

Probably no other form of social service brings more actual joy to the individual who benefits by it than do summer camps, and, with increasingly higher standards of health and sanitation, they are coming more and more to be real builders of character and strength, as well as refuges from the heat and dirt and turmoil of the city.

There are forty-nine free or moderately priced camps near Chicago, which will take care of approximately 30,000 people during the summer. A few of these are open for undernourished boys and girls, or as rest and week-end camps for young women. These camps spent during the last year, according to a study made by the Wieboldt Foundation, \$231,568.

The camping idea has extended considerably because of the splendid opportunity that is offered the citizens of Cook County through the 27,000 acres that are occupied by the forest preserves in the district of Cook County. These preserves of picturesque woodland, together with the lakes and rivers, constitute

one of the largest playgrounds in the world. Transportation by means of street cars, railroad trains, bus lines, take one to the very heart of this forest region, where one may enjoy almost any outdoor recreation. Concrete roads, equal to the city boulevards, lead to, through, and around these forest tracts. Within the preserves may be found athletic fields, tennis courts, picnic spaces, combination dams and fords, historical places. Drinking fountains and comfort stations are available. Animal and bird life remain undisturbed under the laws of the district. The only laws pertain to the safety of the visitors and to the conservation of the trees, plants, and animal life. By construction of bridges, concrete fords, roads, and pathways through the forest, the board has undertaken to solve the problem of the tourist within the woodland realm. There were in the aggregate over 7,650,000 visitors in these forest preserves during the last year.

Special facilities are provided for campers. Last year there were 4,300 permits issued to organizations and individuals seeking to establish camps free from molestation. These permits are free of charge to the visiting organizations which desire arrangements for special locations on special days.

Further, the preserves district has its recreational features, as well as fields for national research and historical pursuits. Golf links are being constructed as rapidly as the demand grows. Four of these have already been constructed. Baseball diamonds have been laid out in nearly every section, and tennis courts are contemplated in each tract. Swimming, boating, and fishing are all a part of this wonderful outdoor life in the forest preserves.

The sand dunes of Indiana, a mere stone's throw from Chicago, a distance of 35 miles from the heart of the city, again afford an opportunity to the people of Chicago to live in the open, without the slightest interference. Thousands of young men and women and families have, during the past few years, built shacks along the great Indiana sand dunes facing Lake Michigan. The suburban trains and the automobile, as well as buses, take tens of thousands of Chicago citizens for summer week-ends into these wonderful dunes.

No matter how much is being done, from all that has been here recorded of Chicago in meeting its recreational problem for its 3,000,000 people—in the face of the manifold socialized agencies that tend to draw the young people down to a level which is so far beneath the normal standard, making it almost impossible for the agencies as they now exist to counteract their influences—the feeling is keen and strong that much, much more must be attempted in the Chicago program of the next ten years. Chicago stands unquestionably as the first in its opportunities of a general recreational character from the point of view of physical facilities, number of acres, money spent, both on original planning and in the matter of maintenance, but it does fall short, and deplorably short—in the opinion of those who are close to the situation—in the matter of intelligent direction and leadership. To be sure, there are a few in the various systems referred to that are eminently fitted to carry on a really constructive recreation program, but they only are not sufficient. There is still a greater need, and that

is a personnel throughout all of these agencies, sufficiently well-trained, possessing personality and character, and understanding of recreational philosophy. Thousands upon thousands of such leaders are needed. They should be found in every one of our parks and playgrounds, in our settlements, in our institutions, in our boys' clubs, in our girls' clubs, and in other agencies that provide recreation opportunities, for the mere recreation facility alone is only meeting the problem half-way.

If we learn to look upon the great problem of recreation from a community standpoint, its great social and educational as well as character-building and citizenship-making possibilities—and by these I mean the community as a whole, not the social workers, not the social thinkers, for we are but as a drop in the bucket, but the three million people in Chicago—then we shall make it worth while for the thousands of young college men and women in our colleges and universities to take up recreation leadership as a profession, and if we dignify that profession with the proper kind of standard coupled with a compensation equal to that of the school teaching profession or similar vocations, we shall be able to accomplish much in the next decade.

The recreation leaders of Chicago are anxiously awaiting the appointment of the recreation commission referred to in the early part of this paper, for it will offer them the opportunity of planning and preparing a real program for the coming decade.

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATIVE PROCESSES

THE SOCIAL SERVICE EXCHANGE: IS IT A MECHANICAL OVERHEAD, OR A CASE WORK STIMULANT?

Bessie E. Hall, Social Service Clearing House, Cleveland

Miss Margaret Byington, in writing of the exchange in its early days, quotes from the prophet Ezekiel, "Whithersoever the spirit went, thither as the spirit went the wheels also were lifted up withal, and followed it; for the spirit of life was in the wheels." Granted that it is this "spirit of life" within the wheels which can make a social service exchange something more than a mechanical overhead, the question before us becomes, Is the exchange which is serving our community imbued with this spirit of life? If not, how shall we inject this spirit into it? How shall we translate mechanical activities into terms of human service?

A social service exchange is not a cure all for every community ill. It cannot manufacture a spirit of cooperation unless such a spirit already has some beginning. If there is a spirit of jealousy and suspicion in the community and an exchange is set up as a piece of machinery to prevent duplication, which all are invited or commanded to use, your exchange is not going to establish immediate-

ly a spirit of peace and harmony. On the other hand, if there is already a promising spirit of cooperation, a genuine desire on the part of the agencies to work together and to understand each other's function and attitude; if there are enough workers with training and vision to interpret correctly exchange reports when given to them, so that there is no danger of the file's being considered merely a black list; if the office is adequately equipped, both as to personnel and mechanics—then there is no one factor which can do more to foster this desire to work together, and bring it to fruition, than a social service exchange.

The services of a social service exchange should be available for anyone who has a clearly defined social interest in the client and has sufficient training, or adequate knowledge of community resources, to interpret reports when received. Without this training and knowledge unfavorable data is likely to be overemphasized, or conclusions drawn which would not be warranted by study of the material in the hands of agencies. Inquirers at any exchange must know that the exchange does not carry information about any individual or family; that it is simply the index showing where information may be found.

An exchange in any community must serve not only the relief agencies or the privately supported agencies: it must serve the medical field, as it is concerned with public health nursing, clinics, and hospitals; the schools, in connection with their attendance department, working permits, and special work with retarded or otherwise handicapped children; the court probation officers, and the departments of public welfare of city, county, or state. In our own community last year 25 per cent of our total clearings were from tax-supported agencies. If there is a tendency in any city to feel that this is a service a privately supported agency should not render, will they bear in mind that the material in the hands of these public agencies is thus made available for the private, also that an almost invariable result of the use of the exchange by any agency is a realization of its own weakness, whether in the way of record-keeping or standards. If we expect more of the burden to be assumed by the public, this is surely a desirable preparation. There are many tax-supported societies where working standards are the highest, but in some spots the exchange has failed to reach this group.

A probation officer who honestly thinks he has not the time or clerical staff to use the exchange had the time and stenographer to write to another city to the parents of a boy who was under arrest, but was offered a suspended sentence if he would leave town. When the parents took this letter to the Red Cross in their city, which in turn wrote the Red Cross in Cleveland, it was learned that all the facts regarding his home were available with the local Associated Charities, as they had previously interviewed the boy. The probation officer could have had all this information in ten minutes had he used the exchange.

In the main, the responsibility for enlisting new agencies must rest with the executive, but these agencies should be interested and not coerced. The "big stick" method is never particularly fruitful, though an indorsement committee

can stimulate this interest and bring to the executive helpful suggestions. Some hold that to make these contacts, and otherwise to make the exchange function, the secretary must have case work training; some believe that business training is more important. We will all agree that a successful exchange executive must have enough social training to get the point of view of the constituent agencies, to appreciate their limitations, to understand their functions, and to be able to meet the workers on their own ground. If, with case work training in addition to general social knowledge, she is able to maintain a neutral position, to avoid indifference on one hand and unwise interference or partisanship on the other, then we have an ideal social equipment. But unless the exchange is large enough so there is an assistant with business training, this important side of a secretary's equipment must not be overlooked. She should have knowledge of business methods and of filing, with ability to adapt the best methods from the business world, bearing in mind that methods applicable to a concern dealing in automobiles may not work when dealing with social maladjustments.

The executive should be painstaking, accurate, patient, fond of detail, and, in the large exchanges, have the ability to keep her staff up to the mark, conscious that they are playing an important part in the community's social program. Such a staff should be adequately paid according to standards prevailing in that community, for turnover in an exchange office is even more expensive than in the business world, due to peculiar training necessary to fit a clerk to her task.

However small the office, an exchange needs two people on the staff. They may have other duties outside the exchange, but there must always be someone in the office available to serve an inquirer intelligently, and there must be someone free to visit agencies in their own offices to see how the exchange service fits, to advise with them on records and routine questions, free also to attend various meetings where she will meet and mingle with representatives of the different groups, though the subject under discussion may not bear directly on the exchange. She must be ready, also, to meet workers in training from various agencies, that they may early get the right point of view.

In one city not much progress had been made with the children's homes until the exchange secretary became a member of a conference which met regularly among the children's agencies. Here she became personally acquainted with superintendents and board members, visited the institutions as one interested in them, attended luncheons, bazaars, and teas, though it took an afternoon from the office, or an evening from home. In that city now the superintendents of these homes often bring their problems to the exchange secretary. They realize that information in the hands of the exchange is as safe as in their own offices; they see why such indexing is necessary.

But granted we have a well-manned and well-equipped exchange and an adequate number of agencies participating, is our exchange anything more than a mechanical overhead?

To use Miss Richmond's illustration, it is at this point that a secretary finds herself in the position of the driver who could bring his horse to water, but could not make him drink.

An exchange can progress no faster than its constituent agencies. Organically, the agencies are responsible for the exchange, not the exchange for its creators. Practically every agency dealing with individuals requires some investigation into the circumstances of their client, and usually the first step is inquiry of the exchange. But too often this is a perfunctory routine without idea of the value of the report received, or a proper conception of how to use it. Too often the agency is content to learn that there is no apparent duplication of relief or service, and fails to realize that information of others may be of value to them. I have in mind a situation where a worker never looked up a Legal Aid Society report because she thought she knew the legal question involved. When a new worker took hold, she learned from the Legal Aid Society that the woman had come to them the day after she was discharged from the state hospital for the insane. This threw a different light on the situation, for there had been no indication of mental difficulty.

Our case supervisors and teachers of social work must realize that there is no more fruitful expenditure of time than in sustained effort to get the young worker to see the potential possibilities of consultation with other agencies.

A society dealing with delinquent girls wrote a family society in another state, asking that a visit be made to throw light on a puzzling situation in one of their maternity homes. They mentioned another baby in Cleveland, of whom the mother claimed to have lost track. The reference visited told the worker that the child was with a Mrs. A, where the mother had placed her to board, but had been unable to keep up payments. Mrs. A was visited, and said she was fond of the baby and willing to keep her until the mother could pay. The visitor was quite satisfied. In the beginning she had duly learned through the exchange that no agency knew either the girl or the reference mentioned. She quite overlooked the possibility of anyone knowing Mrs. A. When this was called to her attention, she found that Mrs. A was known to many agencies, from whom came information that not only was Mrs. A unfit to care for children, but the situation had recently been reported to a children's agency by a visiting nurse, because of the baby in the home who belonged to none of the family and was being neglected. Through information thus brought to light, not only was an innocent baby given proper protection, but a potential burden on a private agency in one state was transferred to a public agency in another, as the mother was definitely feeble-minded, and guardianship belonged with the other state.

In contrast with this visitor's first attitude, may I cite another instance where the children's worker realized the possibility of even a card file in helping to solve her problem. Her office received a request by telephone to place a week-old baby during the mother's funeral. The mother's name was Mary Morgan, and the man calling was her brother-in-law, named Smith. Upon being

asked a few questions he became annoyed and withdrew his request. The exchange had no report. Worried over the fate of the baby, the visitor tried to locate the family at address given, but failed. The morning's paper contained the death notice of a Mary Morganstein, on the same street, but at different number than given for Mary Morgan. With this information and the list of relatives from the paper, the exchange reports brought to light a history of immorality and crime which made it advisable to remove the child through court action.

An old German man, destitute, in an attic room, was reported to a family society by the landlord. He refused to give his name, saying he wanted to be left alone to die. He might have been referred to the city authorities for admission to the infirmary, but the visitor had a sense of responsibility and a knowledge of community resources. She obtained the man's name from a German newspaper in the mailbox, and through the exchange learned that the bureau of domestic relations had inquired five months previously. After calling the district doctor and nurse and sending in food, she consulted the bureau of domestic relations and was told that the wife and son had been there applying for a divorce because of the man's drinking, following an injury in the shop. Calling at the address furnished by the bureau, it was found that the man had left home after being reprimanded by the son for drinking. After persuasion on the part of the visitor, the son accompanied her to the father's room, and in less than twenty-four hours the old man was back in his own home. The injury was reported to the industrial compensation bureau, and he is now receiving proper compensation.

All cooperation is primarily an act of faith, implying vision, trust, and a common goal. I have been impressed recently by an apparent lack of trust between agencies, both public and private, in some communities. It should not be necessary for four different agencies to write to the same city to verify the same information, and yet this happened recently when a probation officer, a hospital, a state department, and a city department all wrote a private agency in Cleveland asking for previous history and verification of a family's legal residence. A check-up with the exchange in the other city showed that two of the agencies were users of the exchange. The secretary may use this instance in an endeavor to impress upon the other two the advantages of its use, but she can accomplish little if there remains in that community a lack of confidence in each other, lack of understanding, overlapping of function and effort that such duplication implies. These are lacks which rest primarily with the several organizations, and not with the exchange. The exchange is no more responsible for these duplications than a bank which has striven to induce savings is responsible for the loss of money stolen from the old family teapot, or the physician, when the patient declines to follow his directions.

But even with these illustrations of lack of appreciation of the principles of cooperation, I am confident that there are far fewer self-sufficient workers and

agencies in most communities than there were five years ago. The lone-hand worker is out of date. There is more sitting down together of the family case worker, the probation officer, the settlement worker, and the medical social worker, in order to pool their experiences, to get each other's slant on the problem, and together to create a workable plan of procedure, with responsibility definitely placed.

We have been encouraged by the findings of a study recently made in Cleveland, by a member of the Associated Charities staff, to determine how successfully families are being served when the treatment involves the services of the Associated Charities and several child caring agencies during the same period.

Twenty-five records were studied, in conjunction with twenty-one from the juvenile court, nineteen from one children's agency, and fourteen from another, on the same families. One of the questions noted was the use of exchange reports. One agency missed but one report out of fourteen, and the largest was but five out of twenty-five. This student feels that any weakness in cooperation or apparent duplication comes, not from failure to use exchange reports, or lack of knowledge of function, but from a lack of cooperative planning. She suggests more frequent case conferences, with a definite formal decision uniformly recorded by each agency.

There is a difference of opinion as to the wisdom of the exchange's being the medium through which a case conference is called. My personal opinion is that while the exchange may properly serve as secretary of such conferences, the initiative in each instance must come from one of the agencies.

With increasing willingness on the part of the worker to give and take—to subordinate her own individuality to the good of the client and the community without considering the credit coming to a particular organization, with an increasing willingness to withdraw gracefully from a situation and relinquish a natural proprietary interest in the client when it seems best to turn it to another agency—is developing a new idea of cooperation, a cooperation based on mutual understanding of motive and purpose.

Does it not indicate an appreciation of the possibilities of the exchange when we noted in our office, at one time recently, representatives from the children's bureau, the associated charities, community fund, and an interested individual, and at the same time on the telephone were the Red Cross, the Jewish social service bureau, and the day nursery association? Each was seeking to know, not only if some other agency was already adequately handling a situation which had been referred to them, but also to learn if there was material with any other agency which might assist them in understanding the situation. Are we wrong in assuming that in four minutes our office, by an apparently mechanical method, furnished in seven situations stimulation not only to more fruitful expenditure of community resources, but to a possible readjustment of human ills?

May I leave with the exchange workers present a little tale which, when we were somewhat discouraged, was brought to our staff by a field worker who had learned to use our service to its full capacity? It has to do with the humble weavers of certain famous tapestries. They work on, day after day, following the pattern of an artist they have never seen, trying to match the threads of different colors on the wrong side of the cloth. It is only when all is completed and they turn the cloth right side around that they can see and admire the beauty of the picture.

SOCIAL SERVICE RATIOS: HOW HAVE OUR GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE AGENCIES WORKED OUT THEIR RELATIVE RESPONSIBILITIES FOR ACCOMPLISHMENT AND SUPPORT OF SOCIAL WORK?¹

*Sherman C. Kingsley, Executive Secretary, Welfare Federation,
Philadelphia*

Carloadings in the United States, several times within the last few weeks, have successively broken all previous records. This is one of the significant indications of the progress and prosperity of our country and the world. In importance to the human race, this record probably has never been exceeded but once in history, namely, when, on account of a prophetic sense of coming events, Noah selectively loaded the ark.

Important as the above matters are, I want to urge upon the conference and its friends another record to be added to this galaxy, and that is the annual loadings of the ship of state. I do this because I know we are all concerned both with the gross tonnage and its safe convoy. I am interested especially because I know that social workers are having a good deal to do with increasing the number of projects, and the tax appropriations which are concerned on their account that annually go aboard the ship of state, national, state, and local.

The President of the United States, in laying down observations and principles that should govern the preparation of the forthcoming national budget, said that the annual bill for taxation projects for all purposes, shortly after the war, rose to around \$10,000,000,000, or about 15 per cent of the national income.

I submit that there are two or three reasons why every citizen is concerned in this matter: first, he has to help pay the bill; second, he needs to be as intelligent as may be in the exercise of his franchise and his citizen influence; third, he should be able to trust, because of their competency, those who are guiding this heavily freighted ship of state.

We are rather fond of saying, in a good many of our voluntary activities, that one of our tasks is to explore, discover, and initiate, and then to turn

¹ I am indebted for the cooperation of the Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia and to Mr. J. Howard Branson of that office for generous help in the gathering and display of the material in this article.

these demonstrated prospects over to government. This seems to imply that the government is not doing the thing in question; that it might be willing or be made willing to do it; that it has the money to do it. There is an assumption that no matter how difficult it may be to whip ourselves up as voluntary welfare-service givers, the sky is the limit in speeding ourselves up as involuntary taxpayers.

I am not treating the subject of economy. I understand that economy has already been discovered and talked about—indeed, adopted, so to speak, as a new national flower. I am not averse to taxpaying. I believe that the saying that nothing is sure but death and taxes is somewhat vicious in its import, for I believe that very often it should be changed to read death *or* taxes; that in many ways taxes, expressed in health work, school inspection, and so on, have helped

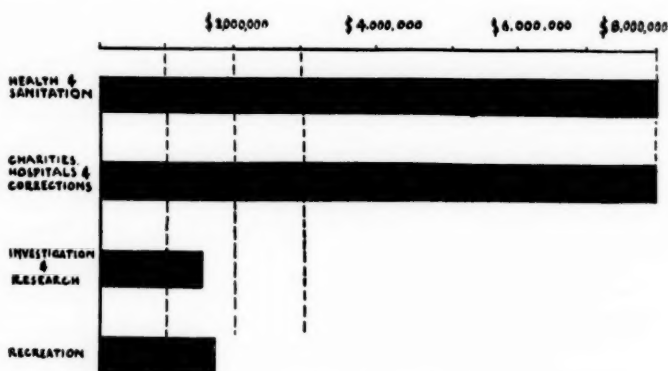


FIG. 1.—Federal appropriations for welfare purposes in 1925

to break the sickle of the grim reaper. On the whole, I think the biggest return we get from any of our spendings is that which comes from what we pay in taxes.

The subject of this paper is, "Social Service Ratios: How Our Government and Private Agencies Have Worked Out Their Relative Responsibilities for Accomplishment and Support of Social Work."

Whatever, then, our individual private agency purpose, national, state, and local, may be—whether it is our expectation to do a given piece of work in perpetuity, or as above indicated—we are making a demonstration that we expect, somehow or other, to place on board the ship of state; we need to know what is already being done through governmental sources, national, state, and local. This will help us to know whether our individual activity, either permanent work or a demonstration enterprise, is needed, so far as governmental agencies are concerned. It will help us better to understand whether or not additional taxes can or should be secured to add such projects to the taxation program.

I shall quote 1922 budget figures, since they are the latest for which certain analyses which I am using have been made:

The total national budget for the fiscal year 1922 was \$3,795,302,499.84; the total state budgets, according to the 1922 *Financial Statistics of States*, was \$918,269,400.00; the total city budgets, according to the 1922 *Financial Statistics of Cities*, was \$1,284,188,727.00; making a grand total of \$5,997,760,626.84. This does not include counties, boroughs, etc. I have been unable to find any compilation of such county, borough, and other minor expenditures.

Let us, then, begin with the national government, follow with state, municipal, and local social service accomplished through taxation, finally approximating this as nearly as may be to what we do through our private enterprises, and see, if possible, what the whole bill and program of rationing is.

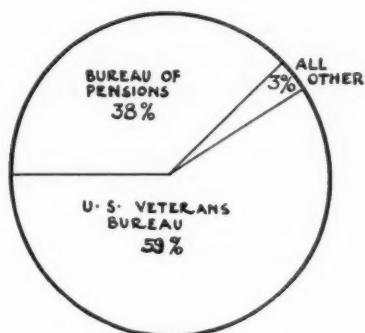


FIG. 2.—Federal military expenditure for welfare service, 1925.

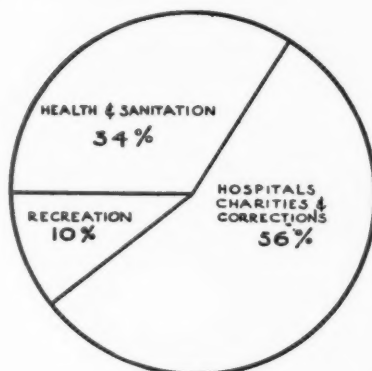


FIG. 3.—Distribution of amounts for welfare purposes (states and cities).

Figure 1.—Beginning, then, with the federal government, we find that Uncle Sam's appropriation for welfare purposes in 1925 amounted to about \$19,400,000; \$8,000,000 each for health and sanitation, charities, hospitals, and correction; and slightly more than a million each for investigation and research and recreation. These services are applicable to the nation as a whole. The national government also takes care of the District of Columbia. The 1925 welfare bill for the District of Columbia was \$2,878,000. Understand, this does not include the veterans' bureau or pension bureau. The 1925 bill for these projects was \$586,820,000.

Figure 2.—In the military branches of the government, Uncle Sam annually spends \$586,820,000, which you see from Figure 1 is almost evenly divided between the United States Veterans' Bureau (51 per cent) and bureau of pensions (40 per cent); the remaining 9 per cent being for the bureau of medicine and surgery, navy department; construction and repair of hospitals, war de-

partment; marine hospitals, treasury department; medical department, war department; recreation for enlisted men, navy department; and United States Soldiers' Home, war department.

Figure 3.—The governmental cost payments for expenses for all states in the Union and all cities over 30,000 population, according to the United States Bureau of the Census report for 1922, totals \$2,201,000,000. This chart, based on the combined figures for welfare purposes for state and city governments, amounting to \$435,190,000, shows how recreation (10 per cent), health and

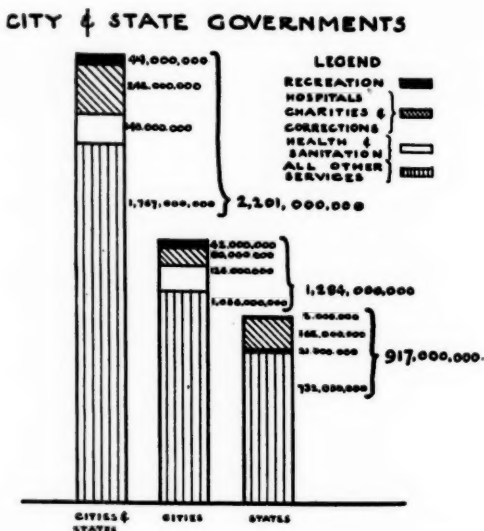


FIG. 4.—Total expenditure showing amounts apportioned to welfare service

sanitation (34 per cent), compares with 56 per cent for hospitals, charities, and corrections for all states and cities.

Figure 4.—This chart is based, as was the previous one, on the combined figures for city and state governments, but shows in addition the amounts spent by the states as compared with the cities. The bar marked "cities and states" represents \$2,201,000,000 spent by all the state and city governments with a population of over 30,000. Of this, \$44,000,000 is for recreation; \$242,000,000 for hospitals, charities, and corrections; and \$148,000,000 for health and sanitation, which leaves \$1,767,000,000 for services other than welfare, or approximately 20 per cent for welfare service and 80 per cent for all other services.

The two small bars marked "cities and states" are, of course, equal to the largest bar, and show how the expenditures are divided; for instance, of the \$44,000,000 spent for recreation, \$42,000,000 is spent by the cities, and only

\$2,000,000 by the states; that \$80,000,000 is spent by the cities for charities, hospitals, and corrections, against \$162,000,000 by the states; likewise, \$126,000,000 is spent by the cities for health and sanitation and \$21,000,000 by the states. The cities spend more for welfare purposes than the states, the ratio being 57 per cent for cities and 43 per cent for states.

Figure 5.—The governmental cost payments for states, covering all the states in the Union, according to the United States Bureau of the Census report, totals \$918,000,000 for welfare purposes, 87 per cent of which is for charities, hospitals, and corrections, 12 per cent for health and sanitation, and 1 per cent for recreation. As you will see from some of the charts that follow, judging by the very small percentage that is apportioned for recreation by the

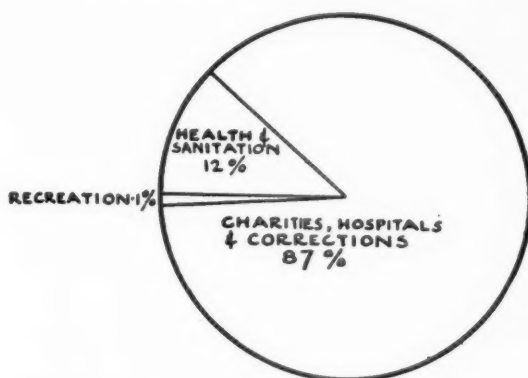


FIG. 5.—Distribution of amounts for welfare purposes (states)

state governments as compared with the city governments, it is evident that this recreation task is considered more especially the job of the city rather than of the state. In this connection it is interesting to note that the highest state per capita cost for recreation is 7 cents in Rhode Island, New Mexico, and Iowa; that in sixteen states it is less than half a cent; and in seven states absolutely nothing is spent on recreation. Georgia has the lowest per capita cost for charities, hospitals, and correction (44 cents), while Massachusetts ranks highest, with \$3.25; Georgia and Kentucky stand at the bottom of the list for health and sanitation (7 cents); Connecticut and Vermont are at the top with a cost of 63 cents.

Figure 6.—The distribution of expenses for welfare purposes in certain states: In this selected group of states the divisions are almost identical, with the exception of Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania spends her greatest share for health and sanitation, and less for charities, hospitals, and corrections. It is interesting to note the per capita costs for welfare purposes in these selected

states as compared with the total per capita costs for all governmental service, including developments of natural resources, highways, schools, libraries, etc. (Table I).

Figure 7.—We have seen how Uncle Sam and the state governments have worked out their relative responsibilities for the accomplishment and support of social work; I will now attempt to show what is being done by the cities to meet this responsibility. The total amount of expenditures by cities for welfare purposes is \$248,853,000, distributed as follows: 50 per cent for health and

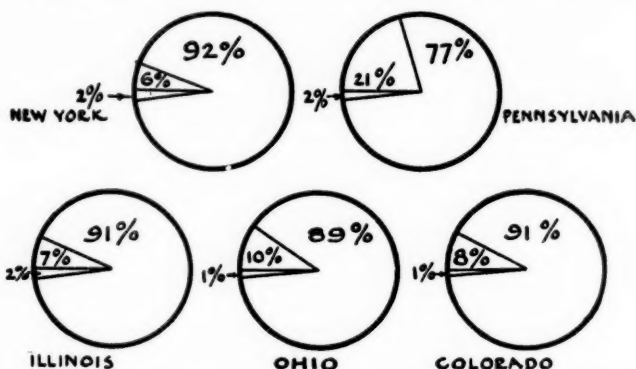


FIG. 6.—Distribution of expenses for welfare purposes in certain states

TABLE I

State	Per Capita Cost Based on Total Expenditures	Per Capita Cost Based on Wel- fare Expendi- tures
New York.....	\$9.62	\$2.12
Pennsylvania.....	7.10	2.00
Illinois.....	4.60	1.47
Ohio.....	9.14	1.05
Colorado.....	8.71	1.79

sanitation, 32 per cent for charities, hospitals, and correction, and 17 per cent for recreation. Denver stands at the top of the list of per capita costs for recreation, with \$2.04, the lowest being Hamtramck, Michigan. Kokomo, Indiana, has the lowest per capita cost for health and sanitation (\$0.28), and Atlantic City, New Jersey, the highest (\$7.89), while Newark, New Jersey, ranks highest for charities, hospitals, and corrections (\$4.64), and fourteen cities have none.

Figure 8.—This chart of the total governmental expenditures by cities, amounting to more than \$1,200,000,000, shows the amount apportioned for welfare purposes better than do the charts in the remaining groups. The next

chart will show the same five groups of cities, with the percentage distribution for charities, hospitals, and correction, health and sanitation, and recreation.

Figure 9.—It is interesting to note that the third group, 100,000 to 300,000, which, in the previous chart, ranks second in the amount spent for welfare purposes, spends 20 per cent for recreation, which is higher than the cities of the first group. In the larger cities of over 500,000 population 36 per cent is apportioned for charities, hospitals, and corrections, and this percentage is gradually decreased in each group until for the 30,000 to 50,000 group it is 23 per cent. According to *Financial Statistics for Cities*, expense for welfare purposes in 1922 increased 100 per cent over 1915, the greatest share of this increase being in the health and sanitation classification.

Figure 10.—In this selected group of cities, arranged in the order of greatest population—New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Denver—the percentage distribution for recreation ranges all the way from 9 per cent in Cleveland to 3.6 per cent in Denver. A summary of per capita governmental costs for these cities is shown in Table II.

The per capita costs for cities shown in this chart do not follow the logical order according to population.

As it stands on the chart, Philadelphia has third place and Cleveland fourth; but when arranged according to per capita costs, the places of these two cities are reversed: Cleveland third and Philadelphia fourth.

So far as ratioing in welfare service is concerned, it has been unconscious rather than planned. We began with jails and almshouses, then insane asylums and institutions for the feeble-minded, and, of course, hospitals.

People were restrained because of offenses and because we feared for our persons and property. They were taken into institutions and asylums because they were lunatic, or sucked their thumbs, or threw fits, or were so noticeably unable to get along on their own steam that something had to be done. Of course a demand created the supply as fast as needs compelled favorable legislation and secured corresponding appropriations, and there was at least this much of logical ratioing—although here, as in our general private charities development, a belated sense of logic, namely, untoward conditions of one kind or other, produced their train of consequences and end results.

It was natural enough that—just as in tax-supported welfare service public opinion must secure and back legislation and appropriations out of

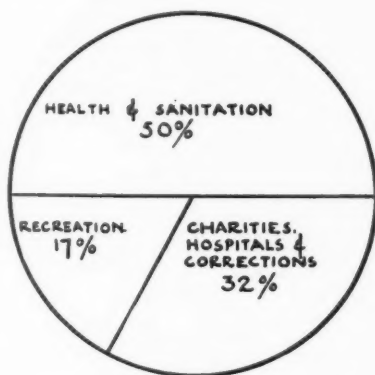


FIG. 7.—Distribution of amounts for welfare purposes (cities).

taxes—the more obvious things would appeal first to private benevolence— orphaned children, helpless old age, the crippled, the blind, the homeless, the incurable, skinny babies, the tuberculous, the vagrant.

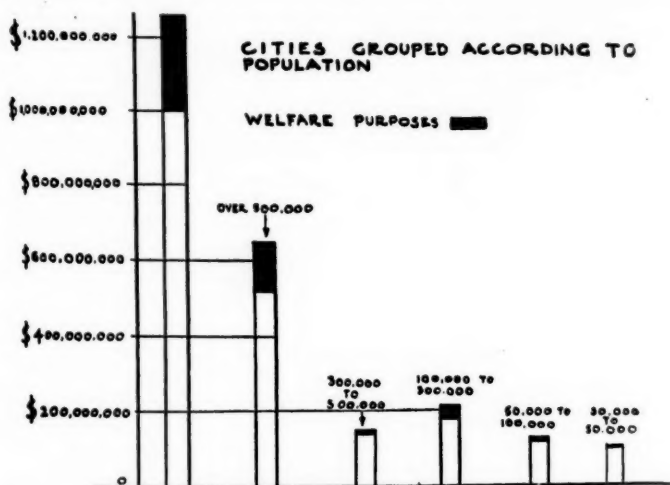


FIG. 8.—Total government expenditures showing amount apportioned for welfare purposes.

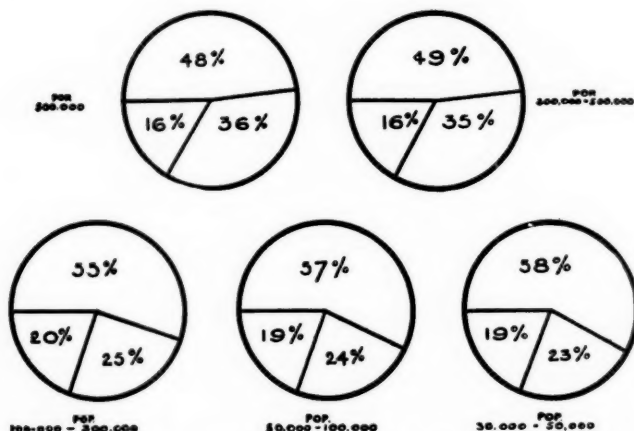


FIG. 9.—Governmental expenses for welfare service (cities over 30,000 population)

Judging from our federated cities that now raise about \$55,000,000 annually, and adding fair approximates for what is probably raised in New York, Chicago, Boston, and other unfederated cities, and estimating for agencies not

included in federated cities, it is probable that we raise in the United States annually something like \$180,000,000 for private welfare service. If endowment, income, and earnings run in other cities as they do in Philadelphia, Cleveland, and other cities where such data has been determined, it is probable that

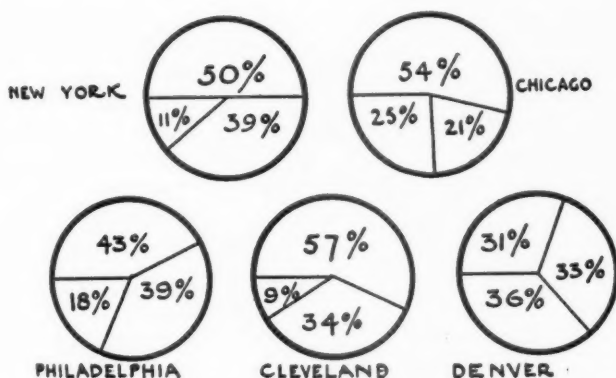


FIG. 10.—Distribution of expenses for welfare purposes in certain cities

the national private welfare expenditures in the United States run to some three or four times this amount, or around \$500,000,000 or \$600,000,000.

I regret not having been able to analyze the big items of expenditures—corrections, charities, health, etc. We all know the inordinate amounts spent

TABLE II

CITY	TOTAL PER CAPITA	PER CAPITA COST		
		Health and Sanitation	Charities Hospitals, and Corrections	Recreation
New York.....	\$8.88	\$4.42	\$3.48	\$0.98
Chicago.....	7.78	4.18	1.67	1.93
Philadelphia.....	6.77	2.91	2.63	1.23
Cleveland.....	6.39	3.64	2.18	0.57
Denver.....	5.65	1.76	1.85	2.04

for corrections, compared, for instance, with recreation and preventive health service; the big ratios for insanity and feeble-mindedness as end results, compared with measures of early care, foresight, and prevention. Our alienists are now saying that early attention and care can accomplish in the mental field results fairly comparable to those achieved in the fight against tuberculosis. To my mind we are facing in our federated cities the second line of testing. The

early results of collective action through federation are fairly concrete—a satisfaction, sometimes a thrill, in common action for a worth-while cause, increased numbers of people at work and participating as subscribers; twice the number, sometimes three and six times as many people, working and giving as before; and again, more money raised, increases running from 50 to 100 per cent within a year or two. Difficult as these results often are to bring about, they are, nevertheless, what you might call bargain-counter results. We are now up to second line. What are the results in standards of work? Is it better done? Is work better coordinated? Is there less overlooking—less overlapping? Is there better understanding and morale among social workers, among boards of trustees? Can your town crack harder nuts this year than it could last year? Are you more hospitable or less hospitable toward those measures which deal with housing, sanitation, occupational safeguards, the finding and the interpretation of facts which are necessary to enlighten social action? Does your clientèle demand that agencies benefitting through the federation shall be those, and those only, who are sick, hungry, wayward, down and out, lame, blind—in other words, those in the finished stages of delinquency, dependency, and ill health? Is the federation carrying the fight more and more into the constructive field?

Government must have sufficient backing for enactment of legislation and to secure enabling financial appropriations. Is there going to be a like restraint on federation in the name of fully ripened need of charity?

Of old there was a precious object known as the Ark of the Covenant; it contained sacred mandates and covenants. It was always intrusted to those who understood its significance and inner meaning. Only they might walk beside it and bear it on its way. The federation cause has something akin to this sacred object, and those who are undertaking to represent it need something of the same understanding and devotion possessed by those who kept that ancient object at the center of the life of their people.

PHILADELPHIA AS A PROVIDER FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN

(ABSTRACT)

*Neva R. Deardorff, Executive Secretary, Children's Commission
of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia*

As one's mind plays over the scene of a large community attempting to bring forth and educate a new generation, one can well exclaim,

. . . but if I could understand
What you are, root and all, and all in all,
I should know what God and man is.

Anyone who could understand thoroughly the forces which have operated to bring each child into the circumstances in which we may find him at any given time, would, in my opinion, know what God and man is.

Although the Conference has allotted to me a generous amount of time, I shall have to select what, after all, must be a very few points of attack, and these can be scarcely more than imperfectly glimpsed: first, a little sketch of how our community as a whole supports children; next a simplified and incomplete picture of the number of children whose families cannot wholly support them; and third, some of the problems in social justice and in social work which are involved when one sets a picture of the community's activities for the specially assisted children against the background of the community's methods of taking care of all of its children.

So far as I can see, the only children who might be said, in our system of private property, to be self-sustained are those who own property in their own right, the principal or income of which will support them at least to working age. We do not know the number of such children in Philadelphia. For all of the other children support comes either through the property and efforts of their parents and relatives, or through maintenance provided by public, private, or individual charity—unless, of course, their own work is of a character or amount to reimburse the community for their support and education.

Children in the homes of Philadelphia.—First let us see some of the home conditions of the families of Philadelphia. The best I can do is to report to you some bits of information which are indicative. In my review of this material I have followed, at your chairman's request, the methods which we have been using lately to get some of these ideas before the general public in Philadelphia.¹

According to the 1920 census there were 471,404 children under fourteen years of age in Philadelphia. There were 112,685 between fourteen and eighteen, and a total of 673,136 under twenty-one years. This is about one-third of the population of the city.

¹ See Jacob Billikopf, "Every Child in Philadelphia," *Survey Graphic*, April, 1925.

Putting the matter another way, we may broadly mark off the generations as follows (Table I).

Perhaps a better way of presenting the age composition of the population is on the basis of a representative block of fifty persons. I would particularly invite your attention to the group between fifteen and nineteen. Of the four children in that group, one is still in school. Advancing the age of compulsory schooling a year would affect only one child. In contrast, look at the array of thirty

TABLE I

Age Group	Number	Percentage
Under eighteen years.....	584,089	32
Between eighteen and forty-five years.....	838,658	46
Over forty-five years.....	401,032	22
Total.....	1,823,779	100

grown people between the ages of eighteen and sixty, of whom over half are gainfully employed. Our society is not organized, however, on the basis of generations.

For the task of caring for and raising these children our 1,152,643 people over twenty-one years are largely organized into 402,946 homes—small organizations, to be sure, but doing an intensive job.

But of course not all of the homes are on the child-rearing job. We estimate

TABLE II

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN AGE GROUPS
(PENNSYLVANIA)

Age Group	1890	1920
Under twenty years.....	43.3	40.6
Over twenty years.....	56.7	59.4

that of our 400,000, only about 55 per cent have children under fourteen, so that roughly about 221,600 homes are at the moment the custodians of all but about seven thousand of our 471,000 children under fourteen. As you see, this averages between two and three children per family. Here is the lineup, of homes going to bat, so to speak. One notices that the homes which have four or more children are in a decided minority.

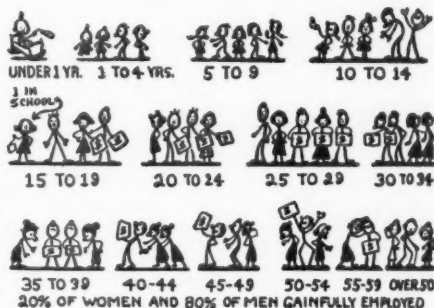
This is, perhaps, the place to ask how changes in the age composition of the population relate to child welfare, as social workers usually understand that term. The significance of the falling birth-rate is, as you know, a matter of great

controversy. There seems to be general agreement that the falling death-rate and the greater expectancy of life is a good omen. What do these changes mean in the care of dependent children? What does it mean, in the child welfare field, that a boy of ten years now has a life expectancy of 50.98 years; that on the average he will live to be sixty-one years old; and that the expectancy of women is even greater?

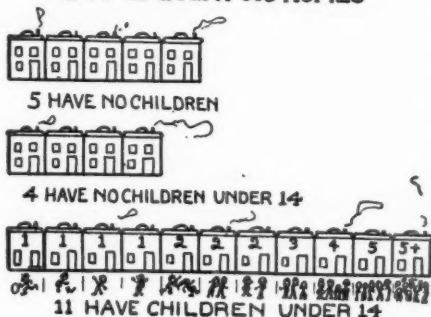
The extent and rapidity of these changes are indicated in the percentages of age groups in Pennsylvania in 1890 and 1920 (Table II). In Philadelphia the population under twenty years has dropped from 37.4 in 1890 to 35.2 in 1920, and the proportion of adults has correspondingly increased. When we remember that the dependent and semi-dependent children are

only about 4 or 5 per cent of the children under sixteen, we can see that a shift of the proportions of adults and minors might have a very important effect. We are already seeing that a man in the early parent ages dies less frequently per thousand population of his age, and also that when he does die he leaves fewer

OUT OF EVERY 50 PERSONS IN PHILADELPHIA—



OUT OF EVERY 20 HOMES



children, on the average. This has so completely upset the situation that we are now spending up to \$2,000 a year on the few orphans who are physically and mentally normal in the institutions endowed especially for their care. One cannot help wondering what will occur if the death-rate for people between ten and sixty is cut in two, as Louis I. Dublin predicts will happen within a reasonably short time. Affairs in other departments of life may have been growing

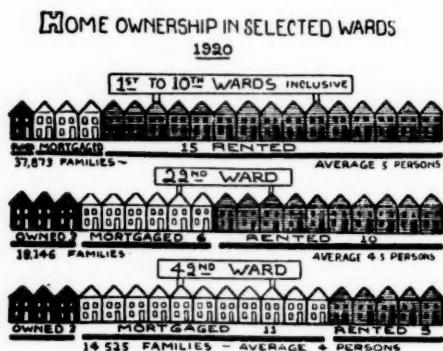
speedier, but in the processes of life and death the slow movie now holds the screen.

Turning away from how people are now born and die, we may well ask how do they live, especially in the 221,600 homes with young children. On this subject we have some information on housing, on income, and on cost of living.

From data collected by the Philadelphia Housing Association and by the United States Census, we are warranted in the conclusion that for Philadelphia

as a whole about one family in eight is housed in a highly unsatisfactory way. Thus we have, not a submerged tenth, but a seriously endangered eighth. Lodgings, alley properties, courts, and crowded tenements are the homes of a considerable proportion of the children of the city.

Surveys of 334 families of unskilled workers, recently made by the Society



for Organizing Charity, and of 768 families cared for by the Jewish Welfare Society showed that many were living in "rooms"; that many of those living in houses had sublet a part of the space; that a considerable proportion of the houses and apartments or "rooms" had no bathroom; and that over half of the apartments were heated by stoves, with all of the attendant drudgery of carrying coal and the problem of storing it in

limited quarters. Forty-five per cent of the Jewish families in houses, and 78 per cent of those living in apartments, shared the toilet facilities with at least one other family.

One may next ask in how far the people of our city own the houses in which they live, and thus control the conditions in them. The answer in the census is as shown in the accompanying illustration. Thus it is seen that in the wards with the largest families, home ownership is at the greatest discount.

Family incomes in Philadelphia.—Next, let us see whence people get the wherewithal to pay the bills. We do not have the occupations for Philadelphia, but for Pennsylvania we find the situation indicated in the next illustration.

The eleven men here assigned to mining and agriculture, for the state as a whole, should be cut down for Philadelphia and distributed very largely to industry, trade, and transportation, with, perhaps, slightly larger proportions in all of the other groups.





Next, let us see how much people get with which to make both ends meet. The general situation is sketched in these little pictures.

OF EVERY 50 MALES GAINFULLY EMPLOYED
(TOTAL 3,740,127 MALES)






22 ARE IN INDUSTRY	
6 IN MINING	
5 IN AGRICULTURE	
5 IN TRADE	
5 IN TRANSPORTATION	
3 IN CLERICAL EMPLOYMENT	
1 1/2 IN PROFESSIONAL WORK	
1 1/2 IN DOMESTIC SERVICE	
1 IN PUBLIC SERVICE	

It seems not improbable that the income conditions in Philadelphia are about the same as those described by the National Bureau of Economic Research for the country as a whole for the year 1918. It is shown there that, of 37,569,060 income receivers, 38.22 per cent received less than \$1,000; 33.27 per cent, between \$1,000 and \$1,500; 13.90 per cent, between \$1,500 and \$2,000; 11.84 per cent, between \$2,000 and \$5,000; 1.56 per cent, between \$5,000 and \$10,000; .68 per cent, over \$10,000.

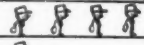

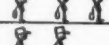





OF 33 PERSONS ENGAGED IN INDUSTRY
IN PHILADELPHIA THERE ARE

28 WAGE EARNERS 21 MEN 7 WOMEN	 AVERAGE WAGE \$1170 PER YEAR
3 CLERKS 2 MEN 1 WOMAN	 AVERAGE WAGE \$1400 PER YEAR
1 SALARIED OFFICIAL	 AT \$4000
1 PROPRIETOR AND FIRM MEMBER	 ?






OF 20 SKILLED WORKERS IN CITY'S EMPLOY
(27 BRICKLAYERS, 91 PAINTERS, 32 PLUMBERS, 63 CARPENTERS)

4 RECEIVE \$1400 TO \$1500	
1 RECEIVES \$1500 TO \$1600	
7 RECEIVE \$1600 TO \$1700	
6 RECEIVE \$1700 TO \$1800	
2 RECEIVE \$1800 TO \$1900	

OF 16 SKILLED MECHANICS IN CITY'S EMPLOY
(1685 POSITIONS TABULATED)

4 RECEIVE LESS THAN \$1300	
1 RECEIVES \$1300 TO \$1400	
3 RECEIVE \$1400 TO \$1500	
2 RECEIVE \$1500 TO \$1600	
2 RECEIVE \$1600 TO \$1700	
1 RECEIVES \$1700 TO \$1800	
2 RECEIVE \$1800 TO \$1900	
1 RECEIVES OVER \$1900	

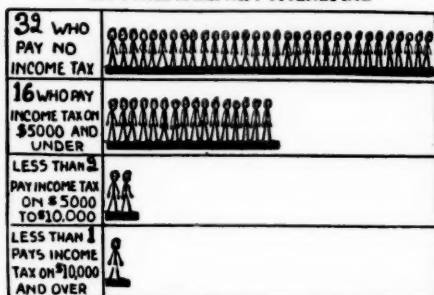
OF 44 UNSKILLED WORKERS IN THE
CITY'S EMPLOY ~

5 RECEIVE LESS THAN \$900 PER YR.	
9 RECEIVE \$1000 TO \$1100	
25 RECEIVE \$1100 TO \$1200	
3 RECEIVE \$1200 TO \$1300	
2 RECEIVE \$1300 TO \$1600	

The most prosperous 10 per cent of the population in 1918 received about 35 per cent of the national income, the next lower 30 per cent received about a third of the national income, while the least prosperous 60 per cent received about the remaining third. This Bureau points out that when we start from the top of the income scale we must go down to people receiving \$8,000 per annum in order to include 1 per cent of the income receivers. Similarly, to include 5 per cent of the income receivers, we have to descend to incomes of \$3,200 to \$3,300. To include 10 per cent, we must take in part of the \$2,300 to \$2,400 class; and to include 20 per cent, we must include part of the \$1,700 to \$1,800 class.

Cost of living in Philadelphia.—And now let us see what it costs a family of five to live decently in Philadelphia. The bill is simple but high. Its items are: housing, at \$37 per month, \$444.00; fuel and light, \$103.70; food, \$536.54; clothing, \$354.37; carfare, \$44.25; cleaning and supplies, \$49.60; insurance, \$58.23; health, \$47.41; furniture and furnishings, \$50.57; dues, contributions, and taxes, \$35.25; recreation and amusement, \$22.99; education and reading, \$18.39; miscellaneous expenditures (spending money, moving, legal and funeral expenses), \$88.88; total, \$1,854.28.¹ Since these prices were secured, the cost-of-living index number of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics shows

**IN EACH 50 OF THE 402,946 FAMILIES
IN PHILADELPHIA THERE ARE**



advances which indicate that the cost of maintaining such standards in December, 1924, was \$1,923.08.

How is this situation mitigated or met by the masses of our people? The adjustments are of various kinds, of course. Some married women and children work and earn; some people limit the size of their families; some live below standard. The extent and nature of additional sources of family incomes may be seen

from data collected in 1917-18 by the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research.² It is worthy of note that in the higher income levels it is not wages, but other sources, that do most of the raising of the income.

Assistance to families and children.—With this situation confronting the large part of our families, especially those which have young children, some casualties in family life and support will occur on the margin. The principal question that confronts us is how often do they occur. I have tried to bring together some facts which throw a little light on that. Ten family agencies reported to the Children's Commission the number of families and of children they were assisting financially on a single day. A year's expenditures for each society was also given. The total showed 3,686 families with 11,874 children. The total expenditures amounted to \$1,179,658.93. In this connection it must be emphasized that the number of families receiving assistance on a given day is not an indicator of the volume of work of these societies. It does, however, give an idea of the size of the dependent group at any one time. The bulk of the work of these agencies is better appreciated when it is pointed out that the

¹ Beyer, Davis, and Thwing, *Workingmen's Standard of Living in Philadelphia*, with later supplements.

² *Ibid.*

Society for Organizing Charity serves about 4,500 families in the course of a year.

In addition to these larger charitable societies we have a very small expenditure for public outdoor relief and a group of twelve nationalistic societies, such as the Society of the Sons of Saint George; we have great fraternal orders, such as the Moose and the Masons; and we have a rather large number of wealthy churches which, in greater or less degree, take care of their own. Of these, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, which operates actively in almost all of the hundred and twenty-four Catholic parishes, carries on the most extensive operations, and has been counted in the total above. While it is a very risky procedure, I hazard the guess that not more than 5,000 families and 15,000 children are receiving financial assistance at any one time in our community, and I make the very liberal estimate that we spend not more than \$1,500,000 on a year's job.

Foster family agencies.—Next, let us turn to the children's agencies. Here we get into a highly complicated field which requires much more careful, detailed analysis than anyone has given it thus far. In the main, we have a group of private agencies who accept children from two main sources. On the one hand, they get children who have been through the juvenile court and the department of public welfare and have been declared public charges. On the other hand, they may accept children directly from parents, relatives, and other private sources. Later the agencies may take some of these into court to establish their status as public charges and to secure board from the city or the county.

Eight agencies had a total of about 3,500 children under their care on a given day. Their expenditures in the care of the dependent children reach an annual total of \$954,884.82. The department of public welfare and the juvenile court have the responsibility for the care of certain normal dependent children, but they both expend money for this purpose very largely through the private agencies and institutions.

Institutional care of dependent children.—Next, let us turn to the institutions. In the main they break up into seven groups. Unfortunately for logic, these classes are not mutually exclusive, but they are, I think, suggestive of the problems in social engineering which these units present. These classes, together with the total capacities and expenditures for one year, are as follows (Table III). The expenditure figures here given take no account of depreciation or capital costs.

Summarizing this information, we get a rough outline picture of the whole situation somewhat as in Table IV.

It is difficult to establish a ratio between the general population and these children under the care of institutions and agencies, some of which care for a child to the age of eighteen, and others of which cease their ministrations on a child's fourteenth birthday. This group of 26,000 children is overestimated rather than underestimated, because only about 80 per cent of the institution

capacity is in use, and also because I have been generous in my estimate of those under family care. Yet this generous figure is but 5.5 per cent of the children under fourteen, and 4.4 per cent of those under eighteen years. Furthermore, we must remember that the parents of some of the 7,500 children in institutions, and of the 3,500 under foster care, are helping in their support. The children assisted in their own homes are also only partially supported by charity.

TABLE III
CAPACITIES AND EXPENDITURES FOR INSTITUTIONS FOR DEPENDENT
CHILDREN (PHILADELPHIA)

Kind of Institution	Number	Total Capacity	Total Expenditures for One Year
Endowed.....	10	2,143	\$1,513,556.02
Private non-sectarian.....	6	386	84,077.76
Catholic.....	15	3,038	638,741.15
Jewish.....	4	510	133,201.25
Other denominational.....	13	1,006	313,786.93
Fraternal.....	4	325	76,503.33
Colored.....	3	112	25,635.55
Total.....	55	7,520	\$2,785,501.99

TABLE IV

Type of Care	Number of Children	Annual Expenditure
Family assistance.....	15,000	\$1,500,000
Foster home care.....	3,500	1,000,000
Institutional care.....	7,520*	2,800,000†
Totals.....	26,020	5,300,000

* Endowed institutions, 2,143; others, 5,377.

† Endowed institutions, \$1,500,000; others, 1,300,000

One may not be especially well impressed with the way in which parents are doing the job of child rearing, but one must remember that it is they who are carrying all but 5 per cent of the load, and they are doing it under circumstances and conditions which make the work of philanthropists look like a day's outing.

Some problems in social justice and social policy.—I said in the beginning that in the third section of this paper I should try to indicate some of the problems in social justice and in social policy which are involved when one sets a picture of the community's activities for the specially assisted children against the background of the community's methods of taking care of all of its children.

Certain aspects of this situation can best be epitomized in a case recently heard in the Orphans' Court in Philadelphia. It revolved around the circumstances of a very wealthy institution for dependent children. Owing in part to the reluctance of the board of administrators to erect buildings in a period of high labor costs in the building industry, a surplus of about two million dollars of earnings had accrued. The question arose as to whether this surplus should be put back into the capital account which the founder of the trust had designated must be spent for the institutional care of a highly restricted and decreasing number of child beneficiaries. It was brought out in this hearing that this institution was quite willing to spend on a child away from its family about \$1,500 a year in direct cost, and that it had thirteen families, out of forty-seven families, in which there were two children upon which it was spending in actual cash outlay \$3,000 apiece.

I submit to this Conference the problem in social justice of such a situation, and I ask the children's workers of the country whether it is possible or desirable to relate the methods and the costs of taking care of dependent children to the methods and the costs of raising children in the usual fashion. I am speaking particularly of children who present no special physical or mental problems or exhibit no signs of genius or marked superiority.

The second point I should like to raise, particularly with officials of welfare federations, is the justice, soundness, and ethics of going through the mills, factories, and offices and asking people of small wages to contribute. In the February, 1925, number of *Better Times*, the well-known little magazine for executives, I was interested to read in an article called "Going after Big Business in Money Raising, Corporation Contributions, and Employee Groups," the following:

Frankly—and this is said with full sympathy for the wage-earner—he does not contribute his share in the great philanthropic movements in our cities. He has never been educated to it. The labor situation tempts the employer to protect him rather than risk an argument with him. All employers are becoming increasingly fearful of being accused of bringing pressure to bear upon their employees. It can be accepted as final that at this writing the pay-envelope man is about the poorest contributor to philanthropies of any class in our great cities. On the other hand the salaried clerk and office worker is a very liberal contributor in proportion to his means.

It is probably true that the wage-earner is a poor contributor to philanthropies, but he is an amazingly large contributor to the support of children, which is, after all, from the standpoint of the community, the important task to get done. He is also a good supporter of the cooperative efforts of beneficial orders to take care of needy members. I do not wish to stress this point in particular, but I do wish to indicate that there is a field of study of the distribution of income and of responsibility in the community which could very well be examined closely by welfare federations and social agencies as the basis for their program of money raising. There are grave implications in the change from collecting funds from the well-to-do to asking poor people to give of their meager

store. Such a very progressive group as this undoubtedly senses the problems involved in collecting one widow's mite to help another widow, and looks forward to an era of social justice and the intelligent and fundamentally just use of community resources.

A third point to remember is that in the future those who want to do something special for children will find that their efforts will not be in the care of wholly dependent children, but in the assistance of semidependent children. When death and drink used to operate more actively their effect was decisive, and children were thrown completely on charity. Now, as we view the child welfare problems and see sickness, unemployment, low wages, illegitimacy, desertion, and non-support as outstanding factors, the situation becomes far more complicated.

But whenever one starts out to help children who are semidependent and who lack for much that would make their lives not only more of a satisfaction to themselves, but also more useful to the community, he is struck immediately with the bulk of the problem that he has attacked. Too many children live too near the margin. Those who have been deprived of one or both parents are a decreasing proportion in the community, and we have worked out customs and provisions for taking care of these children. In fact we have overdone it. Moreover, these classes make the most elemental appeal and are the first candidates for public support. But where is either our social philosophy or our social machinery for helping the child in the home with low wages, with unemployment, with sickness, and with domestic unhappiness? Do our charitable impulses function when there are adults in the picture of distress before us? These problems bring us back to the realization that child welfare can never get ahead of family welfare and social welfare.

Thus far I have not been especially optimistic in my picture. We do have in Philadelphia certain very encouraging signs. I have selected a few as perhaps indicative of the direction from which light is breaking.

The Seybert Institution was established by the will of Henry Seybert, who died in the early eighties. It was his desire that two institutions for the care of boys and girls of Philadelphia be erected as a memorial to his parents. He was anxious, however, that the needs of the future be taken into account. Accordingly, he provided that his trustees might help children through other than institutional means. He had a deep appreciation of the value of research work, especially that which would look to the improvement of child welfare conditions through wise legislation. The activities of the Institution since it began functioning in 1907 have followed his interest in research. This foundation was one of the prime movers in the organization of the Pennsylvania School of Social and Health Work, the Public Charities Association, and in the development of a sound foster home program in Philadelphia.

More recently, in view of the extreme necessity under which the Society for Organizing Charity was laboring, the Seybert trustees appropriated a sum,

direct to the Society, sufficient to carry a group of widows and their children, totaling about 250 persons. This was done in order that the families might be kept intact and their children saved from needless foster home experiences.

The story of the old Magdalen Society, metamorphosed into the White-Williams Foundation, has inspired new courage and vision in many directions, not only in Philadelphia, but in other cities as well. Its work with problem children in the public schools and its scholarships for promising boys and girls are in step with the times.

The case of the John Edgar Thomson School is another of these new adaptations: Mr. Thomson, at one time president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, left at his death a will providing for a school for the daughters of men who had lost their lives in railroad service. Daughters of employees of the Pennsylvania Railroad came first, the Georgia Central Railroad, second, and other railroad lines, third. Mr. Thomson died in the late seventies. His widow, some years after his death, arranged for the opening and operation of the school. After a period of forty years the trustees of this fund found themselves in a very peculiar position. The fund was mounting in size. A surplus was accumulating, but the institution had dwindled to thirty children. Workmen's compensation, organizations of railroad men, beneficial orders, and other means of family care were making it more and more difficult to get children for the Philadelphia institution. The rules of eligibility were then widened to include daughters of men who simply died in the service, and this helped somewhat. About three years ago an extensive advertising campaign was carried on extending all over the United States and reaching at least 200,000 railroad workers. The immediate response was negligible. Only three applications came in from the whole United States. Since then more applications have come. There is not, however, any rush of people to avail themselves of the benefits held out by the school itself.

In this situation the suggestion was made to the trustees that possibly if they could arrange an extension plan by which a girl might remain with her mother and at the same time receive some of these benefits, Mr. Thomson's beneficent idea might find a wider expression. With the permission and cordial indorsement of the Orphans' Court of Philadelphia County, this plan was put into operation. As a result, the school is now about four times more useful than it was a few years ago. It is now reaching one hundred and fifty children. Of these, a hundred are on the extension plan and live in all parts of the United States. I submit that as an instance of the quickening of the dead hand so that it functions in modern conditions.

The last of the hopeful developments in Philadelphia which I shall mention here is the organization of Jewish children's work. About one-eighth of the population, or upward of 250,000 people, in Philadelphia belong to the Jewish community, which has its own social work machinery. Within the last two or three years this machinery has been geared up in such a way that social work processes are carried through in a simple and logical order. In all cases in which

dependency is a factor, the Jewish Welfare Society takes the initiative, makes an investigation, and makes the decision as to whether it is a family which should be kept together. If so, provision is made for needed assistance on an adequate basis. If it is a widowed family, the assistance and supervision is undertaken by the Orphans' Guardian Society.

If the family must be broken up for some reason other than poverty, the Jewish Children's Bureau reviews the case, attends to establishing the status of the child as a public charge, and decides which of the various resources for the care of the child had best be used. Inasmuch as the Jewish community is equipped with the Juvenile Aid Society, which maintains very high standards for foster home care of children, with an agency for the supervision of unmarried mothers, with a maternity home and hospital, and with two large children's institutions which cooperate in this plan, there is available a fairly wide range of choice of methods of care. By having the decision rest, however, with the Bureau of Jewish Children, the element of competition is completely eliminated. Agencies or institutions take the children who, on competent outside judgment, are most eligible for what they have to offer. A recent study of Jewish social work for children has shown that a reduction of about one-third to one-half of the institution capacity in the coordinated scheme can and should be made.

To a less degree the Catholic Children's Bureau functions as a clearing house for the various Catholic facilities available for the care of children away from their families. The great problem in Philadelphia, however, concerns itself, both in Catholic and in Protestant groups, with the provision for family assistance. Children are being taken away and will continue to be taken away from their families by reason of poverty just so long as we put the bulk of our money and interest into methods of care which presuppose separation.

In the Jewish group we find the proportion of money spent for the three kinds of care in about these proportions: \$275,000 for family work, \$210,000 for foster homes, \$135,000 for institutions. That is, the expenditure of \$5.00 is in the proportion of about \$2.20 for family work, \$1.70 for foster homes, and \$1.10 for institutions. In the community at large, you will recall, the proportion is, roughly, \$1.50 for family assistance, \$1.00 for foster care, \$2.50 for institutional care. Were we able, overnight, to realign the resources of the whole community in the same proportions as prevail in the Jewish community, instead of \$1,500,000 for family work, we should be spending \$2,350,000; instead of \$1,000,000 for foster home care, we should be spending \$1,800,000; and instead of \$2,800,000 for institutional care, we should be spending about \$1,150,000. It is not without significance that the total bill for the family and child care service of the Jewish community may be roughly estimated at \$2.53 per capita, while for the non-Jewish community it is near \$3.00 per person in the population. Inasmuch as the Jews are very scrupulous about the adequacy of relief, the standards of foster home care, and are anxious to send as many children through

high school as can profit by education, the conclusion seems inevitable that in the larger community we are spending more than enough money but without commensurate results. The endowed institutions are the big leak.

In the child welfare field we have had a deep appreciation that the child of today will be the man of tomorrow, but we seem to forget that he is also the child of yesterday, when he was not a spectacular or appealing problem, and when he looked just like many thousands of others. In no field of social work is it so necessary, however, to see yesterday, today, and tomorrow. To do this is to begin to know the problem, root and all, and all in all, but who is permitted to know what God and man is!

IX. PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATION

THE COUNTY AS A UNIT FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF LOCAL PUBLIC SOCIAL SERVICE

*Wesley Johnson, Chairman, Board of Supervisors,
Webster County, Iowa*

Consolidation and cooperation are the order of the day. In a number of business enterprises we find that consolidation has been the means of saving organizations from financial ruin by reducing the overhead expense and eliminating duplication and overlapping of work. President Coolidge and Secretary Hoover have both told the agricultural interests that what they lack most is cooperation in their work and in their business activities, and that in order to make their endeavors more successful they must cooperate more fully.

What holds true in business and agricultural pursuits also holds true in other lines of human activity. Consolidation of welfare work under one management and getting full cooperation of the different units within the boundaries of a county, and thus making the whole county a unit, is no longer an experiment with us in Webster County, Iowa. We have been doing this for a number of years, and in order that you may judge more fully how well we have succeeded, I will tell you briefly about our organization, its work, and the results.

Webster County is 24 miles wide, 30 miles long, and has a population of 40,000, the largest town being Fort Dodge, with 25,000. We have twelve small, incorporated towns. Fort Dodge is a manufacturing town, whereas the balance of the county is devoted to agriculture.

To begin at the beginning, the people of Fort Dodge had given food to the poor and had found it thrown in the gutters. They had given clothing and it did not seem to help much. They had given money and it had gone to the saloon, to the movies, or for luxuries. In fact, they were helping to make paupers by unsystematic giving.

We noticed that persons who were sick, or who were threatened with sickness, were taken to a doctor for expert attention and realized that the matter of poverty and distress needs expert attention just as much as does sickness. So we decided to get together in the belief that a group of people in a town could do more than single individuals. We said: "Let's put all we have into one fund. Let's give together and have someone take care of it who knows how to do it better than we do." So the Associated Charities was organized and a trained worker was employed.

The board of supervisors gave an office room on the first floor of the court-

house, and there is no place in Fort Dodge that has been more useful. Up to this point we were in the same position that most of the counties are today.

From the very first the work of the secretary commended itself to the board of supervisors. The system used in making investigations and in keeping records that could be referred to, and in giving detailed information appealed to them, so they asked the secretary to report to them now and then about conditions which she found. The worker went about her duties and reported the facts about cases in which the county was interested to the supervisors. The first winter she told them about the kind of coal the county charges were receiving. The contract for coal had been given, year after year, to the same man. She found that the people to whom this man was sending coal were receiving the poorest kind of coal, mostly dirt, instead of the best kind of coal from the local mines, that for which the county was paying. A number of other cases where merchants and landlords were taking advantage of the poor and of the county were brought to the attention of the supervisors and corrected.

These friendly relations and this cooperation went on between the supervisors and the Associated Charities until presently the supervisors made up their minds that there was a chance to get better service for less money by consolidation. So they appointed the secretary of the Associated Charities their overseer of the poor. There were two reasons for doing this: one was an attempt to shift the responsibility; the other was that the meanest, most disagreeable duty a supervisor has to perform is that of looking after paupers. We find the most unreasonable, ignorant, and unprincipled people among them, but also there are some very good people who are poor and need assistance.

Now that we have the two systems together, public and private relief, I will show you how it works. With us it had been the same old story. The county, through its distribution of the poor fund, had been undoing some of the things that the Associated Charities was trying to do, and in some cases had even been a detriment to the family that was receiving aid, instead of an assistance in getting the family back on its feet.

It is just as necessary to have special training to disburse charity rightly and to carry on the work properly as it is to have special education for the practice of law or medicine. We have examples of misguided judgment and wrong methods in almost every county in every state in the Union. In Iowa we have one county whose board of supervisors decided that it would be able to reduce the expenditure of its poor fund by publishing a list of the names of those who were given poor relief, and so a list was published quarterly in the official county papers. The result, which was to be expected, was that the grafters, unworthy, lazy, shiftless people who cared nothing for public opinion made very free with their demands for public aid and received it. That county was educating professional paupers. You may be able to imagine the job that a trained worker would have in trying to re-establish and build up a family that had been publicly advertised as paupers. It was also found that the direct result of such

methods was to make the poor who had a spark of pride in them refuse to accept public aid; needy families and widows with little children would freeze and starve before they would permit their names to be published in the pauper list.

Another example is that of an Iowa county that secured the services of a former chief of police to act as overseer of the poor. The supervisors in that particular county seemed to be of the opinion that to be poor and in need was criminal, and that someone versed in the handling of criminals was necessary to deal with those who found themselves in this situation, and again we found cases of worthy poor suffering want rather than submit to the inquisition set up by the official who had charge of the funds which the taxpayers had contributed for the care of the weak and needy. In this county it seems to have been the big idea to go after the poor with a big stick. It is not the big stick we need so much as the measuring stick to ascertain the needs of the poor and dependent in order that we may give intelligent service.

By appointing the secretary of the Associated Charities as overseer of the poor we eliminated the overlapping and duplication that had been going on when each was acting separately. By having the public aid disbursed through the Associated Charities, or by them, we also eliminated the feeling of dishonor or shame that is sometimes felt by people who have to ask for aid from the county. We have raised public relief to a higher plane, and no stigma attaches to the public aid given in our county. We are building up families and homes; if I had the time I could tell you some interesting stories of families that were county charges, or about to be, but are now independent and even prosperous.

There is the case of the widow who lived near the gypsum plant. Her husband had been accidentally killed in the mine; she had four children, the oldest a girl of thirteen. When she came to our attention there was nothing left in the house, which was fairly good. The secretary gave her temporary assistance and started an investigation. She knew that some of the men who worked in the gypsum mills would welcome a place to get their meals. The woman in question knew how to cook and was willing to work, but she had nothing to start with. We helped her start a boarding house by supplying a stove and various other necessities at an expenditure of some eighty or ninety dollars. Today that woman is supporting herself and her family, her children are in school, and she has reached the point where she is able to look forward to saving a little money. This is the result of intelligent aid and advice at the right time.

One more case: The family was down on the records as a bad case. Having always been paupers, they looked forward to always being paupers, as their ancestors had been. The secretary got them to cultivate a few vacant lots and raise vegetables, some of which they used, and some they sold. The next year they cultivated more vacant lots and sold more vegetables. Then they bought a horse and some simple implements. They found that they could do something, and they became self-supporting. Now the report is that they have moved into the country, on a farm, and that they are quite well-to-do.

The work had grown so that it extended beyond the limits of the city of Fort Dodge. Calls came from the country round about. We were no longer a town organization, so we changed the name to the Webster County Welfare Association, and under that name and under the guidance of our social welfare worker we have been carrying on the work for nine years. Since making it a county-wide organization, the township trustees, who, under the laws of Iowa, are the overseers of the poor in the rural communities, have made it a point to have frequent conferences with the secretary and to depend upon her for advice and assistance.

Because of the records that were kept and the information that they contained the judges in our courts began to call on the secretary for evidence, especially in juvenile cases and in mothers' pensions. The judges asked the secretary to make investigations of applications for mothers' pensions, and reported to the supervisors that the assistance rendered was of great value, saving the time of the court and reducing its expenses. At the request of the supervisors the secretary was made juvenile probation officer, which practically amounts to being a deputy sheriff. Then the school officials of Fort Dodge appointed one of our workers truant officer.

We have now four workers in our office in the courthouse at Fort Dodge—the secretary of the Webster County Welfare Association, the overseer of the poor, and juvenile probation officer, and the truant officer. We have the full cooperation of the Farm Bureau, the Chamber of Commerce, the home demonstration agent, the county health nurse, the doctors, the lawyers, the schools, the court, and the supervisors, and we cooperate with other institutions such as the churches, lodges, and clubs.

Now, something as to the results we get. From a supervisor's standpoint I am interested in the cost, in the reduction of expense. The first year we had a trained worker as overseer of the poor we spent \$1,500 less out of the poor fund than we did the year before she came. The second year we saved over \$2,000 more than we did the first year, and we were giving better service to the worthy poor. All this was at a time when the cost of living was advancing steadily. Coal had gone from \$3.50 a ton to \$8.00; flour, from \$1.75 to \$3.50; and other items in the same proportion. In 1924 we paid out \$1,800 less than in 1923. We have come to the place where we are looking about to see where we can give more and better service, and then at the end of the year look up the records to see how much we have reduced the tax burden.

Three years ago I checked over the records of at least twenty people that had been taken off the county poor list. Here is a little sum in mental arithmetic. In Iowa the poor are allowed \$2.00 per week per person for groceries. Medical aid, rent, and fuel are extras. The grocery allowance for twenty persons amounts to a saving of \$2,080 a year.

There is another side to this. To me the greatest and most important thing is not the saving so many dollars and cents, but that through this service we

are able to help dependent persons to become independent, making them over into useful citizens, converting them from a liability to an asset. This is worth more to us and to future generations than can be estimated.

Public relief, as it is disbursed by the average county official, becomes the prey of unscrupulous persons, and not the aid to the needy that it is intended to be. It is not uncommon to find it used as a political plum by peanut politicians and for entirely selfish purposes by cheap officeholders. It is time that this misappropriation of public funds was stopped and that public aid be put on its proper footing and be properly handled.

Some people question the feasibility of combining private relief with public aid. We have been doing it for nine years in Webster County. We find that instead of lessening the high standard and respect accorded private relief, we have raised public relief to a higher plane and given it the dignity that it is entitled to. With us it is no longer considered a disgrace to receive aid from the public funds provided by the people for that purpose, and no stigma attaches to the aid we give.

We have been able to change public opinion regarding relief of the poor, the needy, and the afflicted by eliminating the grafters, the undeserving, and the lazy shiftless. We have raised public relief to a more approved status by having it properly administered by a person with judgment and training, who can distinguish between the worthy and the unworthy. To make a county as a unit successful in welfare work the public aid must be made subject to the administration of organized private relief under the direction and care of a trained worker. Public officials should never be permitted to direct or superintend the distribution of private relief in their official capacity.

Let me impress this on your minds, that you can never, in any way, make this consolidation a success unless the distribution of funds is left entirely in the hands of the trained worker. In our county the supervisors do not pretend to give any aid without first consulting the trained worker, and as a rule we turn the entire matter over to her. All we ask is for regular reports of the conditions that she finds. We are always ready to listen to her suggestions and to advise her as best we can, but the responsibility is hers, the work is all done under her direction, and when she takes action in a case there is no use of trying to go over her head to the board of supervisors; that has been tried, but we have refused to meddle with her work.

If I am able to interest you people in making the administration of public aid the servant of the private relief organizations; if I can in some way get you to see the necessity of making it an object of private relief organizations to get hold of the public relief funds and to handle them so that they will not be undoing the important work that you are doing; if we can establish cooperation between public and private relief in the full sense of the word, I shall feel that my trip to Denver has not been in vain.

PSYCHIATRY AND THE OFFENDER IN THE
COMMUNITY

THE JUVENILE OFFENDER

*Ethel Goldsmith, Psychologist, Juvenile Court of Hamilton
County, Cincinnati*

What do you think of mental examinations anyhow? If I could get your answers to that question it would help me construct the work of the court clinic for the next ten years. As practical probation officers working in the field, do you, in your innermost, secret soul, look upon psychology as a diversion for highbrow professors who live miles away from a real courtroom and have never seen the hang-out of little Johnny Jones? And do you think of mental tests as a conglomeration of silly school questions that don't at all tell what a boy can really do, and that the mental age we get from a test is pretty apt to call a boy feeble-minded when he isn't? Are you one of the people who, if I produced a test and asked you to take it, would say: "You'd never get me to be tested. I'd rate just about six years." Or is psychology a real honest-to-goodness help to you in your practical probation work?

If you have happened on an examiner who thinks he knows it all after seeing the child in the laboratory, I don't blame you if you have your private reservations about the expert. Human beings are infinitely complex, and we can't get to know all about our little Johnnies in the artificial atmosphere of the office.

In an afternoon's examination, the definitely feeble-minded, the definitely epileptic, or the definitely insane can be diagnosed and labeled "For Permanent Segregation"; here, of course, the examination is of the most immediate use. But most of the children who pass through our juvenile courts cannot be pigeon-holed in these well-defined groups.

It is for this reason that the examiner's diagnosis is only a part of the picture. When a child is non-social there must be adequate reasons, but these reasons need not be mental, and an examiner's diagnosis should never be regarded as a substitute for social investigation or social treatment. If there is any one thing that psychology does teach us it is that there is no one cause for delinquency and no patent medicine cure. Feeble-mindedness isn't the whole cause. Abnormality is not the whole cause. Environment is not the whole cause. If you have five thousand different children, you probably will have at least two thousand different causes for the delinquency. Abnormal psychology is only an effort to be of service to the probation officer in getting at these causes, a common-sense way of finding out why Mary was promiscuous and of discovering why Johnny ran away from home.

Systems of education that have not yet seen the importance of differentiating between the bright, the dull, and the feeble-minded are the direct cause of truancy and other types of misbehavior. And even in enlightened school

systems, individual teachers who are old-fashioned and who feel that the same mental pabulum suits all children are manufacturing problems for the court examiner and the court probation officer to untangle. These teachers are helping keep us in our positions—but we don't thank them. Many inferiors can get along happily if no outrageous demands are made of their stunted brains. Simple directions, one demand at a time, immediate rewards for good behavior, and constant drill until one habit is formed must be the probation diet for the little Johnnies and Marys with mental ages of ten or eleven. This, plus the provision of suitable environment—because the inferior can't shape himself to fit conditions; conditions must be shaped so that they fit him. Neither parents, nor teacher, nor probation officer will get very far in an attempt to teach abstract morals to little Johnny with a mental age of ten.

Knowing whether Johnny is inferior, then, is a necessity. The examiner, of course, has special machinery for picking out the inferiors. It is rather complicated machinery and the handling of it needs a carefully trained person, but there is a list of common-sense questions of general information, memory, and judgment, issued by the Ohio Bureau of Juvenile Research, that I think you will find of use if you have to be your own psychologist. You can get the list of questions by writing Dr. Emerick. The answers will give you a hint of whether Johnny is stranded in this sphere or whether he knows something about his surroundings. Some of the inferior look so bright, and some of them cover their stupidity with loquacity in such an uncanny way, that it is wise to have something like this on hand to make a hole in their defense.

I find that having the children answer these questions at the time I take the preliminary history helps in adapting the interview to little Johnny's mental stature so that I'm sure he knows what I'm talking about. The stupid children are not the only ones who go through our mill. The court is the city slop-can and the bright as well as the dull are thrown on our dump heap, either because parents or teachers have made a sad mess of their job, or because the child's own temperament has forced him into behavior not approved of by his neighbors.

Many average or superior children are utterly unable to get along. When the examiners find that Johnny is not dull or feeble-minded they look around to see if there is anything else wrong, and sometimes they find that while Johnny is not subnormal or below the normal, the thing that makes him bad is that he is queer or abnormal. His emotions and his will make-up may be so peculiar that he is regarded as queer, or even as insane. One child may be average in both respects. Another child may rate average on intelligence—that is, he may be as bright as the ordinary child—but in personality he may not rate average. He may be either too emotional or too indifferent; he may be weak-willed or he may be stubborn; he may be too suspicious or too impulsive, and so on. There are a thousand different personality difficulties that may cause his misconduct.

Fortunately, courts all over the country find that in the juvenile division

they handle very few of the definitely psychotic or insane. But slighter degrees of abnormality often cause misconduct. If we are too emotional, or nervous, or jealous, if we are too aggressive, or easily discouraged, if we are oversensitive or feel inferior and are afraid to face life, we may not fit in with our neighbors in this cut-and-dried civilization, where everyone has to be built on the same pattern; and our temperament under fortunate circumstances may make artists of us, or, under less fortunate circumstances, may make us wards of the court.

The idea of abnormality is so fascinating that it is apt to be exaggerated. We are apt to lean toward the thought that if Johnny keeps on being bad, he is simply too queer to get along in the community. "He is a psychopath," we will say, "of course we can't do anything with him." This is a dangerous statement, because the idea of abnormality, like the idea of feeble-mindedness, has a tendency to be exaggerated as the cause-all of misconduct. The concept of abnormality as a cause of crime is an enormous contribution if we make use of it conservatively.

Some of the delinquents are bad simply because they have inherited abnormalities. They are really psychopathic; but others merely appear to be psychopathic or queer because something in their environment has made them restless or unhappy or bad. So now we have no faith in our label until we have thoroughly investigated the child's development and background to see if something in his surroundings made him queer. Not "what he is," but "*why* is he" is the fruitful question for the probation officer to ask.

None of us is superior in all respects. We are either less beautiful, or less intelligent, or less talented in some way than the others of our particular group. We may be bow-legged, or be slow in understanding things, or be poor talkers. The best and most normal reaction to our own inferiorities is to admit the defects and correct them as far as possible. Children do not understand this, and it is up to the examiner and the probation officer to make them see the point.

Probation officers can act as their own psychologists and can do an enormous amount of good by keeping their eyes open for children who are inferior or who feel inferior. They can clear up misconduct by helping the child to acknowledge the inferiority, instead of compensating for it by being bad.

A good probation officer appraises a child physically as soon as she enters the room. She takes in any obvious defects, and the child's pitiful ways of trying to hide them. She'll notice the child with a goiter who has her neck covered with beads, or the child with queer teeth who tries not to open her mouth when she laughs, and, if she interviews her tactfully, she can frequently find out the less obvious causes that make Mary feel she doesn't belong. In discovering these things the probation officer is being her own psychologist. An expert, to my mind, is not a person of a certain caste who devotes his life to collecting a certain kind of material. He is a person with a scientific point of view, and the probation officer who looks for causes instead of punishing or preaching avoids placing himself in the position of teacher or policeman or of sentimentalist, and

makes of himself a scientist objectively. And if, for example, he discovers a feeling of inferiority in Mary or John, he is in a position not only to prevent misconduct, but sometimes to be the possible instrument of preventing insanity.

Just as a feeling of inferiority, if discovered soon enough, can often be cured, so other causes of delinquency are curable. Some can be handled by adjusting the child to his environment, and others by adjusting the child's environment to him. This does not mean that all the causes are curable, and no probation officer should herself develop a feeling of inferiority or a feeling that the work is futile because some of her cases fail.

Where there are examiners, of course, some of the hopeless cases can be weeded out and sent to institutions before they get to the probation officer. The officer then does not have to waste his time on hopeless material. This separating of the hopeless from the hopeful is one of the chief jobs of the court examiner.

There are numberless cases that have passed through the court in the last six years to show that two people committing the same offense may not necessarily be led to it by the same causes or the same motives. One may have developed a disease that, in the present state of medical and psychological science, is still incurable, and one may have been induced by some readily found motive while another may have been induced merely by habit. In the case of repeaters, that is, in the case of children who come back to the court again and again, we are too apt to think that they must be abnormal or feeble-minded because they are so chronically bad. Some of the children we handle do fall in these groups, but we are doing an injustice to the others if we regard them in this way. In hunting for the causes of continued delinquency, the most obvious is often overlooked. The first delinquent act may be accidental. Johnny meets Jim, who suggests a burglary; Johnny goes for the adventure of the thing. He is not caught and the result is pleasurable. He enjoys the money he stole, or the machine in which he went joy-riding; the enjoyable result leads to other acts of the same kind; and finally the habit of doing this same thing has made itself a vital part of the boy's mental state. Technically this is called the law of effect. That is, one act that is pleasurable results in a repetition of the same act. Often a child is brought to the probation officer after his enjoyable habits of misconduct have been firmly fixed in this way. I heard someone say one time that the juvenile court is running an old folks home. In one sense of the words this is true. If the parents, instead of trying to shield Johnny and keep his misbehavior from being known, would refer him for examination as soon as they discover that he is becoming a problem they cannot handle, the probation officers would have a better chance.

Every probation officer has had instances where the boy who had promised faithfully not to repeat the act did the same thing again when he was barely out of the shadow of the courthouse. There is a tendency then to say, "This boy is a bad egg; his promises are pie crust; they mean nothing; he is hopeless."

That is not necessarily true. We all have a tendency to feel that someone is hopeless if he continues to be bad after he has given us his promise to change; but if any of you have tried to break a habit of your own—whether it is the habit of playing poker, or the habit of smoking cigarettes; if any of you have married and have found that after marriage your wife or husband wants you to change some of your ways—you will know how difficult a thing it is; so that one or two or three or four slips on the part of a boy, after he has promised to change, do not mean that he is dead timber for probation work. Often we send a boy back to the same companions, the same home, and the same incompetent parents, and then, with all the chemical ingredients the same, wonder why he does not change his conduct immediately. William James has said that in forming a habit the beginning must be explosive, and very often the habits of a boy cannot be changed unless he is fairly exploded out of his past environment into new surroundings. All of us have in ourselves many personalities. Pathological cases of multiple personality prove this and it often depends on one's surroundings which personality is brought out. For this reason successful probation work, in a given instance, often depends on whether it is possible to provide for the child new and desirable surroundings.

When I started to organize this paper I suffered from some grandiose idea of covering the whole subject in thirty sparkling minutes. As you see, it couldn't be done. I had to be content with hitting a few of the high spots. If I have convinced you that an examiner is not a half god who can tell what's the matter with a child by looking at him; if I have convinced you that no examiner can make a diagnosis without depending on the probation officer for a complete social history; and if I have convinced you that the diagnosis is only a small part of the picture unless the child happens to be definitely feeble-minded or epileptic or insane, I shall feel richly successful. If I have succeeded in showing that all delinquent children are not feeble-minded, and that the high-grade feeble-minded can be helped to get along in the community; if I have left you with the feeling that many abnormalities of temperament and conduct are caused by coddling or by criticism, and that, if found soon enough, these causes can be probed and cured by the probation officer; if I have left in your minds the idea that the cause of the misconduct, and not the kind of misconduct, determines whether probation treatment will be helpful and determines what kind of probation treatment must be used; if I have left in your minds the question "why" instead of the question "what," I shall feel that I have accomplished my mission.

Most of the children can be salvaged. They either outgrow their misconduct, or new habits are conditioned by probation work. If most of them were feeble-minded or were very abnormal, this couldn't be done. The fact that they can be salvaged is what makes the work an inspiration.

Probation work itself is on probation, but if we are careful, after thorough social and mental examination, not to place a dangerous boy or girl in the community, and if we can educate the public to know that we are not back-patters,

but scientists; if, above all, we can make them realize that we are studying and eradicating causes, and if we can demonstrate to them that most of our children become good citizens, probation will be safe as an established principle, and we shall never have to go back to the medieval idea of revenge and punishment! We shall be allowed to continue our pioneer work, and we shall never have forced upon us the necessity of sending our children to institutions where criminals are formed rather than reformed.

JUVENILES IN REFORMATORY INSTITUTIONS

Frank D. Whipp, Superintendent, Illinois School for Boys, St. Charles

Happiness should be the keynote for psychiatric training in our reformatory institutions. Psychiatry is a branch of medicine in which I have had no special training, and the views expressed here are presented from the standpoint of a layman without medical training, who has only had practical experience with the problems of reclaiming delinquent boys in an institution atmosphere. Under the most favorable conditions, the solution of problems relating to juvenile offenders is a difficult undertaking.

My opinion is that, if possible, we should keep boys and girls out of public institutions and encourage the practice of psychiatry in treating them in their home communities before it is necessary to commit them to a reformatory. As a general rule, juveniles in reformatories are "more sinned against than sinning." If one would examine the living conditions of these juveniles previous to their commitment he would find that broken homes brought about by parental troubles, misfortunes such as divorces, separations, desertions, death of one or both parents, poverty, home and community environment, heredity, and ignorance are primarily the contributing causes of such delinquency. An improvement of these conditions in the future will be the greatest contribution toward lessening the number of offenders. The slogan should be "proper habit formation instead of reformation."

Psychiatry in an institution, aside from the medical aspect, means care, education, industry, recreation, and training in the correct habits of living. All this must be carefully studied and mapped out by a trained expert. Every institution should employ a psychiatrist who has actually lived with delinquents in an institution and learned by experience the difficulties of institution administration. The services of such a specialist will not be of much value to the management or the inmates unless he has supplemented his theoretical training with practical experience. In order that psychiatrists may have a clear understanding of internal institution organization and operation, they should be required to serve an internship with a reformatory before taking up such work.

Scientific methods are being applied to budget-making, accounting, and practically every important phase of business and education. Why, then, should

they not be used in treating delinquents? In many of our institutions old-time methods, practiced for many years, have brought about abuses and customs that must be obliterated before we can reach the ideals sought for in psychiatry. Among such impediments to advancement is the idea of some officers that the institutions are built exclusively for their own special comfort and pleasure, or for their relatives and friends, instead of for the reformation of the offenders. There are those who treat the delinquents almost like peons or serfs. They are required to blacken the officers' shoes, nurse their children, wash and iron personal clothes for both men and women, and do all sorts of menial work that should be done by the officers themselves. This is more of a deterrent to reformation than anything that happens in the institution life of the offender.

In many institutions, officials point with pride to the fine dairy herd which has been purchased for the exclusive benefit of the inmates. In reality, butter is made and cream is skimmed from the milk for the officers while the inmates are furnished with skimmed milk, or "blue jack," to build up their undernourished constitutions. Why not dismantle the cream separators, buy butter for the officers, and give the inmates and officers whole milk? Inmates understand the injustice of giving the officers the best of everything and supplying them with what is left. Offenders often reach the institution with pinched and deeply lined faces just because they are hungry or suffering from malnutrition. Only a plentiful supply of good food, fresh air, healthful surroundings, and correct habits will build the foundation on which to start reclamation and bring about radiant countenances full of hope for the future. Let the low per capita cost of food showing be a minor factor in institution management, and adopt the Salvation Army slogan, "Feed them first and then save them." This should be a special branch of psychiatry not to be overlooked.

Silence at meals is often enforced in institutions. It should be eliminated, because conversation has as many educational advantages in an institution as it has in a modern home. Inmates should be allowed to talk to their hearts' content, but not in a boisterous way. It has been said that the "silent and sullen man is the most dangerous to deal with." Another fallacy in dealing with delinquents is requiring them to march to meals in line, convict fashion, with their hands behind them. This has, in my opinion, detrimental influence on the youth. If it is possible, the inmates should not be institutionalized by such practices, but trained as nearly as possible to the standard required in a modern home.

From my point of view, other ideals for a modern correctional institution should be: To build and mold character, to rehabilitate human wreckage, and in some cases to reconstruct the human machine so that life may be redirected. Furthermore, it should be the purpose of this form of education to awaken in the offender the very best that is in him, and to provide mental, physical, industrial, and moral training which will ultimately make these youths useful members of society.

A modern institution should be built on the cottage plan, well equipped, with small building units, and located in a rural community. Efficient officers and trained teachers who have studied the elements of psychiatry should be employed. Humanized discipline with no solitary confinement, a carefully prepared progressive merit system with a plan of withdrawing privileges for bad conduct, a supervised self-government system, and a complete survey of the inmates showing the mental age of each should be established in such institutions. In order to classify those assigned to school and the industries, intelligence quotients should be important factors in determining what is best.

The bloom of youth should not be tarnished by laborious indoor household duties for the entire time of the sentence. On the other hand, if he prefers it and the physical and mental condition of the offender justify this type of work, it would seem proper to fit him to become a trained chef, houseman, or waiter, if he is to have service in that line of work later on. All of the inmates should have a limited amount of training in household work, for this experience is valuable, after they leave the institution, in helping an invalid mother or father to keep a family together. The best time, in my opinion, for assigning inmates to this indoor duty is on their arrival at the institution, when homesickness is prevalent and when a woman's care and affection is needed. It would, however, not seem for their best interests to break up industrial education by assignment toward the end of their sentences to household duties, when an effort is being made to train these juveniles in the practical and vocational arts.

Home culture is very valuable in dealing with these unfortunates, so we should instruct them in table manners and household etiquette. The moral condition of a family is almost always indicated by the degree of happiness manifested by the inmates. If there is not harmony, it is evidence that there is something radically wrong that needs attention. It is good manners and thoughtful practices that form important transitions in everyday life.

Inmates should be taught to respect and love their parents, for after they return home it is the parents who will probably be the guiding stars for their destiny. Inmates should also be taught that their mothers should be properly cared for and comforted. This alone may be a starting point in improving conditions in homes of bad environment.

Love for animals should be inculcated in all, because if the inmates are kind-hearted they are more apt to succeed in life. A liberal attitude should be maintained in allowing dogs and animal pets at the institution, for this has a good psychological effect. So strong is the affection for pets manifested by inmates that they are often seen with their arms around dogs' necks, hugging them tightly, and calling them affectionate names. Why? It is because many of these unfortunates have been deprived, through no fault of their own, of a mother's and father's love. Many of them have no one in the world to love them or take an interest in them. This is food for thought for psychiatrists and institution administrators.

It is important, in the reclamation of offenders, and should be a basic rule in

psychiatry, to instruct offenders in Americanization and citizenship. For those from homes and foreign-born parents who retain old customs and native languages special emphasis should be laid on allegiance to the flag and our country. The offender should first be instructed to obey officers, to respect constituted authority, and to have pride in the institution. Without this training and discipline no institution can be successfully managed. There should be constant supervision by the officers to prevent loafing and idleness, which invariably leads to carelessness and immorality. The management should stand firmly behind every officer who protects himself in line of duty if he is assaulted or if there is impending danger of being injured by an inmate. Self-preservation is one of the first laws of nature, and no institution for delinquents can endure without this understanding. Inmates should be carefully supervised to prevent fighting. Kindness, with strict discipline prevailing at all times, prevents a great many problems from arising in an institution.

There should be a segregation of the inmates by age, mental grade, first offenders, and sex offenders, so that special treatment and training may be had for each case.

Inmates should not be overburdened with heavy labor, but good wholesome outdoor work, in my judgment, is one of the best psychiatric medicines of all. It expends surplus energy and takes care of the exuberance of youth.

Good health, of course, is the most important factor in every institution. There should be a competent physician, a surgeon, a dentist, and other specialists to correct physical defects. Adenoids, tonsils, and eyes should receive special attention.

Play is one of the innate tendencies of the human, therefore there must be an abundance of amusement and recreation, for "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy." Playgrounds, baseball diamonds, and athletic fields should be provided. Honor inmates should have a camp in the woods, where they can learn to love nature with its beautiful trees, streams, birds, and animals. They should be allowed the "big outdoor life" prescribed for the Boy Scouts. Wholesome motion pictures and theatrical shows, both professional and amateur, should be provided. Occasionally it is wise to introduce a home talent circus, with old-fashioned sawdust rings, horses, clowns, peanuts, red lemonade, and everything boys like. For amusement, also education, a zoo for wild animals and birds can be provided without much initial cost, and with but little expense for upkeep. Another form of recreation is music. This form of instruction is valuable because it instills in the hearts of the young sentiment and love.

After-care of paroled inmates is important, and a sufficient number of parole officers should be employed. Unless this is done, much of the good work of an institution will be ineffective. The institution should be provided with ample funds to finance boys going out on parole. Oftentimes if these boys are not financed for the first week's board or so, and if they are not properly clothed like other boys, they drift back to reformatories.

While the institution of which I am in charge has not entirely attained the

ideals expressed herein, we have an abiding faith that, through psychiatry, conditions will be better as time goes on.

In concluding, the words of Mr. Briggs, the cartoonist, seem appropriate—"Oh, Skin-nay, come on over" to St. Charles, Illinois, where we have 750 red-blooded boys all ready to extend you a hearty welcome.

PSYCHIATRY AND THE PRISONER

Karl A. Menninger, M.D., Professor of Criminology, Washburn College, Topeka

Time was when there were but two recognized types of human behavior, good and bad. The "good" included the pious, the proper, the fatuous, the harmless, the conventional, and the inconsequential. The "bad" included the heretic, the delirious, the anarchic, the antisocial, the not-understood, the non-conformist. There were Alexanders and Cotton Mathers and St. Pauls among the former, and Galileos and Neros and Guiteaus among the latter.

Ultimately such heterogeny shocked popular logic into further partitions, and the "bad" became subdivided into at least two groups. Those of one group did inexplicable things, profitless evil, gratuitous social damage, and withal much pointless and purposeless miscellany which seemed capable of gratifying no ordinary desires or impulses of the average man. It was incidentally discovered, too, that certain drugs would abate some of these aberrancies of behavior. And so because they were inexplicable and esoteric and exotic and mysterious, and because some seemed to benefit from medicines, and because the prophets (sociologists) kept lashing the inhumanity of continuing to punish the members of this group, they were relegated to the doctors, who were told to do what they would and could with them. Then, to legally wash their hands of them, the lawyers labeled them "the insane."

The remainder of the "bad" did more understandable things. They took what they wanted without paying; they killed their enemies; they pleased themselves regardless of society. In short, they did what all members of the race had always instinctively desired to do, without regard to the restrictions and taboos which experience and tradition and religion had laid down for the conventional acceptance of adult society. These fellows did forbidden things, abnormal things, and very understandable things—understandable to the "good" man struggling against yielding to the same temptation, and painfully reminiscent to his juvenile offenses in the same directions. These folks escaped relegation to the doctors, for a great host of avengers arose to clamor for their blood. Every man desired to crush in another what he was so fiercely struggling against in his own soul. A play (*Rain*), which vividly pictured this projection of punishment with an ultimate switchback, attracted enormous crowds the past few years. In other words, the sinners whose deeds are inexplicable to the

laymen are officially "the insane." Those whom we think we understand, judging intuitively by our own struggles, we have labeled "criminals," and we have insisted upon punishing them for our own satisfaction, regardless of cumulative evidence of its futility.

Now science is constitutionally and notoriously opposed to accepting social and traditional verdicts and classifications. And psychiatry, which is the branch of science concerned with aberrant behavior, has officially no respect for such stratifications of human behavior as "good" and "bad," or "criminal" and "insane." Once it was sufficient to diagnose an illness as "the fever"; now medical science knows scores of fevers, each of different causes, courses, concomitants, and complications. Similarly the scientist, the psychiatrist, cannot regard "theft" or "murderer" as a diagnosis; these are symptoms appearing in a variety of syndromes.

Originally, it is true, the psychiatrists were chiefly concerned with those types of misbehavior which had been garnered in by the lawyers and labeled insane. To this task they had been assigned. But when they had studied this material according to the scientific method of collecting and correlating data and constructing laws to fit, they discovered no such partitions between the "insane" and the "criminal" as the lawyers had (at the instigation of the herd) erected. They found that the types and trends of abnormal psychology extended far out from the "asylum" into the courtroom, the school, the home. They found their task as definitely defined in the terror-ridden child as in the impulse-driven youth, as much in the melancholy and suicidal mother as in the unstable and homicidal man. They found their experience and technique as applicable to the irascible employee as to the retarded school child, and to the unhappy, suspicious husband as to the deluded and hallucinated wife. Increasingly the psychiatrist found himself faced with many popular and legal partitions of the misbehaved, without any technical interest or general agreement with these partitions. As a scientist he is concerned with the unpropitious trends of human character—socially and individually adverse acts, thoughts, emotions, instincts, and adaptations.

This scientific (psychiatric) attitude must sooner or later totally displace the existing legal method. Time was when doctors treated patients, not by applied intelligence, but by the precedents established by Hippocrates, Paracelsus, and Galen. But while they have now left this method one hundred years behind them, the lawyers continue solemnly to apply medieval stupidities in the name of "established precedent," "public policy," and other mouthy elaborations of an indefensible archaicism. There are, of course, intelligent lawyers who are earnestly striving to better this situation. But there are yet more who stoutly defend their crumbling kingdom. They declaim in public and private about the travesties upon justice which result from the introduction of the psychiatric method into court. And nothing better illustrates the conflict between the old point of view and the new. What science or scientist is inter-

ested in justice? Is pneumonia "just"? Or cancer, or gravity, or the expansion of steam? What criteria of justice can be applied to a broken arm or a weak mind? And to what good end? The scientist is seeking amelioration of an unhappy situation, the greatest good for the greatest number. This can be secured only if the scientific laws of the situation can be discovered and complied with, and not by philosophical concepts of equity based on primitive theology.

This brings up also the conception of "responsibility," with which the psychiatrist is also unconcerned. He has no idea of what it means, although he is constantly asked to testify concerning it. The psychiatrist asks, not "Is he responsible?" but "Of what is he capable (or incapable)?"

Finally, the scientist must disavow any interest in "punishment" except to observe how it gratifies the cravings of the crowd for vicarious suffering. The doctor may regret his patient's folly, but he treats his wounds without prejudice. Accordingly the psychiatrist seeks treatment, rather than punishment, for his patients. Opening a boil or setting a fracture may be painful, and the psychiatrist, too, may prescribe painful treatment, but it is always treatment, never punishment. The difference is nineteen centuries of intellectual evolution.

The advantages seem too obvious to elaborate. With every prison in the land half full of recidivists, the failure of the antiquated methods of crime prevention has no need of the current newspaper alarms over "the crime problem." So long as offenders are sentenced according to a book instead of studied according to principles the results will continue to be as inadequate as if doctors prescribed twenty days for every case of appendicitis, six months of castor oil for every cancer, five years for every imbecile.

The first step in the program is the change of public opinion in regard to the aims and methods of science in regard to the prisoner. This is being rapidly accomplished by psychiatric clinics operating in association with municipal and criminal courts in various cities, and also by the ardent work of many agencies: the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, the Committee on Prevention of Delinquency, the Commonwealth Fund's Child Guidance Clinics, etc.

The next step is the alteration of the laws governing criminal procedure. The American Psychiatric Association and the American Bar Association are both at work on this problem. Meanwhile the trend of progress is evident. Jails will slowly evolve into scientifically managed institutions. The modern surgical operating amphitheater developed out of dirty public barber shops. The physicians took surgery away from the barbers a century ago; now they are taking criminology and penology away from politicians, wardens, and lawyers.

Ultimately there will be no important administrative distinction between "asylums" and "jails." Both will have lost those atrocious names. Both will be institutions, under state jurisdiction and under expert medical management and direction, for the care of individuals committed to them by the state because of behavior ineptitudes, failures, and incapacities. A "sentence" will be as unthinkable for a murderer as it now is for a melancholiac. Unkindness will be as

taboo for a felon as it now is for a woman in delirium. Likewise, release before complete recovery will be as irregular and improper for a thief or rapist as it now is for a paretic or a leper.

New psychiatric categories will be—are being—formulated. There are many types of mental illness not listed in the old textbooks, nor yet minutely known. But this knowledge is rapidly being extended, thanks to the cooperation of representatives of the profession I am addressing with the one I represent. With increasing knowledge comes advanced leadership, and with leadership, a shift in public attitude. The future of the American prison system is in the hands of the psychiatrists and their allies, the social workers.

INTERPRETATION AND SUPPORT OF PUBLIC WELFARE WORK

THE BUDGET SYSTEM

*Richard W. Wallace, Assistant Secretary, State Board of
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Congress has for years been considering the advantages and disadvantages of an executive budget, as has our own state government. Can we agree as to whether the responsibility for fixing the amount of money needed to run the several state departments, and for special purposes, should rest with the executive or with the law-making part of our government? The former is charged, more or less directly, with the efficiency of the state government. The latter, on the other hand, should be familiar with the purposes and needs of all departments and institutions, must provide, through taxation, the funds needed to carry on the state's program, and should know what limitations on expenditures must be imposed.

Mr. David F. Houston, who was secretary of the treasury (as well as of agriculture) under the late President Wilson, in a recent article in *World's Work* deplores the fact that Congress can do what it will with the estimates made by the federal departments as to their requirements, and that it indulges in so much "log rolling" in connection with the passage of the annual appropriation bills. He contrasts our practice with that of Great Britain, where the budget system has been longest in normal operation, and where, through the budget, the Cabinet expresses its willingness to attempt to run the government on so much for a year. Parliament, knowing that a reduction of the amount requested may result in the resignation of the government, accepts the proposition in the nature of a contract. Mr. Houston suggests the desirability of giving our Congress power to change the estimates of the several departments only by an unusually large majority, as is done, he says, in one or more of our states.

It will probably be stimulative of profitable discussion if I treat the subject

concretely, using the experience of my own state. Our legislature meets on the first Wednesday of each year, for a session of three months, more or less, and at each session makes an appropriation for the support of the state government for the fiscal year beginning on July 1 following.

Departmental requests.—The finance law, in part, reads:

On or before November 15 in each year there shall be filed with the comptroller by each state officer, head of department, or proper officer of each state institution, department, commission or board, a statement in detail of all moneys, together with the reasons therefor, for which any general or special appropriation is desired at the ensuing session of the legislature. Each of the reports and statements of desired appropriations thus made shall be in a form to be prescribed by the comptroller. The reports and statements of desired appropriations hereinbefore provided for shall be public records.

This law does not contemplate the preparation by the comptroller of a "budget." The requests from the institutions and departments for needed appropriations are arranged under two main headings: personal service, and maintenance and operation, and go into minute detail, both as to the individual salaries desired and as to many items of supplies, materials, and service needed, under such general divisions as: fuel; light, and power; printing and advertising; equipment, supplies, and materials; traveling expenses; communication; rent; fixed charges and contributions.

The forms on which the requests are made provide for a statement of amounts expended during each of three previous years in minute detail. Each of the general divisions is subdivided. Communication, for instance, is divided into telephone rentals, telephone tolls, telegraph and cable charges, postage, freight, express and cartage, and district messenger service. There are ten subdivisions of equipment, supplies, and materials. For institutions the amounts expended for each kind of food used, for various articles of clothing, etc., are required. In addition to all this, the reasons for the requests, and especially for any increase over the previous year, which may be asked and required to be explained. These requests are received by the comptroller and printed in full detail for the information of the legislature and interested departments, without any accompanying recommendation. Not till the legislature became organized was any effort made by the appropriation committees of the two houses to form an appropriation bill. It frequently happened that such a bill was not passed until the close of the legislature, when it was left with the governor with other "thirty-day" bills, giving him no other alternative than to approve or disapprove it, item by item.

The state has, however, adopted a plan intended to concentrate into one bureau, known as the Board of Estimate and Control, the responsibility of budget-making. This board, which was created in 1921, consists of the governor, the chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the Assembly, and the comptroller. It, either personally or through deputies or employees, is required to make a careful and thorough study of the state departments, offices, and institutions, for the pur-

pose of ascertaining all expenses and waste and of duplication of effort, and what departments, offices, and institutions may be discontinued or transferred in the interest of economy, efficiency, and public welfare. It may recommend to any such department or institution a plan for improving methods of operation to limit or minimize waste and duplication and promote efficiency. This board, of which the comptroller is a member, has taken over the principal responsibility with respect to requests for appropriations from departments and institutions of the state, has established a bureau of standards for materials and supplies to be used by the institutions and departments, and is closely associated with the superintendent of purchase in the purchase of material for state use.

On the retirement of the last Republican governor that we have had in New York, the Senate also changed from Republican to Democratic control, with the result that the recommendations of the Board of Estimate and Control, which were made prior to January 1, and which represented in the main the policy of economy of the retiring governor, had little or no effect on the appropriations of that year, because the so-called "budget" is not binding on the legislature.

During the past year, also, we faced a situation that was not favorable to the normal working out of that board's functions, the governor being of one political party and a majority of both branches of the legislature, of another party. The recommendations transmitted to the legislature were therefore referred to as the "Governor's budget," and the legislature proceeded to make its appropriation bill without any reference to such budget, except as they were influenced by the advantage which the governor possessed in his power to veto any item in the bill. What happened therefore was this:

Each department and institution head appeared before the governor's representative on the Board of Estimate and Control prior to January 1 to justify each item in the requests made. A "budget" was prepared, supposedly by the board, but in fact by the governor and his representative (the comptroller and the legislature members were not represented in its preparation), and was submitted to the legislature for its guidance. After the legislature met and organized, the two legislative committees meeting in joint session held a second series of conferences with institutional and departmental heads and proceeded to frame an appropriation bill, confessedly without regard to the recommendations of the governor. Increases and new items included in such bill, when passed, were promptly disallowed by the governor, but as this was done before the legislature adjourned, a supplemental bill was prepared in which many of the vetoed items, somewhat modified, were included and later received the governor's approval.

The story of such a struggle with appropriation bills is not uncommon in state governments, or even in the federal government, but it is not dignified nor productive of efficiency or true economy. With a legislature and an executive of the same political faith the plan on the New York statute books ought to work for reasonable economy and the highest possible efficiency in the state

departments and institutions, and, in my opinion, would be more satisfactory than an executive budget plan, which would leave with the governor alone the authority to fix in advance the limitations of the appropriation bill.

Superintendent of purchase.—A consideration of the manner in which appropriations are made, without information as to the manner of disbursing the money, would seem inadequate. The comptroller has the responsibility for the final audit of expenditures before payment, but in this he is guided, with reference to many expenditures, entirely by the terms of the appropriation bill, and not by any question of economy or efficiency. Principal among the other departments having a check on expenditures is the Department of Purchase, created in 1922, the head of which is called the Superintendent of Purchase, who took over the duties of the former fiscal supervisor of state charities, together with additional powers. The law creating this department reads in part as follows:

[Sec. 117, general powers of department]:—In the manner provided by this chapter and the rules of the department adopted pursuant thereto, the department shall have jurisdiction and control of the purchase of materials, equipment, and supplies required by the state, or by any state department, board, commission, officer or institution, except the legislature, or either house thereof or a legislative commission or committee; and all provisions of statute authorizing or directing the purchase of any materials, equipment, or supplies by any state department, board, commission, office, or institution, or prescribing the manner of such purchase, are hereby repealed. Except as provided in this article, any or all materials, equipment, and supplies needed by one or more departments, boards, commissions, officers, or institutions of the state may be directly purchased or contracted for by the department of purchase, as may be determined, from time to time, by rules adopted pursuant to this article.

The state departments, under the checks provided, present their bills for maintenance expenditures monthly to the comptroller for audit and payment, and do not themselves handle the funds. Institutions, however, have treasurers who, on the basis of estimates filed and approved, receive from the state treasury the funds needed for a three months' period in advance and use this money to pay their own bills. Exceptions are found in the handling of the funds of all the hospitals for the insane by a general treasurer in the state hospital commission, and of those of the prisons by the superintendent of prisons, but this does not materially affect the principle involved.

Estimates.—The estimates which are submitted to the superintendent of purchase for approval go into the minutest details concerning the quantity or amount of each item needed, whether it be flour, sugar, cereals, meat, fish, butter, shoes, blankets, utensils, or what not. These estimates are checked carefully with the experience of former years for the corresponding period, due consideration being given to changes in prices or in the population of the institution, and other contingencies. The estimate being allowed, in whole or in part, the institution is so notified, and may proceed to make the purchases, submitting in due time proper vouchers and accounts for final audit by the comptroller.

An opportunity is given the institution to submit supplemental estimates or

re-estimates in case a disallowed item is considered absolutely necessary, or should it be found that the estimate as allowed is insufficient to cover the purchase desired.

Purchases; contracts.—Institutions and state departments are subject to regulations in the matter of purchases. Certain items may be purchased in the open market with approval of the Board of Estimate and Control while others, such as coal, flour, sugar, etc., are purchased on contract by the superintendent of purchase, who secures estimates from each institution and department as to the amount of an article or group of articles that will be needed for six months or a year, and, having determined the probable aggregate amount of the article needed, he advertises for bids and enters into a contract with the lowest responsible bidder, after which he notifies each state department and institution of the name of the dealer from whom the article is to be purchased. The institution or department then purchases as the need arises. In some instances purchases for the entire state are made from one contractor; in others, as, for example, for meat, flour, or coal, the contracts are made with dealers in different parts of the state to avoid the extra expense of transportation from a distant point.

Personal service.—Institution employees and nearly all of the employees of state departments are appointed under Civil Service regulations, the salaries in institutions being fixed by statute on a sliding scale with an annual increment to a maximum point. Departmental salaries, however, with a few exceptions, are not based on legal requirement, and sometimes vary for similar positions in the several departments.

A few years ago the Civil Service Commission was directed to make a survey of the pay-rolls of all departments and institutions, with a view to classifying duties and salaries and recommending uniformity of titles and salaries for like work. A change in the office of the governor was, however, accompanied by a cessation of this study on the part of the Commission.

Appropriations made are highly segregated, either by the terms of the bill or by the department, with the approval of the Board of Estimate and Control. The comptroller, in his monthly audit of bills, will prevent the diversion of funds intended for one purpose to any other use. Emergencies arise, however, which could not have been foreseen, and the Budget Committee of the legislature is authorized to approve the transfer of unused funds in one item to another when the need of such transfer is made apparent to such committee.

Then, too, at times it becomes necessary to seek appropriations from the legislature for anticipated deficiencies in the current year, as a department head may not expend for any given purpose more than the amount actually appropriated for that purpose or made available for it by transfer.

What I have described is not an executive budget. As I have already indicated, I am not prepared to advocate such a plan. The executive and the legislative departments are both interested in good government and reasonable economy, and together they must work out a means of supplying funds to the

various branches of the government to enable them to function. There should, therefore, be team work in the task. The executive budget is an ultimatum by the governor to the legislature, "Take this, or any part of it, but add nothing!"

The other extreme is the old plan by which the legislature took the same attitude toward the governor. The plan on the statute books in New York, by which the budget is to be prepared by representatives of the governor, the legislature and the comptroller, after conferences with the several departments and institutions, ought, with reasonable sanity and foresight, to meet the needs of the state with the maximum of economy. Without sane statesmanship and integrity no system will guarantee the best results.

PUBLICATIONS AND UNIFORM SOCIAL DATA

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For the student of the history of public provision for the dependent, delinquent, and handicapped there is no more valuable source of material than the reports of state boards of charities and similar departments. Interesting as this material is for the researcher into historical backgrounds of social work, this would have little weight in a plea for more adequate reporting and interpretation of vital facts, especially in this day of agitation for economy. What then is the purpose that should be served by the reports issued by state departments dealing with social problems? What is the object of the presentation of facts relating to the work of a public agency? Just what end is the statistical material and discussion intended to serve?

A study of the publications of several state boards of charities and corrections over a period of fifty years indicates that the idea of what a report should be has changed radically in some states. One receives the impression that in the earlier years of provision by the state for the socially disadvantaged there was what Matthew Arnold calls "intellectual curiosity," a tendency to philosophize on the causes and on the correction of the evils encountered. In later years the interest in some quarters seems to have been greater in regard to stock and crops and the fiscal management of the state's institutions. It is an interesting fact that in the states more recently undertaking work along social welfare lines the annual reports partake more of the character of the earlier publications of the pioneering states, colored, of course, by the modern approach to the causes and their prevention.

The earlier reports are permeated by the personalities of the leaders in the National Conference of Charities and Correction, which originated in 1874. It is well to remember this intimate relationship between the state boards and the National Conference, which was, in fact, a conference of the state board people for discussion of their problems. At each annual session of the National Con-

ference of Charities and Correction one of the regular features was reports by the heads of state boards. Later, the conference created a committee on the reports from the states.

Fifty years ago the state boards and the National Conference appeared to be much interested in European methods, and their reports indicate that they tried to keep in touch with what was taking place in the field of charities and corrections abroad, as well as throughout the United States. Such reforms as removing children from almshouses in New York State in 1875 became of immediate interest and was copied in other states, and the movement for state schools for dependent children spread rapidly because of the attitude of the boards toward learning of improved methods that were being put into effect in other states. Many state board reports of the present day give the impression of self-centeredness. To some extent the broader interest is now being promoted through state board bulletins, but there has been a very definite decline in general exchange of constructive ideas from state board to state board since the day when the leaders in the state work came together for informal discussion of their common problems and dissemination of the best plans that had been worked out by them. The change has, of course, been inevitable with the increasing number of state boards and the growing complexity of social work interests.

When the first Conference of Charities and Correction was held, in conjunction with the American Social Science Association, in 1874, there were boards of public charities in the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Wisconsin, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Kansas. Representatives of most of these boards were present at the conference. During the first session a committee was appointed to report a plan for the uniformity of statistics and for better cooperation between the boards of charities throughout the country. At the second session this committee made a preliminary report urging the desirability of having statistics of pauperism, crime, insanity, and other topics included in the reports of the boards as completely as possible and upon a uniform plan. Further time was asked by the committee to prepare a form for use by the different boards. This committee reported at a special conference in New York City in September of the same year and recommended a form of questionnaire which, if answered in each state, "would gradually bring out statistics to a fair degree of uniformity." Several of the boards objected to the adoption of this form; the Massachusetts board adopted it and undertook to answer the questions, but did so for only one year, in later years making less complete statements.

In 1876 one of the six committees recommended by the Conference was a committee on statistics and legislation. Again in 1885 we find a considerable portion of the *Proceedings* of the Conference devoted to discussion of uniform statistics. The committee reported to the Conference of "the expediency of greater uniformity in the annual statistics which the state boards present to the state legislatures." The various reports of this committee are worthy of careful

study. Hastings H. Hart, a member of the committee, has to this day persistently urged better statistics of charities and correction.

In going over the early reports of the National Conference one wonders whether it might not be a good plan for this Conference to devote some sessions one year in every ten to going back over the *Proceedings* of the earliest years of the Conference and rediscussing the ideas set forth fifty years before. To put one into the right mood for contemplation of the wisdom of those we are prone to think of as representing an earlier era in social work, one might recall the recent discovery by exploring scientists, in the Endless Caverns of Virginia, of a form of animal life said to date back five hundred million years. The truth could then be viewed with more complacency that in fifty years the progress in charities and correction has not been astonishingly great, and it might even be admitted that in some respects the pioneers in the social work movement had ideas that can well stand being brought forth into the light and applied to modern conditions. Have we been so busy organizing new forms of treatment of social problems that we have neglected to take the time to study causes and results in a persistent way? Have we been darting off into now this interesting-looking byway, now dashing along this main road, emphasizing first one social ill, then another, as if they were separate entities, instead of, as in the old, less excitable years, thinking of the problems encountered as pointing to sources of degeneracy that must be recognized and cleared up? In the present-day social work we sometimes find agencies that are devoted only to treatment, as they see it, giving no particular attention to investigation of conditions and possible preventive measures. Other agencies have gone into investigation with the utmost enthusiasm, having little time or interest left for treatment.

The state board reports of Massachusetts have continued near to the standard set in the early seventies. Recently this board, like those in some other states, has found it necessary to economize on printing and has greatly reduced the material presented in annual reports. For an illustration of a concise report—perhaps less than a fifth as long as some of the earlier reports by the same board—the 1923 report of the New York State Board of Charities will warrant careful study. The report covers 240 pages, including an excellent index. For a report that is to the point and is clear and logical in its statistical material, giving a compact presentation of the salient facts relating to defective, dependent, or delinquent under state care or reported to the board by private institutions or agencies, the New York report has not been surpassed. In the first section is a brief statement of the duties and functions of the board and certain especially interesting data, such as a simple table on decrease in institution population, comparing three years. Then follows a very interesting discussion of "Gaps in the Institutional Field"—provision for crippled children, convalescent homes, mentally defective children, emergency care, county child welfare organizations, the delinquent girl, hospital conditions, dental dispensaries, tuberculosis. A summary is given of the problem of the care of the mentally defective and the

epileptic, and the work of the boards of child welfare, mothers' allowances, and the care of the aged are briefly stated. The report of the Division of Children contains a particularly simple and effective statistical presentation of interesting data carefully compiled. It is easy to secure and understand the facts one usually wants in regard to state institutions, private institutions and agencies, county agencies and institutions, placing out, institutional care, care of the physically handicapped, etc. Short tables in the text give comparative data in an interesting way on population, admissions, and discharges. Statistics of the boards of child welfare are given by counties, including the number of families and children, expenditures, and average monthly allowance per child. Special data are presented regarding children in foster homes under care of county agencies, city and town agencies, and private agencies, giving separate figures for free and boarding homes. In the last section of the report more detailed statistics are presented.

Contrast with this the annual report of a certain other state department. The report is published in two expensive volumes and contains a mass of information that would undoubtedly be of interest to a farmer or a housekeeper, but very little in regard to the human element. For instance, in the report on the state industrial school for girls there is included a detailed list of food items which occur in all the institution reports, making it possible, should one so desire to compare the consumption and average cost for each minute item for the different institutions. In regard to the girls who are in the institution for training, there is a brief discussion of the training, education, recreation, health, discipline, work, and parole, and slight statistics on the movement of population, admissions by counties, offenses for which committed—containing only five items—and age distribution divided into only three groups. There are minute details in regard to quarts of vegetables and fruits canned, and the produce of the farm and orchards. The report of this one institution contains more about the inmates than do the others represented in the state board report. For one of the institutions the only mention of the children is a small paragraph on "How to Secure a Child from the Home." This report contains the same minute details on cost of food items.

Institutions giving this emphasis on their work are not uncommon. One frequently finds the superintendent enthusiastic about the Holstein herds; their pedigree is a matter of great concern, and much attention is given to scientific milking and expert care. For the boys who care for the cows there is frequently no information in regard to heredity or personality, and little attention to health and living conditions. The cows are treated much more as individuals than are the boys.

It is refreshing to read the reports of some of the states in which the welfare departments have only recently been organized on a social basis. Take, for example, the reports of the North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare or the Georgia State Department of Public Welfare. These publications

give one a sense of emphasis on the social and human side of the problem dealt with. Statistical data one would wish to have is sometimes lacking, but undoubtedly this will be developed. Such reports show, in a way that is easy to grasp, the problems that are confronting the state boards and the way in which they are attempting to solve them for the benefit of all the people of the state. On the other hand, the interest of certain state board reports is limited to the comparatively few who are concerned with detailed statistics and the handbook type of information, useful though it is.

To summarize: from the time of the creation of this National Conference and the earliest days of the state boards of charities the leaders in these activities have recommended complete and uniform statistics that would make possible an understanding of the problems of dependency, delinquency, and defect, and through such understanding lead to preventive measures. They have urged that it is desirable for each state board to study the methods in other states that may give them constructive ideas. It is doubtful whether, in spite of the number of years that this has been advocated, any uniformity exists in the statistics of the different state boards. It is even found with distressing frequency that the same state boards or departments, in their reports for different years, vary their methods so that it is impossible to secure comparable figures over a period of years for even the more simple facts.

It is necessary, however, to warn against undue haste in attempting to secure uniformity. When such reform is undertaken by a state board, in securing data from its various divisions or institutions care should be taken that the idea of uniformity does not overshadow desirable features in the presentations of previous years that should be retained. Almost all state board reports would lead themselves to improvement in the statistical presentation of information, to the end that the important facts may stand out properly and unimportant details may be subordinated.

Uniformity of statistics applies not only to the desirability of being able to compare the information compiled by different states, but also to the various branches of the work of each state board. Uniformity of statistics must begin with the most elemental facts and the methods of presenting them. It is almost impossible to secure, for example, comparable statistics, because one agency reports cases, and another, children. Data in regard to home conditions are exceedingly interesting when one looks at them in general, but try to get at any definite data with percentages totaling one hundred, a clear understanding of what the practice was in regard to preferring one item over another, or whether a family is counted once or several times, and there is no end of confusion. Age figures for institutions and agencies are often vague, and the classifications of types of cases involve many difficulties.

But, important as is accurate and simple presentation of the statistical facts that show the extent of the problems of dependency, delinquency, and defect, and make possible accurate comparison for a series of years or for differ-

ent states, it is equally important that the state boards of charities or departments of welfare present the information in regard to their work in such a way that it is read with interest and benefit. A report of a state board should be of concern to every citizen of the state. It should give him an idea of the problems that are confronting the state and the way in which the responsible state board, through its various branches and the state institutions, are dealing with them. It should include some general information also on the extent of the problem dealt with by private agencies and institutions, and the manner in which their work is conducted. It should bring before the state some information in regard to successful experiments in other states.

State board reports, as issued at present, may be divided into: first, those containing very dull information of a statistical or routine report nature, with greater emphasis on cost accounting than on the human factor; second, those containing mainly statistical data of a more or less desirable character, often with more attention to detail than to significance of data, with almost no information in regard to the institutions or agencies themselves; third, those containing statistical data in brief form, together with summaries of the various types of work being done by the state board and state institutions, and some information in regard to the work of private organizations in the state, the whole giving an idea of the entire state situation; fourth, reports dealing mainly with discussion of social problems, including reports of special inquiries designed to enlist interest—probably a preliminary step in producing a complete state board report in which significant statistical material will be combined with interesting analyses of conditions, of the work being done, and measures required to improve conditions.

POPULAR PRESENTATION OF PUBLIC SOCIAL WORK

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Have you ever watched the newspapers in their presentation of the work of public social agencies? If you have, is it not interesting that about the only thing one sees in the newspapers—the most widely read publications on earth—concerning the problem of crime are the stories of criminal acts and scandals in the conduct of prisons, reformatories, and jails? Why is it? To a less degree what is true of crime is true of the other forms of public social work. Who ever reads in the newspapers about the good work which some jailer is doing in putting to work the men who usually lie idle in the jail, or about the good work which a few public commissioners of the poor are doing? Let, however, some person die as a result of abuse in the poorhouse, and the story occupies the front page. Let it become known that some prisoner has been flogged in the jail, and the newspapers, as they should, will tell the world. In other words,

public social work receives popular notice only when some scandal in connection with it arises. Why is this?

Newspaper men will tell you that it is because good work on the part of these agencies is not news. Doubtless this is true; but why is good work not news? Is it because it cannot be made news, or is it because newspaper reporters and institution officials have not had the wit to make it news? I incline to the opinion that it is because lack of proper publicity has not educated the people to an interest in good work. The human aspects of the work in these institutions has not been played up. Social workers, both public and private, but especially the public, have not been aware of the news value of the good work they do. In every one of these institutions, city, county, and state, lie hidden stories which the public would be glad to read. Newspaper reporters hitherto have not had the wit to discover them, but they are less to blame than those responsible for the institution.

Some principles of public presentation of public social work.—Not being a publicity man myself I can offer only some suggestions which occur to me on the basis of chance observation: First, is it enough that the state institutions and social agencies tell, in an annual or biennial report, of the work done? It is a well-known fact that these reports often are not widely read. They are dull, uninteresting, have no appeal to the natural curiosity of mankind, and give only the bones of the state social work, unclothed with the living flesh of a human being. Who would guess, from one of these reports, the high and noble purpose that is supposed to animate these institutions? Who could surmise that back of these deadly dull reports lie tragedies of human life which novelists sometimes are wise enough to use to create a story that sells by the thousand?

To this indictment there are enough notable exceptions to make my point clear. When Harris R. Cooley was director of the Department of Charities and Correction of the City of Cleveland, the world discovered that Cleveland was engaged in a unique experiment in dealing with her paupers, her tubercular, and her misdemeanants. Beyond his formal reports, his imagination envisaged the people of Cleveland and of a hundred other similar communities in the United States. The newspapers and magazines awoke to the fact that out on those two thousand acres on which were built the house of correction, the almshouse, the tuberculosis sanatorium, and the city graveyard there were stories which made good news. Even a cemetery was not without publicity value.

Second, is it adequate reporting to the stockholders of a corporation to give them a report only once in two years concerning the work of the institutions, especially if that report is largely in the form of the business rather than of the human side of the work? Amos Butler has shown us all how the dry-as-dust material of the reports of the work of a board of state charities can interest the people of a whole state. Beyond that board to which he was reporting, and who were of necessity interested in the business side of the state institutions, he saw the two or three million people of the state of Indiana who were furnishing

both the money and the human material with which they dealt. To them he reported the things in which he knew they would be interested. He put his information in such a way that they were glad to read it, and in reading it they became interested in the public social work of Indiana.

Third, should not the people of the state be told frequently of the aims of the institutions, the difficulties, both financial and human, with which those charged with their management struggle, e.g., the difficulty of running a first-class institution with inadequately paid staffs, of getting the right kind of employees, of inspiring them to be servants of the people instead of time-servers, of securing good results with poor cooperation from public officials, from private agencies, and from popular opinion, of remolding the hopeless material with which they deal? Moreover, should they not also be told of the successes which these public institutions achieve? Here a prisoner has been paroled and has gone back to his community to fight his way back to respectability, meanwhile supporting his family and relieving the state of the expense of his care. There a degenerate family constructively handled by a public poor relief official was inspired with new ideals and brought to ultimate usefulness in the community, and again, a group of feeble-minded folks who for years had furnished paupers and delinquents for the community to support and struggle with were so dealt with that the corruption of human stock was stopped, and all the train of evils incident to their degeneracy, propagating itself generation after generation, was wiped out. The Board of Administration of Ohio had the wit to see that if the people of the state knew what they were trying to do through the Bureau of Juvenile Research they would enthusiastically support it.

Fourth, would not such reporting inform and interest the people of the state, county, or city in these human problems, secure their cooperation and support, and promote better methods? A few examples show that it would. What was it that made the old township system of relief in Indiana enthusiastically supported instead of merely tolerated by the people of that state? Was it not the fact that the state board informed the people that by a few minor changes in the law and by a system of careful reports the amount spent by the townships in public outdoor relief was reduced from over \$600,000 per year to less than half that amount, and the insistent presentation of the simple methods by which that result was reached? What was it that changed the apathy and indifference of the people of Westchester County, New York, to one of enthusiastic pride in their county institutions? Was it not the vision of V. Everett Macy, who saw that in his institutions and the methods employed there lay an appeal to the intelligent interest of his constituents? He told them about it. Newspaper reporters suddenly found that here was a new source of news. The world discovered that people can be interested in the technique of sound social work if it is properly presented.

Fifth, to use a commercial phrase, cannot human service be "sold" to the citizenship? Ought it not to be made understandable to the common people?

Only so can enthusiastic support be secured, and by such means alone can the people be made real partners in the high and noble purpose of making public social work contribute to social progress.

The sum of the whole business is that those in charge of public social work for the most part have failed to take the people into their confidence. The stupidity of such an attitude is well illustrated by a state board in a middle western state. When attacks were being made upon the board for certain of its policies and procedures it was urged to take the people into its confidence, tell them why it was doing so and so, invite constructive criticism, and explain the purpose of its procedure. To this urging it replied that it was charged with the responsibility of conducting the state institutions; to the legislature alone it was answerable for its work; that it did not propose to take the publicity agencies into its confidence. As a result of the personnel of that particular board was consigned to the oblivion which it justly deserved. The newspapers and other publicity agencies are not to be blamed for the attitude they have taken toward public social work. The responsibility lies squarely upon the shoulders of those in charge of the institutions.

Methods of popular publicity.—Space and time will not permit me to do more than suggest certain methods of popular publicity. First, I have already hinted that the newspapers are hungry for the right kind of stories concerning the work of the public institutions. In them will be found willing cooperators in the task of educating the public. When institutions are governed by individual bodies of managers, those managers and the superintendents should see to it that constantly, out of their large experience, go to the publicity channels stories which will be read. Sometimes these stories will deal with the financial aspects. Even such stories can be made interesting. As the institution develops new methods and tries new experiments the newspapers should be used to tell the public about them. The tragedies with which they deal can be so discussed that the individual will be protected but the public informed. Consider the interest which would be elicited by a story telling how, out of a thousand people received into a state hospital for the insane, even two hundred had been so treated that they were back in their homes and families, better able to meet the responsibilities of life; how the new psychopathic ward had received so many people in a given time who had voluntarily come with their mental difficulties, and had been straightened out and sent home, trained to a program of mental hygiene which would prevent ultimate breakdown. Even the sordid tales of a jail might be made the vehicle of bringing home to a community the importance of a better treatment of the drunks, prostitutes, hobos, and other somewhat hopeless classes.

Where the state institutions are administered by a state board, or supervised by them, could not such a body, through the newspapers, educate the people of a whole state to a proper attitude toward these unfortunate people? It could, as shown by the work of the Indiana Board of Charities, the Massa-

chusetts Board of Charities, and by a few of the boards of control. Some of the private agencies also have shown that they appreciate the importance of interesting publicity. In Wisconsin the state anti-tuberculosis association has shown remarkable insight into the possibilities of interesting the people in the one problem of curing and preventing tuberculosis. Its little *Crusader* goes into the homes and upon the desks of thousands of people throughout the state. Its stories sent out to the newspapers of the state are printed in hundreds of communities. As a result, in a dozen years the death-rate in Wisconsin from tuberculosis has fallen to one of the lowest in the United States, and the interest of the people of the state is shown by the increasing support given the organization.

Second, newspaper publicity should be supplemented by popular addresses by members of the state board, by chaplains and wardens of reformatories and prisons, by superintendents of the various institutions, and representatives of the state commissions and boards. Occasionally one hears of a chaplain of a prison who has made the work of his prison known through the state. The work of the Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, for example, would have been impossible had not its members taken an active interest in presenting on every possible occasion the work of that important body. Occasionally a judge has found that his spoken words before various groups have strengthened his hands. With our highly organized society of the present day, parent-teacher associations, women's clubs, service clubs like Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, Gyro, etc., are hungry for the message of a man who knows how to tell them of the important work which they are doing. Parole work has lagged in some of our cities, and probation work has gone limping because there has been no one to explain the importance of these devices in language which would interest and inform.

Third, exhibits have been woefully neglected by our public social work as a method of popular publicity. Consider the number of meetings which are held by all kinds of organizations in a given state in a year. Most of the states have state fairs, many of the counties have county fairs. The state teachers meet in a gathering once a year at least. Congresses of mothers, state parent-teacher associations, state federations of women's clubs, state conferences of social work, etc., all offer opportunities on a state-wide basis for the presentation of the work of our public agencies. The same is true of county and city meetings. All these meetings have been woefully neglected by public social work. Not only do they provide platforms for addresses, but usually they will welcome an exhibit which in visual form will provide the means of acquainting those who attend with the work of public school agencies.

In Wisconsin, each year when the legislature is in session, the superintendent of the institution for the blind brings to Madison not only a large exhibit of the handiwork of the inmates of that institution, and sets it up in the corridor outside the legislative halls, but brings also a number of the pupils and puts them to work where the legislators cannot fail to see them. This has created a very remarkable interest and a support for this institution. While such a method

cannot be used for all the state institutions, modifications of it could be used. As a matter of fact, in all these ways public social work must keep its constituents acquainted with what it is doing. If they neglect this important function they are only inviting the indifference which is now too largely their portion.

WORK FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN IN OHIO

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The Ohio Society for Crippled Children was organized at Elyria, Ohio, May 8, 1919. Edgar F. Allen, of Elyria, was the moving spirit in the organization, and was its first president. He is now president of the International Society for Crippled Children, and remains as president emeritus of the Ohio Society. To him, more than to any other one factor, belongs the credit for whatever results may have been obtained in Ohio.

About eighteen years ago Mr. Allen retired from business with the idea of dedicating the balance of his life to the service of his less fortunate fellows. He first devoted himself to securing much-needed hospital facilities for Elyria. While he was engaged in this undertaking, and about the time the hospital was getting into operation, he became interested in the subject of the crippled child. Since then he has been devoting practically his entire time to this work, from which he has received no financial return, and for which he has spent much of his own money. The earnestness of his purpose and his ability as an organizer have overcome obstacles and discouragements which would have spelled failure to one of less courage and tenacity of purpose.

Active membership in the Ohio Society for Crippled Children has been limited to Ohio Rotarians. This policy has been followed deliberately, not because Ohio Rotarians have any exalted idea of their own fitness for this work, but because it is believed that a relatively small, but rather closely knit, organization of business and professional men can be better depended upon than could a more loosely organized group.

It is easier to raise money from a membership of this sort, and, when it comes to legislation, influence can be more effectively brought to bear by such a group which is not open to the charge of being in the uplift business, and is supposed to represent, in a rather definite sense, the business man and the larger taxpayer who so often opposes, or at least fails to support, welfare legislation.

In 1921 this society, in cooperation with the Ohio Institute, the Ohio State Medical Association, the Ohio Public Health Association, and other interested organizations and individuals helped to secure the legislation by which the three state departments of welfare, health, and education are given responsibility for the care, cure, and education of crippled children in Ohio.

A paper prepared by Mr. Harry H. Howett, executive secretary of the International Society for Crippled Children, for the Children's Division of this Conference, contains detailed references to Ohio laws. I shall attempt to describe the legal set-up only in barest outline.

The State Department of Education reimburses local boards of education up to \$300 per child for that part of the cost of special education for crippled children which exceeds the normal cost. To be eligible for this reimbursement, local boards of education must meet certain standards and must submit to a certain amount of supervision by the state.

The State Department of Health operates orthopedic clinics in different parts of the state, at which leading orthopedic surgeons donate their services. Preparation for these clinics represents an effective means of finding crippled children and starting them on the road to such help as medical science and trained social work can offer.

When parents are unable to pay all or a part of the cost of orthopedic care, the juvenile court may commit a crippled child to the division of charities in the state welfare department, which arranges for hospital and medical care and follows up the case after hospitalization is over. The cost of this care is charged back to the county making the commitment.

By a new law passed by the last general assembly a month or so ago, school enumerators will each year make a special report of crippled children to local health officials through the juvenile court. These local health officials are charged with the responsibility of examining every crippled child so reported within two months, and reporting back to the juvenile court. The purpose of this legislation is to provide an annual survey of crippled children and to place specific responsibility on local officials for following up crippled children to see that they receive proper care and education.

The State-Federal Civilian Rehabilitation Service, operating in the state department of education, takes crippled children when they have finished the eighth grade, or are sixteen years of age, and gives them vocational training. If appliances or physical care are necessary to make vocational training possible, this can be provided to a limited degree by this branch of state government.

The work has grown rapidly. In the State Department of Education \$90,000 was appropriated for the first year ending June 30, 1922. The legislature, which recently adjourned, appropriated just twice this amount, or \$180,000, for each year of the next biennium. Fifty special classes in seventeen Ohio cities, seven of which are in hospitals or convalescent homes, are serving the crippled child. In addition, there are ninety-five home teaching cases in thirty-five different communities, making a total of about 850 pupils receiving special education in the state at the close of the present school year.

Between ninety and a hundred clinics for crippled children have been held by the State Department of Health, at which something over 4,000 children have been examined. At a low estimate, orthopedic surgeons in Ohio have given

\$20,000 worth of free service at these clinics, the cost of which to the state department of health has been approximately \$30,000, or a total of \$50,000.

Approximately eleven hundred children have been committed to the Division of Charities in the State Welfare Department. Five nurses in the division cooperate with local health and school authorities and other local persons and organizations in supervising crippled children committed to the division. Some of these children are in hospitals, some in convalescent homes, and some in their own homes.

This supervision, which is paid for by the state, costs between fifteen and twenty thousand dollars a year. The state will charge back to the counties from which these children come approximately \$200,000 for the current fiscal year, and has charged back since 1919 over \$500,000.

Thus, a development which has been really under way less than four years has reached the point where state and local governmental agencies will spend more than a million dollars for the care, cure, and education of crippled children during the biennium beginning July 1, 1925. An important by-product of this development is the increased knowledge and understanding of orthopedic surgery as a specialized field of medicine, so that children are receiving better care, and at an earlier age. Another by-product is the spread of information which has made possible the care of many children who are not in any way below the poverty line, and yet who would have gone without proper care had it not been for this campaign of education which has accompanied the growth and development of the state program.

There are sixty-six Rotary clubs in Ohio, with a membership of a little less than 5,000. This membership, of course, is located for the most part in the larger cities. Fifty of the eighty-eight counties have one or more Rotary clubs, leaving a very considerable part of the state without representation. Many of the counties in which Rotary clubs are not directly represented are located in the more backward sections of the state, where there is often the greatest need for attention to crippled children. The Ohio Society has tried in some instances to help state and local public officials in these sections, particularly where some unusually difficult individual problem has arisen. For the most part, however, these less progressive portions of the state have been left entirely to governmental agencies, and of necessity progress has been slow. This is another reason why state governmental agencies which reach every corner of the state are needed to solve adequately the problem of the crippled child.

The Ohio Society for Crippled Children has made every effort to avoid becoming itself an additional agency for the care of crippled children. It believes its function should be limited to serving as an organized constituency for the crippled child, and especially for the three state departments, of education, health, and welfare. It tries to help these departments secure adequate appropriations from the general assembly, to assist Rotary clubs in working out local problems, to stimulate local and state interest in the crippled child, and, in

short, to be a kind of general clearing-house for stimulation, coordination, cooperation, and all-around helpfulness wherever the interests of the crippled child are involved.

Its budget of twelve to fifteen thousand dollars is received almost entirely from membership dues of \$3 each from Ohio Rotarians. This budget represents, frankly, an overhead expense for staff and office salaries, traveling expenses, printing, and general publicity. Time permits only the briefest mention of a few of the problems with which we are struggling in Ohio:

Probably the biggest problem is the feeble-minded crippled child. It is our belief that institutional care represents the only solution for those more seriously handicapped physically, and to this end the Ohio Society cooperated vigorously with the Ohio Mental Hygiene Committee in securing from the recent legislature appropriations totaling a little over \$2,000,000 for additional institutional facilities for the feeble-minded.

One of the serious problems is how to convince local public officials, particularly county commissioners and county auditors, that orthopedic care for crippled children is a justifiable expense. A few counties are actually facing serious financial difficulties, especially in the sections of the state where bituminous coal mining has been the leading industry and is now in bad financial condition. In most cases, however, it is almost entirely a question of educating public opinion.

Much consideration has been given to the relative merits of the plan used in the State Department of Education, where state funds are used to reimburse local boards of education, as compared with the plan used in the welfare department, where the money is simply advanced by the state and the cost charged back to the local community. It is sometimes easier to concentrate pressure on a state legislature in order to secure needed appropriations, but this has the acknowledged weakness of neglecting the education of local public opinion, which, in the last analysis, is of most vital importance.

There was strong sentiment in Ohio at one time for central, or at least district, state institutions or hospitals for the care of crippled children. The Ohio Society is convinced that facilities in local general hospitals are entirely adequate to take care of the acute surgical needs of the crippled child. There is need for convalescent facilities, however, in the larger centers of population, where crippled children can be taken care of at a cost lower than in acute hospitals, and yet where better care can be afforded than in many of the homes from which the children come. In other words, half-way stations are needed between the hospital and the child's home.

The Ohio Society has not favored the policy of building large hospitals, and as far as Ohio is concerned, at least, believes money can be better spent for a number of modest convalescent homes, where operating costs may be low and still give the children the care they need.

It is the hope and belief of the Ohio Society that an intensive study of the

problem of the crippled child should result in a comparatively short time, possibly even in one generation, in a marked reduction in the number of crippled children, partly through early correction of their disabilities, and partly through an education which will do much toward prevention, especially so far as birth injuries are concerned.

The Ohio Society does not consider itself a permanent organization, and is seeking earnestly to bring about a condition where it will be no longer needed and where governmental agencies will be so firmly established as to assure permanence to the program of prevention and early treatment which will eventually reduce the heavy economic and social loss which these children represent in the state today.

POLICY AND PERSONNEL IN PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES

THE TRUE FUNCTIONS OF THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE STATE

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Governments existing by the consent of the governed represent broadly a service to the people. The administrative departments of such a government function in the interest of the public by the making and keeping of roads, by the advancement of public education, by the development of penology, and the care and treatment of offenders, by the custody, care, and treatment of the mentally sick or defective, by the relief of the dependent poor, and by many other enterprises which the people have in common and for the doing of which they turn naturally to their government. The first point to be noted, therefore, is that a public institution is a specialized instrument for service.

For the purposes of this discussion, we speak not of institutions broadly, but rather of those enterprises only in which the state provides care, custody, or treatment for individuals and is under the necessity of developing establishments for their housing and equipment for dealing with them. For our use an almshouse, a hospital for the insane, or a prison are typical.

Let us note, in the second place, if you will, that a police institution exists only by virtue of legal authority contained in a statute. Now legal authority thus conferred is always specific, set like concrete, seldom confers discretion, and will always be construed by the courts strictly.

This legal authority represents, in theory at least, the will of the people crystallized into the word of law. Sometimes it is enacted hastily as the result of a special plea; but for the most part it arises out of the considered judgment of the community arrived at through generations of thought and deliberation. Legislation of the true type is a slowly moving process in which the critical needs

of the moment cry aloud and are unmet, the remedy in the form of law following a long while after the need. It must be apparent, therefore, that your state institution finds itself hampered at any given time because of the antiquity of its authority and its inability, by reason of so much restriction, to adapt itself to the changing needs of the times.

A third point worthy of notice is that public institutional service suffers in the nature of things from sundry tendencies toward mediocrity. In the first place it tends in the direction of inadequate leadership through low pay and politics. This question of low pay I believe arises from the fact that the average citizen, who is the greatest influence in law-making, gets less money than the public servant whose salary he is fixing, and for lack of vision fails to realize the market value of skill. Let the reason be what it may, public service in the United States is wretchedly paid, and because there is an economic law which usually brings you out with just about what you pay for—if you are lucky—public service in the United States, speaking broadly, is itself a sad tale of mediocrity. I need not discuss politics; we know its influence.

Second, your institution is in danger always from mediocre staff service through low pay and the lack of a good source of supply for workers. This difficulty reaches its height, perhaps, in the supply of attendants for the care of the insane. As few American institutions, if any, have ever developed a housing plan which will take care of the families of attendants, the authorities must depend upon a body of floaters who drift about from place to place, filling the position of attendant at pay poorer than that of a domestic, or a gardener.

Third, the superintendent of a large plant is constantly beset by so many routine and mechanical duties that he tends always to fall away from his specialty and to become a general business agent, forgetful of the deep philosophy of his institution.

A fourth item among these dangers is the constant urgency under which the superintendent and his staff labor to make an economical showing in per capita expenditure, with a resulting constant urge to keep all the beds full and the waste can empty. This danger shows itself often in bad classification. It is sometimes revealed in ready compliance of the public department with the demands of local politicians for the sending of new groups of individuals to an institution never originally intended for their care.

With these considerations in the background, I wish to discuss more particularly the question of function. A crippled child is sent to the Massachusetts Hospital School because he cannot get an education in the ordinary way out in the community, and because his body needs study and treatment to make it more serviceable to him and to his community, if that shall prove possible. The public is interested in the degree of effective citizenship which that child may be able to render to the community. What, then, are the functions of the Massachusetts Hospital School with reference to this child? Among other things at least are these: (a) his physical rejuvenation; (b) the preparation of his mind,

through education, so that as nearly as practicable he may become a self-supporting and a competent citizen; (c) the study of problems of physical defect which his case represents, yielding to the sum of human knowledge all deductions of which the institution authorities are capable, to the end that society may defend itself more completely against such defects.

Let us look at another case. A young man shoots up a grocery store and kills the clerk. He goes to Sing Sing for seven years. What are the functions of the prison with reference to that convict? Society has sent him there in order to protect itself from his crimes. It thinks of his punishment, justly, only as a deterrent to him and others similarly tempted. In committing him it has lost the citizenship service of a potential citizen for seven years. What, then, does it expect of its institution in which he is to spend that seven years? Whatever else the institution may do for him, these obligations seem clear: (a) he shall be kept with all reasonable guaranties against his escape and the consequent nullification of the decree which society has thus passed upon him; (b) his physical powers shall be preserved so that at the end of his sentence he may not be infirm; (c) his intellect and personality are to be dealt with in such manner as may result, as far as practicable, in his being able to go out into the community and earn his way, and so that he may show the will and the determination so to do; (d) his offense and all its attendant circumstances, especially his mental texture and his environment, are to be studied with a view of helping society, by all the conclusions deducible, to set up as perfect a defense system as practicable against the tendencies of its individuals to commit crime.

Let us take even a third case. A young girl is apprehended setting fires under back porches. She is sent finally to an institution for the feeble-minded. What are the functions of that institution in her case? She was sent there to protect society from her arson. Whatever else the authorities may do for her, at least (a) she is to be maintained there humanely; (b) she is to be taught as much in the way of a self-supporting occupation as her mentality will permit; (c) she is to be studied with a view of her release back into the community, if and when competent authority is of opinion that the danger from which society has already suffered in her case can be sufficiently guarded against without her longer confinement; (d) the problem of mental defect which she represents is to be studied unremittingly, to the end that there may be set up as complete a defense as practicable for society against the recurrence of like defect among its individuals.

It will be noted in all three of these instances that the function of the institution seems to be to deal with the individual and to use this case as a basis for analytical study of the problem which he and his type represent. The public thinks always of the first of these functions, and almost never of the second. To the man on the street, the public institution is a place where persons who are insane, or infirm, or incorrigible may be sent away. To him it is a depository,

a pickling vat. He never goes near it unless his blood kin is in residence there. He does not realize that its upkeep and maintenance are the chief items in his tax bill.

The social worker, when he thinks, looks upon the public institution as a process. For the most part it is the convenient terminus for many of his case problems. He takes relatively little interest in its progress.

There are few persons, indeed, in any community who think of a public institution as a vast laboratory, a tremendous, far-reaching opportunity for the study of the individual and his case as it bears upon the problems of society. Yet this is its true function. There is nothing genuinely static in the modern state—nothing but the grave. Our public institutions exist for the purpose of the custody, the protection, the reformation, or the relief of the individual, or for the treatment of his physical or mental difficulties, or for the prevention of harms to society which it is believed, on a basis of conduct, that individual, if left free to come and go in the community, will commit. Aside from such basic features as food, clothing, and shelter, this dealing with the individual varies greatly according to the case.

But however necessary be the many processes of dealing with the individual in the public institution, the most important element in institution service is the analytical study of the problems which that institution was created to help correct. An institution is a middle link in a three-link process, no one of which can function properly unless it be coupled to the others. The first of these links is the pre-institution field, occupied by public and private enterprises in social work, carrying on education, prevention, probation, first aid, out-patient service, and various forms of relief; all undertaken to prevent the necessity of sending the individual to the institution. The third of these links is the post-institution period, in which the individual has gone through the institution process and is now adjusting himself to the community out of which he came originally. This is the period of convalescence, of follow-up medical treatment, of case work, of service with family problems.

No public institution can keep an intelligent eye upon the nature of its intake without a close understanding of what other social work agencies in the pre-institution field are doing. Nor can it estimate the value of its own process without following its inmates back into the community to see to it that the same causes which brought them to the hospital in the beginning do not become operative again. In both of these fields there is need of active cooperation with other social agencies. In the institution process itself there is need for the keeping of adequate case records. There is need, all the time, for the constant use of the central index or social service exchange. In the post-institution field it means hospital social service carried on in conjunction with private dispensaries and other agencies. It means friendly visitors to the families of convicts, visitors who are the agents of the public department or of the prison, and who have the

assistance of private agencies constantly at their elbow. It means constant visitation of the families of insane persons and, in particular, of the families of those who are feeble-minded.

A public institution which turns a cold shoulder to private social welfare interests, and which is neglected by those private agencies, soon becomes a hermitage, neglectful of its own basic philosophy, busy with the little details of congregate living, filled with the wreckage that nobody wants, a bourne from which no competent traveler returns.

HOW TO SECURE A CONTINUING AND PROGRESSIVE POLICY IN PUBLIC SOCIAL WORK AND INSTITUTIONS

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The theoretical solution of this problem is easy to state; its practical realization in terms of every-day administration of public social work is difficult.

The public social work should be defined as the governmental activities, national and state, county and municipal, dealing with the results of, and with the prevention of, dependency, of mental and physical defect, of delinquency and crime.

It is a truism that success in this field of governmental activity (as well as all others) depends fundamentally on the intelligent functioning of the citizens of a democracy who have it in their power to elect to public office men and women of high caliber, who are free from political entanglements, these elected officials being responsible, through properly qualified subordinate personnel, for the administration of sound laws enacted by representative legislative bodies, which have also made adequate appropriation for the service required.

These ideal circumstances are rarely met, and the problem before us is to wrest from the unfavorable conditions of a careless populace and politically entangled executives, the type of organization, social legislation, and personnel which will insure a "continuing and progressive policy in public social work."

Public social work should be kept out of politics! One may approximate this for the state by the adoption of the commission type of organization, with commissioners, five or nine in number, appointed by successive governors for overlapping terms of service, these commissioners to be responsible for the appointment of an executive secretary who, with the commission, shall help to develop policies, and who shall be held responsible for their execution. The commissioners so appointed should not, during their term, hold any other public office, and their service should be rendered without compensation, save only their legitimate expenses incurred in the transaction of their business. This lack

of compensation removes, to a considerable degree, the positions from the category of "political plums."

In county and municipal welfare work the commission plan on a non-partisan basis, without compensation, is capable of adaptation to the need of the smaller community with great advantage.

In a state, the governmental organization of which is federalized, there is one great disadvantage to be reckoned with in the commission form of organization, and that is the comparative lack of direct approach to the governor by the executive head of the commission, but this is more than offset by the greater permanence of policy, which, because of the interposition of the commission between the governor and the executive secretary, is unlikely to undergo radical change as administrations come and go, and by the greater probability of public support because of more widespread public understanding through the citizens' commission. (The governmental organization of Pennsylvania is federalized, with the secretary of welfare appointed by the governor, while the state welfare commission has a purely advisory function. Three of the nine members of the commission are the heads of state departments—health, labor and industry, and welfare—and there is therefore a lack of disinterested citizens' support in times of need.) You will therefore note that I am not holding up as a model the organization of Pennsylvania's department of welfare in its upper levels.

Public confidence in any branch of governmental activity is based upon general public belief in the ability and integrity of the personnel which functions on behalf of the department. The selection of the executive secretary, the subordinate personnel, and the development of policy is therefore a matter of supreme importance in the building up of a department which it is hoped to make permanent. Publicity (not propaganda) relating to every step of the work of the department is essential to this end.

The secretary should be socially minded; not too highly specialized in the social field, a good organizer and executive, a good judge of people, in order to select personnel wisely, should be familiar with sources of information in the social field in general, should have a publicity sense in order to present personally or by other means the methods and aims of the department to the public and to public officials, should have, or be able to acquire, a knowledge of political technique in order effectively to function in a world in which political understanding is one important factor in relation to success.

Having selected an executive, the next step is the development of organization along clear-cut lines, with job analyses for each line of service, so that the staff, as it is assembled, shall have a sense of entering into an efficient, co-ordinated mechanism which is definitely progressing toward an objective. (I have personally found it to be a great advantage to set down in black and white the whole scheme of organization which it was hoped in time to develop, together with an outline of the functions to be performed, doing this even though no money is available to carry out the plans proposed, for by this method it is

possible for every new employee to vision himself in relation to the mosaic as a whole.)

It is desirable to secure the participation of the subordinate staff as it is assembled in the development of technique and details of policy, since in that way a "sense of belonging" and of being something more than a cog in a machine is developed throughout the staff. This promotes a sense of solidarity in the organization, and pride in its accomplishments.

Our experience in Pennsylvania indicates that it is a wise policy to select only trained men and women of maturity to fill executive and field positions. Adequate salaries must be provided in order to secure such persons. Especially is the need great for trained personnel in the early months and years of a newly established department, for there is too great risk of creating unnecessary antagonisms by immature and ill-advised suggestions and criticisms of agencies subject to the supervision of the department, and time does not permit of training inexperienced workers when there is a large volume of work to be done over widely scattered territory in a short space of time.

The salaries offered should be sufficient to enable the state agency to compete successfully with private agencies in securing trained, mature service, and there should be a range within the various grades of service, so that one does not face the loss of an experienced staff member because of lack of future increase of salary in the grade or of promotion to a higher class with the resultant future prospects. In Pennsylvania we have recently completed and adopted a classification and standardization of positions and salaries throughout the state service, from that of the humblest day laborer or domestic to that of the head of a department, which gives the greater satisfaction to all of us, and which meets the specification noted above, about which I shall have something to say later.

Salary, however, is not the only inducement to offer in securing personnel for the state service, and particularly is this true in the field of social work; the challenge of a big vision, with a great service to be rendered, is often sufficient to bring into a department those who, regardless of salary, would otherwise be deterred by the hardships, trials, and uncertainties of such a state job.

In addition to salary and the challenge of a real service, an inducement to permanence is to be found in a retirement system with pension. This factor has become part of the Pennsylvania system within the last four years.

Perhaps you raise the question as to the advantage of civil service in securing a continuing and progressive policy in public social work. Taking our experience in Pennsylvania, where we have no civil service, and contrasting it with that of other jurisdictions, I should much prefer to take my chance for a "continuing and progressive policy" in a system dominated by full publicity in relation to job specifications, qualifications of the individual candidate, with a chance for a real house-cleaning when needed, than to be forced to continued operation with the accumulating dead wood of mediocrity and superannuation which may result from some types of civil service administration. One takes

chances either way, but there is greater probability of maintaining a vital, living, progressive organization under the system now in force in Pennsylvania than under a rigid civil service which we must all recognize as being susceptible of political manipulation, as is any other governmental agency.

For successful, well-rounded social welfare administration in the state service, with a coordinated policy and program, with proper relative emphasis in all fields, and with a minimum of duplication of effort, the Pennsylvania plan is most satisfactory, for it brings together under one executive head the fields of mental health, adult dependency, juvenile dependency and delinquency, and penal affairs, with their custodial and their preventive and curative phases as well.

This implies that there shall be a measure of central control, both fiscal and professional, by the administrative department, of the activities of "welfare institutions" if a "continuing and progressive policy" is to be maintained. Undoubtedly a state board of control can more quickly and easily arrive at a revolution of standards and methods, fiscal and professional, for better (but also for worse) than is the case in a modified form of decentralized control.

Pennsylvania has, in four years, moved from the absolute decentralization of her institutional administration—which had resulted in great diversity and irregularity of standards of service and costs—to a modified form of centralized control through the welfare department, which is slowly but surely bringing up the more backward institutions to a professional standard which can be considered satisfactory, and is equalizing costs of rendering equivalent service.

This is being accomplished, not by "big stick" methods, but by educational processes carried on through trained members of our central office staff; by continuous pressure toward minimum standards, which are subject to voluntary adoption by the individual superintendents and trustees of the backward institutions; and by budgetary control as part of the state budget system, which is but two years old in Pennsylvania.

This process of education, minimum standards, and voluntary adoption of the proposed improvements, it must be recognized, is a slow and sometimes painful process, but the end results are bound to be a coherent, progressive, voluntarily adopted welfare policy and program which it will require an earthquake to overturn.

It is obvious that the institutional program, as well as the extramural activities, depend upon the personnel assembled and appropriations available to make them effective, and here again job specifications, qualifications of personnel, and adequate salary inducements, promotion and retirement provisions, must be considered if we are to have a "continuing and progressive policy," as is the case in the central administrative department. The quality of the superintendent and his (or her) qualification as a specialist in his given field is an essential factor in the continuing and progressive policy in public institutions.

In addition, an institutional program presents certain other factors which must be considered if perpetual "labor turnover" both professional, domestic, and mechanical, is to be avoided, with the consequent loss of continuity and progress.

Again Pennsylvania experience seems to indicate that a higher type of personnel with longer tenure of service can be secured if the institution is: first, located within reasonable distance of urban facilities; second, if housing of the professional, nursing, domestic, mechanical, and farm staff is suitable to the needs of the respective groups; third, if within the institution suitable recreational facilities are provided. (Our institutions are, for the most part, located at a distance from cities, and our housing facilities in many institutions are most inadequate.)

Lack of these facilities in many of our institutions has resulted in an enormous turnover among employees and has made it exceedingly difficult to secure men and women of high caliber in the upper ranges of professional and executive service. Instances could be multiplied of overcrowding, lack of privacy, overwork, excessively long hours, inadequate supervision and consequent lack of morale and deteriorating professional service, all due to lack of simple creature comforts which should have been provided for our institutional employees. Suffice it, however, to say that we have these important but simple factors very much to the fore, together with just and adequate salaries, as a basis for a "continuing and progressive policy" in our public welfare institutional work.

In institutions, as in the administrative department, the disadvantages of civil service outweigh the advantages. Employees who are responsible to a nebulous impersonal agency, hundreds of miles away, have a temptation to "soldier" on the job, and are far less likely to render 100 per cent efficient service, than in the case when under the eye of the responsible head of the institution who "hires and fires" on merit and efficiency.

The state is one of the largest employers of labor, professional, technical, domestic, etc., in any commonwealth. It is important that the salary and wage schedule for the state service should be worked out on an ethically and economically sound basis. Such a salary schedule is the backbone of a "continuing and progressive policy," for to a high degree it insures the employment of good public servants and their continuance in office for a considerable period.

Such a salary schedule has been worked out for Pennsylvania, not by the department of welfare, but by a special group, attached to the office of the secretary of the commonwealth, in conference with the heads of various administrative departments.

The professional, technical, vocational, and clerical grades as to qualification and compensation are the same for the administrative departments at the capitol and in the institutions throughout the state. The institutional classifica-

tion, domestic, farm, etc., dovetails into this in an orderly sequence, the whole system being based on the theory of a living wage, supply, and demand.

This effective salary standardization was predicated upon a careful study of every job in each institution, and brought to light not only glaring irregularities in payment for the same task, but, in certain institutions, extreme under-compensation for some types of work, with overpayment for other types. This standardization of job specification, together with equalization of salary or wage throughout the public service, will do much to stabilize our public social work.

To summarize: Granting that our "continuing and progressive policy in public social work" must be secured in spite of a careless electorate and politically entangled state executives, our greatest assurance of success lies in: first, an unpaid citizens' commission type of organization which removes the policies, the executive secretary and staff, and the institutions as far as possible from political interference; second, full publicity (not propaganda) as to policies, problems, and methods of work of the department, so that the people and other public officials may understand what is being done and why; third, a well-trained, mature professional staff for the administrative department and institutions, together with properly qualified subordinate employees, adequately paid, properly housed, with a suitable retirement system, but without civil service provisions; fourth, a coordination, under one chief executive, of all public social work in the fields of mental health, dependency (adult and juvenile), delinquency, and crime, in order that a coherent program may be formulated and carried out with a minimum of overlapping and a minimum of cost to the taxpayer.

CIVIL SERVICE AND PERSONNEL WORK IN PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS

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The primary objective of the merit system of appointment to public employment is the improvement of the personnel of the civil service as distinguished from the military service, but it carries with it as a necessary outcome the elevation of political life above a partisan struggle for the spoils of office to a loftier plane where only men and principles shall be considered.

As water cannot rise above its source, so the best results in the personnel of public employees cannot be attained in the absence of the highest quality of character and devotion to the public interest and administrative ability among those whose duty it is to apply the system, as laid down in the law, to the public service of the state. The personnel of the administrative heads and employees in all departments of government and public institutions in Colorado are so dependent upon, and intertwined with, the personnel of the Civil Service Commission, that it will be necessary to consider them together, and their

effect upon public business and the social work done in the various public institutions.

The first Colorado statute providing for the merit system of appointments to state positions was enacted in 1907, after ten years of effort by the Denver Civil Service Reform Association before five successive general assemblies. Great credit is due the late Governor Buchtel, who insisted upon the passage of this law in fulfillment by his party of a precampaign pledge, and to Hon. W. W. Booth, of Denver, who introduced it in the Senate and secured its adoption. The act was limited in its application to subordinate positions in all state institutions except those that were educational, and not reformatory or charitable, in character. It was an admirably drawn instrument and furnished a good beginning for the application of the merit system in this state. The excellent work of the first state commission appointed by Governor Buchtel was greatly impeded by the hostility of successive state legislatures in refusing to appropriate the necessary funds to cover the expense of administering the law.

To remedy this situation, at the general election of November, 1912, a law was initiated by petition, and adopted by the people of the state by a large vote, which amended the act of 1907 in several important respects.

It extended the classified service to include all appointive heads of state departments and all employees of the executive, judicial, and legislative branches of state government; it abolished all fixed terms for employment, and substituted appointments for good behavior and provided for a continuing appropriation for an irreducible minimum of the expenses required for the administration of the law, which would make the commission to that extent independent of the legislature, which, however, was expected to appropriate for all necessary expenses in excess of that minimum. When this latter expectation was not realized, the minimum continuing appropriation enabled the state commission for the first time to achieve some concrete results, both in efficiency and economy, in the various departments of the state government and its principal institutions, which conspicuously justified all that had been claimed by the proponents of the law. The commission, in its fourth biennial report for the year 1913-14, called attention in detail to the gratifying results obtained in the administration of the various departments of the state and its institutions, from which the following instances are taken as illustrations showing the great advantage to the state of selecting its appointees for fitness ascertained by competitive examination over the old system of appointment by political or personal favor.

The state printing commissioner, in his biennial report, showed a saving of \$8,000 over any year in the preceding decade, notwithstanding a greater amount of printing done. The game and fish department, for the first time in the history of the state, became self-supporting, although largely increased in efficiency and output. The inspector of oils showed a gain of nearly \$15,000, which was in strong contrast to all preceding administration of this office which

had been conducted at a loss to the state, as all collections made were treated as perquisites of the inspector! The warden of the reformatory at Buena Vista had, in ten months, changed the whole moral atmosphere of the institution and brought it up to a high standard. He had doubled the herd of live stock from the sale of farm products. He had produced 80 per cent more crops than in the previous year, and, although he reduced the number of guards, he had not had a single escape.

The same character of results were shown in all the departments whose chiefs were placed in the classified service. These important results came, not only because the heads of these departments were themselves trained men, but because, being appointed for good behavior, they were directly interested in making good records for their several departments. In addition, they were in hearty sympathy with the efforts of the commission to furnish them with capable and efficient employees, all of which meant their active cooperation with the commission.

The law, as it then stood, was in advance of any previously adopted in any of the United States, in that it included for the first time in the classified service the chiefs of all state departments. It also included the employees of the general assembly, in which the state of Wisconsin alone had led the way by one or two years. In Colorado this last inclusion was only partially put into operation in the first assembly after the initiated law went into effect, but with remarkable results in economy in this most wasteful field for political patronage.

As can readily be imagined, this law, although enacted directly by the sovereign people, and despite the wonderful results just narrated, was so inimical to the interests of the partisan politicians of all parties that it developed great opposition, which resulted in its repeal, in 1915, by the legislature, and the enactment of a new and reactionary law approved by Governor Carlson, which abolished the existing organization and all eligible lists and provided for a new commission whose three members should be appointed by the governor for terms coincident with his own, for the certification of three names instead of the one highest on the eligible lists, and omitted all penalties on auditing and disbursing offices for paying salaries without the certification of the commission, and, finally and most important, it omitted from the classified service those political plums, the chiefs of the state departments and the employees of the legislature, and repealed the continuing minimum appropriation which had enabled so much good work to be accomplished. These changes made the administration of the law absolutely subservient to the governor—and all the professional politicians in the general assembly—for manipulation for partisan purposes, instead of responsive to the expressed demand of the people of the state for greater efficiency and economy in the administration of public affairs.

The situation thus created led to another appeal, directly to the people of Colorado, at the general election of November, 1918, when an initiated amendment to the state constitution was triumphantly adopted by the largest majority

of votes received by any candidate or measure except that for governor. It provided for the appointment, by the governor alone, without reference to the senate, of three commissioners, for six years, with overlapping terms, and salaries of not less than \$2,500. An important provision was that in default of any appropriation by the assembly, all salaries and other expenses incurred by the commission in administering the law should be paid the same as all such expenses were paid for all the elective offices of the state, thus for the first time securing a very large degree of independence from the general assembly. This constitutional amendment provided for the classification of all appointive positions in the state service, including the heads of institutions and of state departments, but excluding legislative employees and a few other designated exceptions. This measure was a great step in advance over any previously enacted, but it has failed to realize the will of the people of the state for causes hereinafter set forth.

Now, a word as to the personnel of the several commissions appointed by successive governors, equally divided between political parties under the various enactments just described.

The first commissioners appointed by Governor Buchtel under the act of 1907 were James H. Pershing, Charles R. Brock, and Henry Van Kleeck, for two, four, and six years, respectively. As vacancies occurred, Governor Shaffroth, during his two terms, appointed Sarah S. Platt Decker, E. L. Regennitter, and Horace N. Hawkins. In like manner Governor Ammons appointed William W. Grant, Jr., Henry A. Hicks, and Frank McLaughlin.

Under the act of 1915, repealing the acts of 1907 and 1912, under which the commissioners had received no salaries, a nominal salary of \$50 per month was provided for the commissioners. Under this law Governor Carlson reappointed Frank McLaughlin and appointed Imogene E. Clark and Arthur R. Morrison as commissioners. As might have been expected, nothing permanent was accomplished under this law by the commission, and it failed to make the usual biennial report.

In the various enactments for the merit system, prior to the amendment of the state constitution of 1918, no limitation was placed on the governor in his selection of commissioners to administer the law except, to quote from it: "That at no time shall more than two of them be adherents of the same political party."

That the confidence thus expressed in the governor of the state had been fully justified was impressively demonstrated by the unusually high character and devotion to the public interest of the commissioners appointed by all the governors of both political parties from 1907 to 1915. Relying on this experience, the constitutional amendment was drawn so as to place the selection of the commissioners with the governor alone, without reference to the senate, but required that they should be "persons of known devotion to the merit system."

Here we must call attention to the influence of the personnel of Colorado's

chief executives upon the whole fabric of state government. In direct violation of the letter and spirit of this clear and positive mandate of the people so recently expressed by a large vote, within sixty days thereafter Governor Gunther, a democrat, on the eve of retiring from his high office, in agreement with Governor Shoup, the newly elected republican governor, and in wilful disregard of the protests of many leading citizens, appointed as commissioners three of the most active politicians in the state, to wit: the chairman of the democratic state committee, a notorious republican organizer, and an active democratic party worker, than whom no greater opponent of the merit system could be found. As someone has said, "as well intrust the enforcement of the prohibition law to barkeepers!" The two vacancies occurring in Governor Shoup's second term were filled by him with the same character of appointments.

Thus, through the connivance of the very men elected by the people to secure the enforcement of all law, has the purpose of this constitutional amendment been completely frustrated, and a bipartisan political machine established at the state capitol, which has become a scandalous center for pernicious office distribution, irrespective of party. This commission has, for over six years, been paid liberal salaries and received large appropriations of money—in strong contrast with any previous commissions—which the commissioners have misapplied for the violation, instead of the enforcement, of the law.

The three biennial reports published by this commission show that they have refrained from holding competitive examinations to fill vacancies in the public service, and have permitted the appointment of personal and political favorites by non-competitive or pass examinations; that for this purpose they have allowed the abuse of non-assembled examinations and temporary appointments, and have not held promotional examinations. The false excuse advanced for this neglect and violation of the spirit and letter of the law is, forsooth, the lack of sufficient appropriation by the legislature, when the plain reading of the constitution gives them a free hand independent of the legislature, as it provides, to quote from its provisions, "that, in the absence of such adequate appropriation, the salaries and expenses of the Commission shall be paid as are the salaries and expenses of the executive officers of the state government." It is evident that their chief purpose was, and is, to receive their salaries while rendering the law as little obnoxious as possible to the political office seekers of all parties. They have deliberately kept their friends in employment by refusing to permit the discharge of seasonal employees when their work was done, as in the state highway department; but, worse than all, they have deliberately and repeatedly prevented the discharge for cause of employees by the heads of departments, notoriously so in the recent attempt by ex-Governor Sweet to remove the warden of the penitentiary, in which case, in absolute contravention of much of the evidence, they exonerated the warden and allowed him to retain his office. It is to the credit of Governor Sweet that, prior to his retirement in January of this year, he attempted to reorganize the Civil Service Commission

through the replacement of two of these travesties in office by making two excellent appointments, but his effort was thwarted through an adverse decision of the supreme court as to one of them, thus leaving the majority of the commission still directly opposed to the proper enforcement of the law.

The friends of the merit system in Colorado would prefer to have no law at all rather than the continuance of the present scandal at the state capitol, and are considering the advisability of submitting to the people a second amendment to the state constitution, with provisions carefully prepared to safeguard the merit system against such flagrant abuses of a law which had been proved, during the first eight years of its enforcement by high-class public-spirited citizens, to be beneficent alike for economical administration and good government.

The experience of Colorado with the merit system is conclusive evidence of the dominating influence in a democracy of personnel in all public affairs.

This reform of the Civil Service embodied in the merit system means that the public business shall be conducted on business principles, but it has a far deeper and grander meaning than this. It means that self-seeking, unscrupulous men shall no longer, through their control of the patronage, be, and keep themselves, in power. It means that the people's money shall not be used to defeat the will of the people as expressed at the primaries or the polls. It means that elections shall no longer be a struggle for office merely. It means that men shall vote according to their calm convictions on public questions, uninfluenced by the hope of gaining office or by any fear of losing it. It means that political parties shall be no longer looked upon as hostile armies, but simply as agencies for expressing the deliberate judgment of the people on men and measures. It means, in brief, a new declaration of political independence for the people of these United States.

X. THE IMMIGRANT

THE IMMIGRANT AS A FACTOR IN SOCIAL CASE WORK

IN THE FAMILY WELFARE FIELD

Ida L. Hull, Case Supervisor, Charity Organization Society, Bridgeport

In the larger cities of the Northeast and the Middle West, family welfare societies have had for the last few years an increasingly large number of foreign-born families. This change is a natural result of similar changes in population. The actual figures vary. In Boston and Philadelphia immigrant families comprise about 60 per cent of the total number. In Cleveland they are about 70 per cent. In general, the average is well over 60 per cent.

While facts are readily obtained from case work societies as to number and nationality of their foreign-born families, what this change in constituency means is less readily learned. If we inquire what new problems have been created, the answer is apt to emphasize such obvious difficulties as a foreign language, strange customs, congested conditions of living. Yet fundamental problems cannot be expressed in terms of external appearances. Their true significance lies rather in the ways of thinking which have manifested themselves in ways of doing.

To assume that the problems of all immigrant families are alike is obviously absurd. Yet in spite of the different attitudes and customs which different nationalities bring with them, and in spite of the differences in the ways in which they react to American conditions, there are certain experiences and problems which they all have in common. All have suffered the pang of breaking the ties which bound them to the past, of parting—perhaps forever—with much that was dear. Whatever the reason for their emigration, whether economic pressure or actual political or religious oppression, the severing of the old bonds has been a painful experience, alleviated though it may have been by high hopes for the future. Again, in the early days in America, all immigrants have another experience in common. They suffer from a sense of being adrift, from a longing for the old home, from disillusionment as to what the new world offers, from difficulties in adjusting themselves in act, and especially in thought, to conditions of living here. Because of these common experiences all immigrant groups present, with various modifications, certain similar problems.

The first problem of which the family agency becomes aware is likely to be

the difficulty of getting any adequate picture of the immigrant as an individual and a member of a family. To advise him wisely it is essential to know about his heredity, his past successes and failures, the bent he has shown, his weaknesses. The immigrant's personal and family history is not really so inaccessible, so shut off from reach by the Atlantic, as many too hastily assume. In his national group are probably to be found fellow-countrymen who do know much about the family. Few case workers, unfortunately, have such an acquaintance with any immigrant group as to make it possible for them to use these sources of information and help. They too often regard the immigrant family as isolated both in time and space, as just here and now, rather than as the product of heredity and environmental influences. As a result, the family agency often advises its foreign-born clients on a quite insufficient basis of knowledge, and the immigrant family suffers accordingly from the lack of vision and courage and initiative on the part of the family society. Let us acknowledge quite frankly that in many case work problems the ignorance of the immigrant would not be so serious were it not for equal and much less pardonable ignorance on the part of the native-born case worker.

Another problem comes up as soon as the case worker tries to picture the social connections of an immigrant family. No family can be understood as a unit. It must be seen against its racial and national background. With native-born Americans this is a fairly simple problem. We know something about the social training of negroes from the cotton belt, of families from small New Hampshire villages or from western prairie towns. To picture an immigrant in his social setting is more difficult. We have no such definite knowledge of his former environment. Yet an understanding of the group to which a family belongs—its traditions, its talents, its successes and its failures—is essential for the evaluation of any individual of the group.

To understand this social setting it is necessary to keep in mind more than the old-world experience of the immigrant. Quite as important is an understanding of what happens to him during his first years in America. This is particularly true, because the recent arrival is seldom the client of a family society. Very few who have been here less than five years ask for assistance, and the greatest number of applicants have been here from five to ten years or more. Before the immigrant ever comes to a family society he has, therefore, lived for several years in America.

As a newcomer, the immigrant turns for help first of all to those from his own land who have been here longer than he. However satisfactory in theory such guidance may be, in practice its disadvantages soon become clear. Through bitter experience the immigrant often learns that the help he gets from his mentors is far from solving his problem satisfactorily. His advisors may be as ignorant as he; or they may be interested chiefly in profiting from his misfortune. In any case the immigrant is disillusioned as to the ability or willingness of his fellow-countrymen to help him out of some of his difficulties.

The actual inadequacy of relationships within his own group is not the only reason for the immigrant's growing dissatisfaction with what it offers. The contacts which he has had with America play their part in his desire to try new ways out of trouble. Into the everyday life of the most self-sufficient foreign colony new influences from without are penetrating little by little. Conditions of employment are new and compel readjustment. Conditions of living bring unaccustomed experiences as to new household methods, to strangers in adjoining rooms, to landlords and inspectors of various kinds, who impose new requirements. Most of all, the American school carries to the home, through the children, ideas of new, astonishing, and even revolutionary, character.

Such, in general, is the history of an immigrant of five or more years' standing. When he comes to a family welfare society, upon what social background should he be pictured? Paradoxical as it seems, he cannot be said to belong to any stable group. He did have a well-defined social status when he arrived in America, and in the first months here he still felt himself of the old home. But little by little the new conditions of living, which compelled some change in doing, modified old trends of thought and brought in new ideas as well. These new ideas may not have supplanted traditional norms; indeed, they are more likely for a time to exist alongside the old, utterly incompatible though the two may be.

This period during which the immigrant usually makes his first contact with the family agency, is a time of much perplexity. What was, no longer is; what will be, still is not. In some hours the immigrant feels himself of the new world—when he succeeds in his job and is promoted, when he takes out citizenship papers, when he buys a plot of land that is to be a new home. At other moments his heart reaches out to his mother country—when a letter comes from his old parents, when he takes part in a home town festival, most of all, perhaps, when the honey of hope has turned to wormwood, and he knows the bitterness of failure in work or health or home. The inconsistencies of such an immigrant often puzzle the case worker. He seems so reasonable at times, so "Americanized," if you like. Then again he seems so inaccessible to argument, so under the spell of old-world lore.

In the home this conflict between old and new is an especially difficult problem. Relations within the family group are the first of which a child becomes conscious; they become vitally a part of what the individual feels is his very self. Many an immigrant would wish to close the door on changes in traditional relationships within the home. Yet here the bitterest struggle of all may take place. Of course many immigrants, perhaps most of them, meet the problems which the self-assertive second generation brings, and work it out with their children without too much heartache on either side. But the foreign families who come to a case work society almost always have as one of their difficulties, and often as their chief problem, a lack of understanding in the home.

In such situations the case worker has the problem of first understanding the old ways; she must learn to see in them an attempt to express an ideal. She must be able to point out old virtues under new guises. She must be patient, and realize that a radical change in point of view takes time. All the tact and insight and imagination the case worker possesses will be called upon in interpreting the parents and children to each other, and American ideals to both.

Establishing harmonious and mutually helpful relations within the family group is a necessary stepping-stone to complete adjustment in all group relations. In the refashioning of the home pattern, the immigrant probably feels more emotional strain; but in the adjustment to new groups, industrial, social, and civic, he finds himself quite as much bewildered. Community contacts are more difficult to guide wisely for the foreign-born than for the native-born, both because the immigrant's environment is so complex, and because his relations to it are unstable and contradictory. His situation is complicated by relationships both with his own national group, which has its own folkways, and with the community at large, which has quite other norms. While the immigrant's experience with American institutions tends to give him a new point of view, if he has known only the most sordid aspects of life in America, he cannot be expected to conclude that our institutions are necessarily to be respected. The case worker is often puzzled about how to make possible really significant contact between the immigrant and the better side of America. The need of such contacts is an integral part of group adjustment. No immigrant can have vital relationships with the community unless he understands its customs in the light of the ideals which they strive to express.

If real understanding of America comes, it means dropping some of the traditional ways of thinking and doing. Certain old world ideas and customs can be kept intact; some can be modified; others have to be discarded. Belief in witchcraft, for instance, has to go. An immigrant who rejects proper medical care because he believes his bodily ills are due to a curse cannot act intelligently until he is freed from that hampering superstition. Yet it is asking a good deal to expect him in a few hours to transfer his allegiance from the black arts to scientific medicine—a journey which has kept us on the road for centuries, with the goal not yet attained. Basic changes cannot come overnight. One problem for the case worker is to help foreign-born families to make changes with understanding, and slowly enough so that the immigrant may accept the new way as his own child, and not as an unwelcome changeling.

But the immigrant is not the only one who ought to change his ways. America ought to change her ways. It is not too much to say that a case worker has as much responsibility toward the education of the American public as of immigrant families. She sees every day how defects in our organization, social, economic, and political, make difficult, and sometimes impossible, the development of good American citizens from good immigrant stock.

The day-by-day case work problems which foreign-born clients bring before

a family society call attention in compelling fashion to phases of national problems of which the average native-born citizen is quite unaware. They show also how closely our fortunes as a nation are linked with those of other lands. To understand and help to meet these problems a family society needs a world-wide horizon and international understanding and sympathies.

IN THE COURTS

*Joseph P. Murphy, Chief Probation Officer, Erie County
Courts, Buffalo*

The immigrant is a frequent and serious factor in the social case work of our juvenile and criminal courts. Particularly is this true in our great industrial centers, where large groups of immigrants have colonized, making the process of assimilation difficult and in many instances long delayed. The barriers of language, the desire to, and sometimes the necessity of, continuing old-world customs and habits, along with a lack of knowledge of our laws and methods of government on the part of immigrants, create problems in the administration of criminal justice which are difficult to solve, and occasionally defy the efforts of our most able and sincere court workers.

The situation in my own locality is typical of many other communities throughout the country. Buffalo, located in Erie County, New York, is an industrially diversified city. Furthermore, many of our industries are seasonal in character. They need many unskilled and semiskilled workers. Hence we have a serious immigrant problem. The population of our county is 700,000. Of this number approximately 200,000 are of foreign birth, and practically the same number are native-born of immigrant parents. Fifty-three different nationalities go to make up this population, indicating the complexity of our problem.

Inevitably, with this great intermingling of races, the enforcement of law and the administration of our courts creates many real problems, and no doubt injustice frequently occurs. The work of the judiciary and law enforcement officers must always be concentrated on an effort to protect the alien against fraud and deception, and at the same time to interpret to him the meaning of our laws and the ideals of government under which we live. Very often his first and only contact with our government, after he has passed through our gates and settled down, is with our courts. His conception of official America is usually formed on the basis of this experience. Our legal procedure, therefore, should be as humane and socialized as it is possible for us to shape it, and the attitude of those who are charged with the administration of our laws, as full of sympathy and understanding as the conditions necessitate.

It is to be expected that many immigrants, or their children, unaccustomed to our habits and methods, suddenly transferred from the atmosphere of old-

world rural communities to our complex industrial centers, should come in conflict with our laws, and find themselves in court. Many of our own citizens, reared and educated in this country, are unable to make adjustments to their environmental requirements, and find themselves in the same dilemma. It should not surprise us, therefore, to find among our delinquents those with less advantages in the way of a common language, education, established home, and social relationships. These things must be constantly kept in mind by court workers as they come in contact with immigrants or their children.

Distribution of nationalities.—The records of my department show that during the past ten years we have established contact with both juvenile and adult delinquents among thirty-three different nationalities. These nationalities are distributed throughout the whole world, although the majority are found in continental Europe. It would be impossible, in the time limited to this address, to analyze the social data ascertained from our statistics. Let me say, however, that numerically the nationalities represented in the various groups conform quite evenly as to relative proportion with the total number of their group represented in the population of the county. Among the several nationalities producing a larger number of delinquents, natives of foreign-born parents exceed in numbers, the ratio being 3 to 1.

Character of crimes.—As to the character of the crimes committed, there seems to be very little outstanding difference among the nationalities. By that I mean that there does not appear to be any noticeable difference so far as crimes against the person or against property are concerned. However, among the Italians, both immigrants and native-born, there is a tendency to commit more serious crimes against the person than against property. There is a similar tendency among the Poles, especially those of Russian birth. Immigrant Jews and Irish of foreign-born parents manifest slightly greater tendencies toward crimes against property. I cannot state definitely, however, on the basis of our statistics, that any particular nationality was inclined to the commission of certain specific crimes, or that they are more dangerous to the community than any other nationality by reason of the type of offense committed.

The court and the immigrant.—During the past twenty years our courts have developed a method by which the problems of the immigrant may be individualized, and in that way justice rendered on the basis of individual responsibility. Before the court can mete out justice it must have knowledge of the facts, and this is now obtained through the medium of the social investigation submitted by probation officers. We are in a very strategic position so far as discovering the causes leading immigrants into criminal conduct are concerned. Probation officers are able also, by cooperating with other agencies, to bring about the solution of the immigrant's problem and the correction of provocative social conditions. We have a twofold function, to investigate and supervise. Through our investigations all of the significant social data regarding the life and conduct of the offender is ascertained. Through our field supervision we are able to

formulate plans of treatment which are designed to bring about the relief of distress and the improvement of conduct and behavior. One of the most important duties devolving upon us in this respect is the necessity of making available to the immigrant the social resources of the community, and to interpret to him the objects and purposes of those particular agencies.

Type of problem met.—Like other case workers, probation officers are called upon to solve all types of problems. Perhaps the most frequent problem we come in contact with among immigrants is the foreign-born father who feels that he has a right completely to dominate his family to the extent of depriving the children of an adequate education; the right to send his children to work very early in life, and to collect and retain all of the wages thus earned—the father who insists upon selecting the husband for a girl of tender years, and who very often believes it is his right to abuse, neglect, and mistreat generally the mother of his children. Here we try to take advantage of the opportunity to interpret the American ideals of motherhood and the rights of women and children in general.

An illustration of the manner in which immigrants are imposed upon and mistreated by people of their own nationality, who are apparently aided by officials who either do not care, or will make no attempt to understand the circumstances, is shown in the following case: A young immigrant boy of Austrian birth came to an industrial town in our county, and began to work in the department store of a man who had come from the same town in the old country. After working at the store for several years and becoming acquainted with the customers, this boy decided to start in business for himself, and did so within two blocks of the place where he had worked. From the time he opened his business, and for a period of four years, he was continuously in trouble as a result of charges preferred by the former employer or the latter's friends. During this time he had been arrested on eight occasions for assault, disorderly conduct, and other violations of the city ordinances. Finally he was arrested, indicted, tried, and convicted on a charge of criminally assaulting a servant girl employed in the home of his former employer, who herself was an immigrant of one year's standing. Investigation convinced the probation officer that the charges were false; that the man had been unjustly accused and improperly convicted. Because of the positive statements of the complainant however, all made through an interpreter, and the corroboration furnished by the wife of the employer in question, it was impossible to upset the conviction. The court, however, placed the young man on probation. He was under supervision for two years, during which time he married, and his business, free from interference, prospered. About a year after his discharge from supervision he came to the probation officer and stated that the servant girl had left the home of her employer, that she was working in a restaurant, and was engaged to be married. Through the aid of her new employer and the man to whom she was engaged to be married, information was secured from the girl which showed she had made false accusations against the

former probationer. She subsequently put her story into affidavit form, repeated it to the district attorney, who remained skeptical and was slow to accept the truth, and finally she was indicted for perjury and her former employer and his wife for subornation of perjury. All three were convicted, but she was released because of the fact that she had been misled. The former probationer was aided in securing a pardon from the governor, and the whole situation cleared up in that way. We have had other unusual cases which indicate the diversity of service required in cases where immigrants were involved, but time does not permit any further mention of them.

Social conditions as causes of crime.—Many social conditions surrounding the life and habits of immigrants in our large industrial communities are conducive to criminality and the breaking of the law, not only among the adult classes, but particularly among the children. Housing conditions, as we know, are frequently congested beyond decency, sanitation is bad, and recreational facilities painfully limited. Commercialized recreation is practically the only available type for many of these people, and this is very often without proper control or supervision. Sometimes a lack of knowledge or sympathy for the immigrant results in persecution or oppression of him because of his language or religion, and this very often produces a feeling of group consciousness among immigrants and occasionally thereafter develops a reaction in the form of misbehavior of a serious character among some of the weaker individuals. This lack of respect shown by Americans also had a bad reaction in the minds of children of foreign-born parents, and very often explains why the children grow beyond control of their parents. Again, a lack of sympathy and understanding of the habits of the immigrant frequently leads to poor planning for his educational needs and requirements, and is responsible for much retardation among children, for considerable dissatisfaction with school, and it is sometimes the cause of children leaving school early, subsequently to enter uneducative, monotonous positions in industry, where the opportunities for advancement are limited.

Those of you who have worked extensively with our immigrant classes realize the extent of exploitation carried on in industry, the low wages, long hours, and unsanitary conditions, the monotonous character of the labor which the immigrant performs, the lack of training or direction furnished, the use of child labor, and the occasional stimulation of race prejudice for the purpose of preventing organization, or for other sinister reasons. These conditions are usually reflected in court statistics, and call for case work of the highest possible type before they are corrected.

Among some of the other causes of crime, very often indirect in their influence, are the impositions to which the immigrant is subjected through dishonesty on the part of officials or private individuals, and the deprivation of his legal rights as the result of his lack of knowledge of our laws and customs. This is caused most often by dishonest lawyers, through their "runners," and

usually it is done in a way so as to prevent the court from receiving any knowledge of the situation. On the other hand, there are many persons of foreign birth who come to our shores because of misconduct in their own country—immigrants who are unfitted for citizenship, and who not only prey upon Americans, but especially upon their own people. We find individuals of this type usually indulging in "confidence games," selling money-making machines, enticing immigrants into "penny-matching games," etc. For that group we must insist upon a strict observance of the law, and stern treatment in the event of their failure to do so. The probation officer is able, through his preliminary investigation, to detect persons of this type, and he submits their record and history to the court before sentence. In Erie County we submit to the immigration authorities, on a regular form, the names of all persons who are not citizens, and who are under investigation after commission of serious crimes. Many deportations have resulted from this cooperation with the immigration authorities.

Frequently, in trying to work out a suitable plan of treatment with an immigrant family, we find parents who refuse to permit proper medical treatment for their family, because of superstitions which they have inherited from the old country. This is particularly true when hospital treatment is required. Considerable tact and persuasion is necessary to bring about cooperation in cases of this character. Force is never used, and the immigrant is always led around to a willing and receptive attitude before the objective is accomplished.

Furthermore, on the question of using force let me say that we have so little faith in this method of supervising our probationers that, although we handle all classes and types of offenders, no one of our probation officers has ever possessed a badge, or a weapon of any sort. Whenever any condition arises which we feel requires the necessity of any such action, we refer the matter to the police authorities, from whom we receive most excellent cooperation.

Our experience has taught us that, if anything, Americanization means democracy—the participation of the immigrant in the affairs of his community. With this in mind we strive to weave his interests into the fabric of community life, using every agency possible, social, religious, political, and economic, in the process. Every one of our cases is registered with the Bureau of Confidential Exchange, and we know, upon receiving the case, whether or not the family has ever had contact with any other social agency in the community.

Much of our work, as does the work of any other case worker, consists of seeing to the correction of mental and physical difficulties found existing in the immigrant or his children. Psychologists and psychiatrists are frequently used to examine delinquents to determine their exact mental status, so that they may be protected from the promiscuous classification of persons as feeble-minded when they are simply retarded in development because of environmental or other conditions. One such case occurs to me, that of a boy of twenty-four who was received on parole from a state institution. When slightly over sixteen

years of age he was convicted of arson, in an adjoining rural county, and sent to prison for a period of eight years. Immediately upon his first interview, the probation officer discovered that the boy was deficient mentally, and an effort was made to find him employment suitable to his capacity. With much difficulty he was placed in a position where he was required to perform a simple mechanical process in one of our automobile factories. He was not able to hold this position very long, however, and during a period of six months subsequently was placed in eleven other positions of varying character. Finally he became involved in more serious trouble. He was arrested, charged with attempting to assault a young girl. After indictment, and before he was brought to trial, we succeeded in having a thorough mental examination made, as a result of which it was found that he was a low-grade imbecile, and he was thereafter promptly committed to a custodial institution. Because the county from which he was originally sent to prison was without the services of a probation staff or mental clinic, he had been subjected to very inhuman and unjust treatment in a penal institution.

A considerable part of our work in dealing with immigrants and their children is performed in attempting to improve their economic status. Many of them are misplaced vocationally. They have lacked direction or opportunity in finding employment. Frequently they possess aptitudes and abilities which make them valuable in more responsible and lucrative occupations. Much economic waste is prevented by case work of this character. Time, however, forbids my giving you any of the hundreds of illustrations we have of work of this type.

Our case work also includes among its other activities the improvement of educational opportunities, aid in securing naturalization papers, education in the use of American banks, and the stimulation of spiritual relationships. Quite a lot of effort is required of probation officers in working with immigrant families, particularly where children are American-born, in trying to harmonize differences between the children and parents. There is a feeling of superiority on the part of such children, because of the fact that the parent very often is unable to speak the English language, and because of tendency on the part of the parents to preserve old-world customs and habits. Sometimes the children, in their disrespectful attitude, go to extremes in the matter of dress and amusements. This leads to all sorts of trouble, sometimes causing difficulties which are well-nigh insurmountable.

From the things I have just read to you, I know you realize what an important factor the immigrant is in the case work of our courts, and this is especially true in our juvenile courts and in the specialized type of courts that we are now establishing all over the country, domestic relation courts, family courts, morals courts, etc. In all this work the probation service has been of great value in seeing to it that the immigrant has been protected in his rights and has received all of the privileges and advantages guaranteed to him under our laws and Constitution. It is an agency of the court designed to serve all people alike,

and in fulfilling its functions it is able to, and does render, constructive and intelligent assistance of great value to the immigrant and his children. While the success of probation cannot be reduced to mathematical terms, it is doing much to improve the conduct and behavior of all those with whom it comes in contact. It is founded on the American principle of humanitarianism, and it shall always be successful, when properly applied, because it teaches the great principles of self-respect, self-reliance, self-control, and self-determination.

AMERICA'S PRESENT IMMIGRATION POLICY THE VISA AND QUOTA LAWS AS THEY AFFECT THE CLIENTS OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

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Any permanent change in America's immigration policy must necessarily affect the lives of hundreds of thousands of persons residing in this country. It is to be expected that a vast proportion of the people most seriously affected by the new immigration legislation are foreign-born. With one-third of the population of this country foreign-born, or first generation of foreign-born parents, family ties in the homeland almost inevitably continue to exist. It was, therefore, not wholly unanticipated by social agencies in close contact with these foreign-born groups that an immigration law as restrictive in its policy as is the act of 1924 should produce new problems—both practical and psychological—which baffle and perplex interested residents in this country.

Present superficial observation would indicate that social agencies find their activities considerably complicated as a result of the increasing problems brought to their attention. Several years, however, must elapse before social agencies will be in a position to know whether the new policy has increased or reduced the number of their clients, or whether the lessening of immigration has wrought a change in the type of client that is appealing for service.

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss or criticize the basic principles or motives underlying the present restrictive regulations, but rather to analyze the effects, good as well as bad, of the new law upon residents in this country, and to discuss future tendencies in social service activities as a result of our new immigration policy.

Briefly summarized, the Immigration Act of 1924 permits the annual admission into this country of 164,667 quota immigrants, this number being 2 per cent of the population of each nationality resident in the United States in 1890. North American countries are not included in the quota area, so that emigration of natives from Canada, Cuba, South America, and Mexico is free. Forty countries have a quota of 100 per year. European countries with a quota

of over 5,000, listed in numerical importance, are Germany, Great Britain, and Northern Ireland, the Irish Free State, Sweden, Norway, and Poland. After 1927 a flat number of 150,000 immigrants will be admissible each year according to the national origins planned. Chinese, Japanese, and East Indians are not admissible as immigrants, since the law specifies that no alien ineligible to citizenship shall be admitted permanently into the United States.

Under the provisions of the new law, several excellent improvements must be noted: First, the count of the immigrant is made on the European side, the responsibility for keeping emigration within the prescribed quotas of each country being placed upon the consular officials abroad who are authorized to issue immigration visas. This eliminates the racing of steamers into the harbor on the first of each month to arrive in time for the opening of the new quotas—as was the practice during the life of the previous quota law—and tends to insure the immigrant of admission, so far as quota is concerned, provided he fulfils all other requirements of the immigration law. Second, only 10 per cent of the total annual quota is admissible each month. The immigration visa granted to the immigrant by the consul holds good for four months. The distribution of the quota over a period of ten months, instead of five, as was the case under the former quota law, is not only an advantage to the immigrant abroad and to the immigration officials here, but permits the immigrants held at the immigrant stations for examination to be decently and comfortably housed while detained. Third, wives and children of citizens are admissible at any time, irrespective of quota. The old quota law did not contain this provision. Fourth, country of birth, and not of citizenship, is regarded as the land to which the individual is charged in the quota; wives born in a country whose quota is exhausted may, when accompanying their husbands, be charged to the quota of the husband's country if that is still open; children are charged to the same quota as that of the accompanying parent, thus preventing separation of families which occurred under the old law when several members of one family were charged to different quota countries. So much for the law itself.

Has the purpose of the framers of this legislation been fulfilled, now that we have had a year's opportunity to judge of the effects of the law? Very frankly do our legislators and officials submit that the avowed object of the law has been accomplished; that emigration from Southern and Southeastern Europe has been practically eliminated, while emigration from Western and Northern Europe has been stimulated; that emigrants desirable because of their likeness to the old stock in the United States in language, racial traits, and customs are coming in increasing numbers. The fact that the cutting down of the labor supply from Europe has resulted in increased immigration which is free from Canada, Mexico, and South American countries, is a disconcerting one to a number of public officials, and the placing of quota restrictions upon North American countries has been pronouncedly agitated by several such officials.

With this rather lengthy introduction we come now to the main issue of

this theme, namely, the effect of the law upon the residents in the United States, upon their individual personal lives, an effect which must manifest itself sooner or later in the life of the community itself, spreading an influence which will radiate not only through this country, but throughout all the countries of the world.

From a study of the results of the law as they unfold themselves to the investigator it is clear that some of the ills attendant upon the enforcement of this act can be removed either through amended legislation or by changes in administrative rulings. It is true that some of the ill effects can never be effaced; thus, those that are psychological, that strike fundamentally into the very lives of the persons affected, will not be removed through merely remedial measures.

It is perhaps best to begin with a discussion of the practical difficulties presented by the new law. No one can gainsay the fact that the present legislation operates to separate families. True, as has often been stated by officials when this charge is presented, "Who advised the man to come here, leaving his wife and children behind? Why doesn't he go back, since he can't bring them here?" It is interesting to note that he does very frequently go back. The immigration figures for the eight-month period from July 1, 1924, to March 1, 1925, show that although 216,221 immigrants (quota and non-quota) have been admitted, 72,894 emigrants, about one-third as many, have departed from this country.

Although under the provisions of the law aged parents of citizens, and children between eighteen and twenty-one years of age of citizen parents have preference within the quota, the wives and children abroad of declarants residing here have no preference. It is to be expected that numbers of these men will gradually become naturalized in due time, but thousands of others will be unable to become citizens, and their families will be obliged to wait for years before they may enter the United States within the quotas of their countries. The reasons for failure on the part of these men to become citizens are: first, the tendency on the part of the naturalization bureau to recommend that no citizenship papers be granted to applicants here whose wives and children are abroad. As a matter of fact, this tendency has now become a fixed ruling, for naturalization officials throughout the country have been instructed to recommend to naturalization judges that citizenship be refused on this ground. In one instance Judge Horace Stern, of Philadelphia, in conferring naturalization upon an applicant, wrote an opinion in defense of his action stating that, as a matter of law, naturalization could not be refused solely on these grounds. In this connection it may be interesting to point out that a temporary Committee on Naturalization, consisting of interested individuals, has been organized to take up the question of this vicious circle of denying citizenship to men whose families are abroad, and refusing visas to women abroad because their husbands in this country are not citizens. The second cogent reason for continued separation of families is that many men cannot prove their legal entry into this country; either

they have forgotten the name of their steamer and the date of their arrival, or the government cannot locate their names among its records—if, indeed, the government records for all these applicants are complete, for, as is well known, a great many have been destroyed or lost. Those of us who have had occasion through our experiences at Ellis Island to try to find an expected immigrant know how difficult it is to find a foreign name which has at least six different possibilities in spelling, and which usually comes out in a final record so completely altered that it is practically unrecognizable. A third reason for separation of families is the fact that many men are unable to become citizens because of inability to pass the naturalization test.

Thus the family continues to be separated, and what but the inevitable happens? The man is here alone. He becomes discouraged; he is eager for a home. After years of separation from his own wife and children he drifts into another family relationship. If his religion permits of no divorce, he raises a second family without benefit of clergy; the first family is neglected or, as not infrequently happens, he continues to support his children abroad although he has formed new ties here. Neglect, desertion, bigamy—these are three evils which may be charged squarely against the new immigration law.

The whole question of the need for international agreement regarding marriages and divorces comes up for scrutiny under such a situation. That no less an official than Secretary of Labor Davis recommends that preference be given to wives and children of declarants indicates the significance of this problem. Unfortunately there is not time, in a paper intended to cover as much ground as this one, to cite cases, but I hope, in the discussion which follows, that there will be time to give concrete illustrations of the hardships incurred through separation of families, and the consequent evils attendant upon such separations.

In this connection we might also emphasize the need for some adequate provision in the law to cover stepchildren of citizens, as well as step-parents of citizens. At the present time this group is only admissible under the quota, and often women with children by a former marriage, who have become the wives of American citizens, are forced either to leave their children behind or remain forever separated from their husbands. Another group affected by the present regulations of the law are the children between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one of American citizens, who often find themselves separated from their mother and younger brothers and sisters because the older children only receive preference within the quota, while the brothers and sisters under eighteen may enter outside of quota. Social agencies are continually receiving requests to provide protection for young girls of eighteen and nineteen left behind in some port city in Europe while the rest of their families proceed to the States.

By and large, what is perhaps the most amazing testimonial to the integrity and loyalty of the men in this country, is the fidelity with which they continue

to support their families abroad after years of separation. Family ties and affections must be very strong indeed to bridge the gulf of years during which, without sight or contact with loved ones, responsibility toward them is unimpaired. Millions of dollars are transmitted annually to relatives in Europe. In New York City one bank which deals almost exclusively with the transmission of funds from relatives here to relatives in Europe sent the sum of \$23,300,734.28 from April, 1920, to the end of May, 1925. Of course, this includes money for transportation as well as for maintenance.

A second great problem affecting the peace, as well as the well-being, of persons here is the condition of thousands of migrants who are involuntarily bottled up either in port cities or in tropical countries of South America. Unable to proceed to their relatives here, great numbers of these transmigrants were—through persuasion or through urgent necessity, since they had no home to which to return—driven into lands where modern facilities for their protection are altogether lacking. This has occasioned a form of distress altogether new, which social agencies find exceedingly difficult to assist in overcoming. Thousands of immigrants, particularly refugees, have turned to South America and to Mexico and Cuba for haven. The lot of these people is in many instances that of the pioneer, most of them being young men and women. They find themselves in countries where they do not speak the language; where there are no countrypeople of their own who, by reason of longer residence, can act as intermediaries in assisting them in finding employment; where industry has not been developed, and jobs are scarce, where there are no social, educational, or recreational features, and where they are the victims of hunger, disease, unemployment, loneliness, and exploitation.

The *New York World* has been publishing an extensive series of articles on smuggling activities of aliens. Secretary of Labor Davis estimates the number of aliens entering this country illegally as being far greater than those who have authority to come here. In the articles published by the *World*, smugglers admit that often they "destroy the evidence" if there is any danger of their being apprehended by government officials. Relatives in this country are frequently exploited by agents belonging to smugglers' gangs, who solicit money from American relatives for the purpose of smuggling. In one instance, four hundred immigrants had been persuaded by a self-styled European government consul in Havana to pay \$250 each for a visa to enter Canada. When brought to terms, the exploiter returned part of the money to about fifty of these unfortunate immigrants, many of them young girls who had themselves obtained the money from relatives in the United States.

How vast a ring of white slave traffic there has developed because of inadequate social protection afforded young women in these new lands of emigration we are unable to say, but that the relatives residing here are threatened, persuaded against their own good judgment at times, and exploited by experienced

gangs of smugglers cannot be doubted. Not infrequently have relatives in this country applied to social agencies to assist them in locating sisters or nieces who have suddenly ceased answering letters and have disappeared.

By the arrest and jailing of persons who have entered this country illegally a new class of criminals is now being developed, and situations affecting relatives here arise very frequently, as a result of this activity, which social agencies are called upon to help solve. It is said that county jails along the borders are crowded with aliens who have attempted to evade the law. Many men who ship as seamen to this country desert the ship upon arrival, and some are only apprehended months later when they appear at Ellis Island to claim their wives and children for whom they have sent. The problem of how to deal with such wives and children has engaged the attention of interested social agencies, for, if the husbands are deported, as is the law, what shall become of the women and children?

There recently came to our attention the case of a young English girl who is now being held in a jail on the northern border of New York as a material witness against a taxi driver. The girl had received a proper immigration visa and apparently was legally admissible to this country. The point of the story is this, that the only way in which it was discovered that the girl is in jail was through a letter of appeal which she had written to her only acquaintance in the United States. Unless some individual or social agency intervenes in her behalf and secures bail bond for her, the girl will remain in jail until the case comes to trial. Frantic and lonely as she is, we wonder what the effect on her will be of months in jail, in the companionship of hardened offenders! We wonder also how many others like her are at present in jails for this new crime.

There remains to be considered still another group of men who have during the past, long before the quota laws were established, entered the country without official examination—men who have obtained steady employment; are leading exemplary lives, and who are desirous of becoming American citizens. Upon application for their papers it is found that they do not rightfully belong here, or, as has been noted before, although they may even have entered legally, the records of the government fail to establish this fact. It has been suggested that Congress legalize the presence of all residents who arrived in the United States before 1921, in order to give status to thousands of persons who otherwise belong to a "no man's land."

And this brings us to a discussion of the psychological effect upon men and women here occasioned by the passage of this law and augmented by the constant propaganda for registration of aliens and for more drastic deportation legislation. The immigration law has already discriminated in favor of citizens as against aliens, actually making the aliens a handicapped group in this country. Hastening to remove the stigma of alienism, the foreign-born find their efforts to become citizens are delayed or blocked by further discriminatory regulations. There is now added to the feeling of inferiority imposed upon the

alien the fear of having registration foisted upon him. As a matter of fact, in no country of the world has registration been imposed upon one class of residents only. In Russia and Germany all residents, native as well as foreign born, were obliged to register.

Additional discrimination is also shown in the pending deportation bill, which the House of Representatives passed last spring, but which was killed in the Senate, and which, it is stated, will come up again for consideration by Congress next fall. If legislation of this nature continues to be passed, we are developing a policy tending to establish two classes in this country—a majority and a minority group. The effect upon men and women in this country who thus find themselves involuntarily in a minority group is self-evident. The greater the rift between the majority group that claims superiority and the minorities who feel themselves handicapped, the more will the minorities tend to draw back within themselves—to develop their own institutions, produce their own racial culture, express their own individuality.

For social agencies this period of restricted immigration should be utilized as a period of stock-taking. A re-evaluation of their work will enable many organizations to develop newer and better methods of social technique in dealing with foreign-born clients. They will be able to determine upon a program of social service for the future which will cover many of the gaps existing in the past, due to lack of time and pressure of more emergent duties.

Aside from the actual increase in international cases, and in cases of prospective immigrants requiring advice and assistance, the change in international and racial groups brought about by the re-shifting of immigration from Southern European stock to Western and Northern European peoples will require a change in the personnel of social workers engaged by these agencies. Indeed, several organizations have already added German or Swedish workers to their staffs for the care of new clients.

Greater emphasis will have to be stressed by social agencies upon the stimulation of naturalization activities. Again we must refer to the vicious circle. The absence of family life which is so conspicuous among Southern and Southeastern Europeans is, as has been frequently stated, the influence which undoubtedly most successfully retards assimilation. Children in a family are great Americanizing factors.

Vocational guidance for adult foreign-born—especially those who have arrived here since 1920, is another factor that makes for better assimilation and for a more rapid adjustment to the life here. The immigration figures show that 36 per cent of those who entered during the first eight months of the administration of the law of 1924 were either professional or skilled workers, as against a percentage of 21.6 representing the same group who entered in the entire year of 1914. Utilizing the past experience and training of these workers reacts in favor of the nation as well as of the individual, and this is a function well within the province of social agencies.

The intensive development of adult immigrant education in every part of the country is another task to which social agencies must devote themselves in the future. Social legislation, particularly in the field of mothers' pensions, unemployment and sick insurance, old-age pensions, industrial welfare, etc., will be another function upon which social agencies can and should concentrate their efforts in the future. Available statistics show that it is not the recent immigrant who is in need of relief and who is crowding our almshouses and public institutions. It is the broken-down, foreign-born individual who, through our social and industrial maladjustments, has disintegrated. Of the foreign-born population accepting alms, reports show that more than half have resided in this country over twenty years.

It is difficult to predict what the final effect of the visa and quota laws upon the foreign-born population here will be. A better standard of living as a result of higher wages because no additional cheap labor is flooding the market is one of the advantages which it is hoped we shall realize. On the other hand, the substitution of Mexicans and Negroes in industries which were filled formerly by European labor will add new complications to those already existing. With the gradual entrance into community life of foreign-born men and women, more cooperation between groups should be expected. Should, however, the racial antagonism which at present is existing in this country continue in the future, a defense reaction will be set up by the socially handicapped groups consisting of the organization of an intensive racial and group culture of their own. Just as after the Civil War, when the Know-Nothing movement was at its height, the Germans organized Turnvereins, culture clubs, and other activities in order to maintain their own self-respect, so now we may expect a similar development unless the present attitude toward the foreigner is changed.

The attempt to put religion into the public schools will cause those groups to whom this idea is unwelcome to establish religious educational activities for their own groups.

International agreements on marriage and divorce laws, international treaties regarding citizenship and naturalization, will be subjects for discussion and for governmental action in the future.

In all these tendencies which are to be expected as a result of our new immigration policy the duty and function of social agencies is clear. As neutral bodies, extra-national, one might say, eager for the greatest, most glorious development of the splendid potentialities of our country, conscious, too, of the knowledge that only in a united nation can we hope for the truest fulfilment of these potentialities, social agencies must act as the harmonizing influence between the two groups in this country. Social agencies must act as a clearing bureau for racial understanding and interpretation, seeking, through the teaching of mutual sympathy and understanding, to unite majority and minority groups into a unified (not uniform) whole that there may be a return to the principles of American democracy with its keynote of toleration and respect for all mankind.

PROBLEMS OF NATURALIZATION

THE PRESENT NATURALIZATION LAW AT WORK

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Perhaps no subject over which the federal government might be said to exercise exclusive bureaucratic control furnishes a wider range of differences for the play of individual opinion, both expert and lay, than that of citizenship as at present acquired through the process of naturalization. Limitless examples taken from the administration of what is supposed to be a uniform naturalization law would seem to indicate that the goal of idealism in uniformity is yet far from attainment, there being neither uniform judges, uniform examiners, nor uniform clerks. And yet, after all, laws exist only in the incarnation of the living court, and the validity of democratic institutions ever rest back upon human nature as epitomized in the individual.

The past year or two might be designated in the annals of naturalization procedure as the era of conflicting judicial interpretations of what Congress has not said, and enlightening rulings, coming with Gatling-gun rapidity, from the Department of Labor on what its views were as to what Congress should have said before it ever went into the business of enacting deportation and quota immigration laws. There exists at this hour, not only generally throughout the country, but even within the confines of a single political division, an unfortunate state of affairs with respect to various conflicting court holdings upon the question of the admissibility to citizenship of aliens who claimed exemption from military service during the war. If a candidate happens to file in one court, he is admitted; had he filed in another, equally available and under an identical set of circumstances, he would have been denied. Several petitioners in a particular city, for instance, are being consistently denied in its federal court because of the drastic draft ruling obtaining therein, all of whom would be admitted had they filed in the state court, a tribunal exercising equal and concurrent jurisdiction within the same municipality.

In some jurisdictions the world-war terminated on November 11, 1918; in others it was by judicial decree prolonged to July 2, 1921. In an Oregon court hostilities ceased immediately after the registering alien had returned and filed his draft questionnaire, some months before the armistice. In some sections of California, so far as an alien petitioner is concerned, the conflict is still on in all its fury. This inability to arrive at a definite date for the termination of the war has not resulted from the only subtlety to bother naturalizing judges, for they are still very much confused in their efforts to construe such technical naturalization terms as "white person," "continuous residence," and "attachment to the Constitution." But if the judiciary has failed to come to a common understanding in one direction, it has made notable progress in another, for it is now practically conceded that if it was assumed that a claim of exemption from military service by an alien was, in and of itself, such a breach of one's

attachment to the principles of the Constitution as to deny him citizenship, then there should be a *locus poenitentia* whence such attachment might again be presumed to begin, since Congress had not by legislation, as in the case of neutrals, forever debarred from citizenship any particular class of aliens. This day of repentance has been fixed by many courts as being identical with the time the world-war actually ended. The most startling, and apparently most novel, method of determining the date was announced in the United States District Court of the Southern Division of California, known among students as the Bledsoe decision. This court held that a claim of exemption from the draft for non-citizenship conclusively showed a disloyal attitude, and that such attitude was presumed to continue indefinitely thereafter until a new declaration of intention was executed. It may be observed that since this decision goes beyond all others yet reported in its extreme presumptions against the petitioner, and since it is being still followed in some jurisdictions, although it has been in substance repudiated by the Circuit Court of Appeals of the United States of the Ninth District, it might not here be amiss to accord it brief consideration.

In the first place, a superior court has held that there is no ground for holding that a claim of exemption from military service because of alienage absolutely proved that the applicant's declaration of intention was made *mala fide*, or that he was not attached to the principles of the Constitution. One could not, therefore, accept without qualification the major premise of the Bledsoe decision, not only in view of its practical reversal by a higher court, but because of the fact that disloyalty to a yet unadopted country could ill be presumed from the friendly acts of the resident subjects of another nation. An alien enemy, who had not expressed an intention to become a citizen of the United States during the war, owed total allegiance to his native government, and not to the United States. His claiming exemption was not only an unquestioned right of privilege, but the very form of the questionnaire suggested to him an affirmative answer. Particularly unhappy was the plight of the German, Austrian, Bulgarian, or Turk who, upon capture while fighting against his own kin, could expect naught other than the dismal certainty of execution as a traitor. His only vestige of protection could lie in American citizenship, which was utterly impossible at the time.

This brief in behalf of the alien enemy should mean no disparagement to the claims of an alien friend; so far as he, too, is concerned, the world holocaust should be considered a thing of the past. Although the cause of the Italian, Roumanian, or Russian was our cause, yet were he a slacker, he was no more contemptibly so than that natural-born citizen who was likewise seized with an attack of chilblains in his pedal extremities when the draft came on. The President has long since pardoned political prisoners of war, believing that justice would best be served by forgetting the differences and animosities of a past hysteria. If criminals, duly convicted by court action for offenses against the

government, have been pardoned by executive clemency, how much more should the alien of co-belligerent nations be accorded an equal degree of mercy in a judicial proceeding, especially where he has been convicted of no crime, but may have committed an indiscretion seven years in the past—a rather long time to be harking back for evidence in support of the legendary presumptions against him.

Of late there has been a great deal of broadcasting from Washington throughout the naturalization atmosphere of the country. To some it might have sounded like music, but to others it was spattering static, disturbing whatever of peaceful procedure that has been hitherto commonly enjoyed by all. Promulgation of recent rulings, countenanced only by bureaucratic authority, and quite apparently out of harmony with the naturalization act itself, has introduced sweeping changes into a procedure rigidly fixed by known law. Should we hastily acclaim them as inspired by beneficent and humane motives, we would first do well to ponder, lest we be criticized for doing violence to the truth. If there were not available the published words of the Commissioner of Naturalization himself, we might with reluctance venture upon the dangers of a *post hoc, propter hoc* style of reasoning, and ascribe the acts of his department to a desire, by collateral and illegal methods, to enforce a set of immigration laws recently enacted. We quote from page 11 of the Commissioner's annual report.

At the present time an alien may declare his intention to become a citizen immediately upon landing in the United States, regardless of lawful entry therein. No alien who entered the United States unlawfully should be allowed to declare his intention, particularly if he entered since May 1, 1917, the date of the immigration act of February 5, 1917, became operative. Discretion should be given to the commissioner of naturalization to issue a certificate of arrival for purposes of declaration and also for petitioning, in cases of entry prior to June 3, 1921, where wilful unlawful entry is not proved, upon satisfactory proof of continuous residence.

Yet, in the face of the solemn truth recited in the first sentence of this quotation, the Commissioner seemingly assumed the discretion he craved in the last, and accordingly, in August, issued instructions to clerks of courts throughout the country to demand henceforth of applicants, before the issuance of a first paper, a certificate of arrival. Since the subject of this ruling is a first paper which, under the law, is issued by the clerk, and not a second, which can be granted only by the judge in open court, it has been almost universally followed as a matter of course. Only where an applicant has, perchance, questioned its legality, has it been formally brought to the attention of the court itself. So far as known, the order has been declared unreasonable and unfair by every court where its legality has been questioned. Opinions to this effect have been published by the supreme court of Oneida County, New York, the federal court at Detroit, Michigan, the common pleas court at Cleveland, Ohio, and the federal court of San Francisco, California.

What has already been said about the pre-emption of legislative authority by the Bureau in its efforts to enforce the immigration law through the naturalization act might be applied with equal propriety to two other very recent rul-

ings, namely, an order to suspend the issuance of *nunc pro tunc* certificates of arrival to unfortunate aliens whose actual entry could not be verified on the steamer manifests, and a further order to examiners to object to the admission of a petitioner who had not already brought his family to America. The latter instruction is extremely significant in view of the fact that relatives of naturalized citizens in Europe, under the new quota immigration law, are granted certain preferences and privileges over all other immigrants. As a rule, the department, prior to the passage of the last quota immigration act, interposed no objection to cases of this nature, but apparently had always been satisfied with a compliance of the spirit of the law, if not its letter.

It is a pity that the department, after twenty years of practice in issuing *nunc pro tunc* certificates of arrival, has suddenly discovered that the law did not permit it. Almost everyone will agree that so long as the certificate of arrival remains a necessary adjunct to naturalization procedure, a most humane and necessary ruling of the department would require that it be furnished on adequate proof of legal entrance and residence. It is a well-known fact that clerical errors and defects, for which the applicant is in no way responsible, will, as a result of this sudden official confession, deny to thousands of aliens the privilege of citizenship. Having entered the country at a time when they were illiterate, of tender age, or wrote with difficulty only in a foreign script unintelligible to inexperienced clerks who were likely to make erroneous transcriptions, they have very little notion of the way their names are spelled on the government records.

If the Bledsoe decision is law and expresses a new and acceptable definition of our long-cherished ideals of American citizenship, if the revocation of *nunc pro tunc* certificates of arrival represents the best and most modern of civic thought, if the natural right of families to be united is quite undesirable in the present day and age, and if, further, it is necessary for an alien to prove that he is in the United States when he is already legally here, the sooner these extraordinary hypotheses be established by the highest court of the land, or other equally competent authority, as the tenets of genuine Americanism, the better for all concerned.

Any panacea looking toward the alleviation of conditions as they now exist must come from any or all of the following three sources, Congress, the Department of Labor, or court action. With respect to redress from the latter source, it might be remembered that naturalization is not a right. It has always been considered, rather, as a mere privilege only; a bounty to be conferred by the government. The applicant petitions; the federal examiner appears and cross-examines; and the acquiescing judge accepts, without question, his recommendation. The examiner cannot be blamed for the air of authority which his presence casts over the judge, particularly in a state court, where it might be suggested that his honor, by way of diversion, read the naturalization laws, and lean less upon the *ipse dixit* of the government's representative in order to

relieve himself of the responsibility and necessity of deciding a question for himself. He would do well to peruse 3 F (2D) Pg. 691, *in re Linklater*, where he will discover, perhaps for the first time, that the examiner has no judicial powers whatever, is an administrative officer only, and is wholly without power to prevent any person from filing a petition for naturalization.

The reforms recommended in the Commissioner's annual report cause us to throw up our hands in despair, for here again we find projected plans for a sort of Russian passport system, dominant under the Czar, an annual registration scheme to be handsomely paid for by the alien, a proposal to treble naturalization fees and charge each of the children of naturalized parents ten dollars for a certificate, and an unusual recommendation to clothe the examiner with judicial authority and legislate into him scientific qualifications for the administration of an educational test.

The responsibility for the perplexing conditions of the hour may be traced directly to the effects of recent rulings emanating from the Department of Labor at Washington. An immediate revocation of every one of them would work a marvelous reformation, without awaiting the action of Congress or the courts, institutions somewhat aptly described, by a former Denver naturalization examiner, "for purposes of immediate relief, as remote as God." But in the midst of it all, the Commissioner, with a far-off look toward Congress, cries out for a new law, and the bewildered applicant, with his eyes fixed on the Commissioner humbly and respectfully asks for a new deal.

THE EFFECT OF THE CABLE LAW ON THE CITIZENSHIP STATUS OF FOREIGN WOMEN

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Those of us who are concerned over certain unfortunate consequences of the Cable law are not opposing the principle of independent citizenship for married women, which it is the purpose of the law to establish. The objections to a system which commits a woman to allegiance to a country and to the responsibilities of citizenship solely through the oath of her husband are too obvious to need discussion. When, however, we begin carefully to look into all aspects of the situation which the law's operation creates, we realize that a theoretical equality without provision for the practical needs of the day has been set up, so that actually a large group of women, already the most handicapped and harassed among us, are being subjected to further denials and problems, instead of participating in a freer and juster state of affairs.

The law, which went into effect September 22, 1922, provides that an alien woman who has married a citizen, or whose husband has been naturalized since

the law passed, remains an alien until she is naturalized separately. She must comply with all requirements of the naturalization law, except that she need not make a declaration of intention, and needs only a year of residence in the United States. An alien woman married either before or after September 22, 1922, may be naturalized even though her husband remains an alien, but she must meet the regular naturalization requirements, including the five years residence and making a declaration of intention. A woman who lost her American citizenship by marriage before the Cable law may regain it through the usual naturalization proceedings, except that she need not make a declaration and needs to have lived in the United States only one year. An American woman married to an alien since this law passed does not lose her American citizenship unless she formally renounces it. No woman—native or foreign-born—can be a citizen while married to an alien ineligible to citizenship. Single women are not affected by the law. It is with the first two of these groups—those of the alien married women—that we are concerned.

The alien woman, married either before or after the passage of the act to an alien eligible to citizenship, may now acquire for herself the citizenship which she may have wanted and needed in the past, but been denied because her husband had deserted her, or because he was too delinquent, or indifferent, to take out papers. Every immigrant aid organization can tell of one or more such women who have undergone hardships under the old law. For these women the Cable law will bring relief and release. But important as their case is, they are the exception rather than the rule. Most families want the same citizenship.

When we turn to the group of alien women married, since the passage of the law, to American citizens, or whose husbands have become citizens since that date, the serious phases of the situation become apparent.

Women without a country.—The first difficulty experienced under the Cable law by many of these women was their loss of all citizenship status. A summary of the citizenship laws of foreign countries made by the Foreign Language Information Service shows that the women of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Jugoslavia, Norway, Sweden, and of certain other countries, lose their citizenship by marriage to an alien. A German woman, married to a German, may keep her citizenship if he changes his.

Five countries—Denmark, France, Italy, Poland, and Switzerland—definitely provide that their women nationals continue their citizenship after marriage with an alien, unless such marriage automatically confers the citizenship of the husband upon the wife. Lithuania provides that the marriage of a Lithuanian woman to anyone but an American means forfeiting her citizenship, but she remains a Lithuanian citizen if her husband is an American.

Thus, a woman from the first-mentioned group of countries is a woman without a country—America does not admit her with her husband into citizenship, and her fatherland no longer claims her because of his citizenship here. She has no place to turn for the protection and assistance which nearly everyone

needs at some time from his country. Her status first came to attention because of passport complications which followed the passage of the Cable law. When she and her American-citizen husband were about to start on the long-planned and hoped-for trip to the old home in Europe they found that although he had no trouble in getting his United States passport, it didn't include her—and she couldn't get one anywhere else. So the journey had to be given up, or taken by the husband alone, while the wife puzzled over the strangeness of it all and told her neighbors how "the American government, it took away my citizenship, and didn't give me another one."

However, certain of these countries are making, or have made, special provision to meet the needs of travel. Austria and Hungary authorize their consular representatives to issue passports, under certain conditions, to these women; Austrian women have to obtain certain documents from the officer of the district from which they originally immigrated. Hungarian women must prove they were born in the present political territory of Hungary. Czechoslovakia, Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Yugoslavia, Norway, and Sweden recognize some sort of unofficial travel papers for these women—"certificates of nationality," or of "identity," or "pass certificates." If a German woman's husband is a naturalized American of German birth she can have a German passport.

For entrance into the United States, American consuls have been instructed to accept and visé in their discretion the personal affidavit of these women. Such informal papers as these, issued for travel to Europe or to the United States, do not entitle the holder to the protection of any government, nor do they guarantee that other countries will recognize them, unless the consular representatives of said countries have already placed their visé on the document.

Alien wives of citizens not deportable.—The anxiety felt over the possibility that alien wives of citizens might be subject to deportation during their first five years here was somewhat relieved by a decision on this subject given by Judge Brown, of the district court of Rhode Island. In the Dorto case he ruled that the alien wives of citizen husbands are not deportable unless they are barred from citizenship by race, or are in the group covered by Proviso 1, Section 19, Immigration Act of 1917, emphasizing in his decision the point that Congress, in conferring the non-quota status on the alien wife of an American citizen in the Immigration Act of 1924, has recognized the importance of the marriage relation.

Legal discriminations to which alien wives are subject.—We have had our interest in citizenship so long and so intensely focused on the voting privilege it confers that we have let slip into the background of our thoughts its other benefits. Yet laws on a number of vital matters—such as land ownership, public employment, and public aid to keep children in their own homes—are influenced by the factor of citizenship. Thus, in certain states aliens cannot own land; mothers' pension laws of six states require that the mothers of the children

aided be citizens, and three others, that she shall have declared her intention or filed her application.

Complication in family relations.—Those who have known immigrant families feel that another phase of the situation—one which may be called the psychological effect of the law on the family relationship—presents complications. Of all the members of the immigrant family, the mother remains most untouched by American influences. The father gets out into the factory and shop, the children are absorbed into the life of the schools and the streets, but the mother lives at home with her old-world memories crowding always into her thoughts, and old-world customs clinging to her in all that she does. Now she finds herself still further “alienated” from her household; her husband, sons, and daughters all enter the ranks of American citizens on the day father brings home his certificate. But she is barred out, and she asks in bewilderment, as a Yugoslav woman did in a letter to the Foreign Language Information Service, “Does not a wife belong to her husband, and a mother to her children?”—A most regrettable lack of independence of spirit, of feeling for the rights of her sex, perhaps, but the expression of a very real and general point of view which we cannot afford to ignore.

The answer which is always being made to this recital of the immigrant woman’s recently added troubles is the obvious one. “Let her get her citizenship; the men do it, and she’s on the same basis with them now.” If she really were on a basis of equal opportunity with them, there would be little comeback, but in assuring her the right to independent citizenship we have by no means equalized her chance with theirs, so that the gaining of the right seems to many mothers a doubtful blessing in comparison with the practical advantages they have lost.

We have scarcely made a beginning in providing opportunities for the education of immigrant men, but even such meager chances as exist for them are not equally chances for their wives. They cannot attend the night school, the factory class, the distant club, which take them away from their house and children. The 1920 census reports that of the twelve and a half million foreign-born whites twenty-one years of age and over, 36,840 were attending school, less than one-third of whom were women. A 1925 bulletin of the United States Naturalization Bureau on Citizenship Training of Adult Immigrants states that there were three times as many men as women in the group of 46,846 for whom age and sex was reported, out of the quarter of a million enrolled in citizenship classes during 1922-23.

The brightest spot in the record of educational work for immigrant women is the period just following their enfranchisement, when the so-called “danger” of their “ignorant” vote was thought to be imminent. Then only was there anything approaching a general interest in providing the kind of classes they need.

Those who argue that the new troubles of the immigrant woman will be an incentive to her to become naturalized must have reached this opinion in a

pleasant study, far removed from the tenement homes of immigrants. When one is undergoing daily trials and bewilderments, struggling with the never-understood regulations and laws of a new land, as the immigrant mother is doing, she is not apt to seek the further burden of classes, examinations, and appearances in court. It has, indeed, been suggested by those closely in touch with immigrant groups that the fact that his citizenship does not extend to his wife may deter many immigrant men from taking out papers. There are no statistics by which this can be substantiated; it is based on a realization of the very great solidarity of newly arrived families, and upon the fact that one of the chief motives in a man's taking out his papers formerly was that his wife and children benefited.

No certain prophecy, however, can be made as yet about what will happen under the Cable law; we do not even know, for the two-and-a-half-year period it has been operating, the number of alien women who have taken independent action for citizenship. The naturalization figures do not classify separately the papers issued to native and foreign-born women, so that when we read that during 1924, 14,716 women received certificates, we do not know how many of these were native Americans regaining citizenship, how many were single women, and how many were alien wives of citizens.

Possibly the special provision cutting down to one year the necessary period of residence for alien wives of citizens and making unnecessary the declaration of intention will be a help, although the ninety-day period following the application scarcely seems sufficient time for them to prepare themselves for the final examination, when we think of how difficult it is for men to be ready through the efforts they put forth during the period. The provisions are chiefly important, it seems to me, in their admission of the need of special equalizing factors in the situation.

Our citizenship requirements for men are at best but a compromise between what we would like them to be, ideally, and what is possible under given conditions, but we are apt to think of them as we do of all human institutions of our day, as fixed and established, instead of as the eternally tentative and changing things they are. Whether the best interests of the country are to be served by keeping out of citizenship a large number of persons who cannot meet the requirements of the moment remains to be seen. We know from repeated lessons of history that the interests of the uneducated and underprivileged have never been safe in the hands of the educated and privileged. Ignorance and social inadequacies have usually been the result of denial of opportunity, and usually have been penalized by further denials.

To prevent such a further penalization of large numbers of immigrant women is our task. Either further special methods of admitting them to citizenship must be adopted, or adequate provision of opportunities must be made which will meet their needs as a group—not merely those of a few individuals here and there—and prepare them for the present requirements.

That either of these alternatives is no small task, those of us realize who have had to meet the prevalent lack of comprehension of immigrant needs, reactions, and realities. Mr. Wells's recent remark will best describe it: "At the present level of education in the world," he said, "progress is like pushing one's way through a riot."

THE IMMIGRANT IN THE COMMUNITY

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The original title for this paper was "Organizing the Community for Immigrant Education." Miss Abbott, however, shortened it to "The Immigrant in the Community," with which I have no quarrel at all as long as she lets me talk about my original subject. For it is about our practical efforts to organize for immigrant education, and the organization and technical problems that seem to me to be involved, rather than primarily about the immigrant himself, that I wish to speak. Broadly speaking, our effective interest in the immigrant has largely divided itself along two general lines, the first having to do with his entrance into the country, the factors which enter into our policy of admission, and the administration of that policy as it finds itself expressed in law. The second active line of interest has been with the immigrant after he is admitted and as he lives his life in the American community, the adjustment which he makes to American conditions, the influence which he in turn has upon them.

For the past four years the eyes of social workers as well as of the interested public have been mainly focused upon the first set of problems. Legislation is always fascinating. The formation of our quota laws has been peculiarly so. Here, if anywhere, has been a battle ground upon which he who had opinions could prepare to shed them in the most vociferous and convincing manner possible, where prejudice and sentimentality had the most plausible grounds for self expression, where interested groups, economic, social, and racial, had the most deep-seated sort of motive for activity. Out of it has come our present law governing entrance and admission—neither better nor worse than most of the laws concerning social problems which find their way to our statute books. And it is little wonder that, for the period, the interest of all those concerned with immigration should have been so largely absorbed in this direction.

All the time, of course, we have had the 13,000,000 foreign-born residents of the United States. We have had, as one of the chief arguments of the pro-restriction group, the difficulty of assimilating—whatever that meant—such large numbers of aliens. We had, for a time following the war, an Americanization orgy. We have had, I think, even running through all this, something of an Americanization movement; and during all of these other things we have had, here and there, bits of truly serious and constructive work toward effecting a better long-time adjustment between the immigrant and his adopted country. Now that the quota policy is settled, at least for the time being, the focus of

interest on the part of those who are professionally or semiprofessionally concerned with immigration is swinging back to what we once called Americanization and now call immigrant education, and which, whatever we may call it, goes back to the fundamental fact that the immigrant comes into a new country, that his adjustment to that country is a problem, at once to himself and to it, and that certain organized activities have within recent years been directed to the solution of that problem.

This, in general, is what I mean by organizing the community for immigrant education: taking whatever community resources and activities are at hand, and bringing them together in as effective as possible a fashion to facilitate and assist this process of adjustment. In so far as there is anything practical in what I have to say, it frankly comes from the experience of the Council on Immigrant Education in New York, which is a council of the agencies (some 250 in number) in the greater city who are working with the foreign-born, the Young Men's Christian Association, and Young Women's Christian Association, the Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant church groups, the settlements, libraries, some forty racial societies, a dozen workingmen's organizations, and a host of others. I recognize that for most of you this is an inadequate standpoint from which to speak. New York is unique, not only in its size, but in the character and number of its racial groups and the organization of its social agencies in so far as practical coordinating machinery is concerned. Other cities will and have devised other ways and means of organizing their communities. But the fundamental problems which any city with a large foreign-born population must meet are, I think, similar in kind, and it is an analysis of these problems, in terms of the possibility of our doing something about them, which I wish to make.

May I, first of all, however, make a few very general observations about the Americanization movement? I use that term for want of a better one. Any term is usually as good as the content which has been put into it, and it is usually just about as easy to change the content as it is to change the name. But the effort to "Americanize" the immigrant in terms of the patriotic society, on the one hand, and to facilitate his adjustment to America in terms of education and social work, on the other, has had, since the war at least, certain of the characteristics of a movement. Any practical effort to organize community resources to give the immigrant a more natural and normal place in the community inevitably goes back to such objectives, philosophy, or method as that movement has to give. To one who has been trying practically to effect such an organization this comes as an inescapable conclusion. There is at present the widest possible diversity of conception as to what the immigrant's place in the community should be, and the means by which he can be best assisted, if at all, to this place. There are 100 per cent Americans who would give him as little place as possible, and whose means to this end is the salute to the flag and the loyalty to the Constitution. There are the racial culturists who believe in the maximum preservation of his old-world habits, traditions, and customs.

There are the sentimentalists whose watchword is "Lo the Poor Immigrant," and there are the anthropologists who have been waging war against each other at a great rate. Out of all this may some day emerge basic ideas and attitudes which will stand the test of experience, and methods which will accomplish the results we are seeking, but it certainly has not yet. I think, however, that in the last two or three years a good deal of the froth has been blown off. The women's clubs, the chambers of commerce, and the loyalty leagues have gradually been intrigued in other directions. Fundamental differences in philosophy and method are commencing to emerge, and out of the clash behind their differences may come sound fundamental attitudes in regard to the communities' possibilities and opportunities toward its foreign-born population.

May I say one final word about this? The one field in which we have made most progress is that of instruction in English. The reasons are obvious. Even the most rabid of the racial culturists admits that knowledge of English is desirable. It is, in addition, something concrete and measurable. The public schools also exist everywhere, and the aftermath of the war, if it did nothing else, fixed upon them the responsibility for this task. Moreover, within the professional teaching group there has developed a leadership in immigrant education which is at least recognizable. There has been a steady specialization in methods for teaching adults English, and a very considerable literature published. Training courses have been organized very generally, and a sound personnel with specialized equipment for this particular kind of teaching has been developed. We would not paint too glowing a picture, yet it is the field in which the most practical achievements have been recorded.

The result has been that the educational group has pretty largely dominated the Americanization movement. And this has, I think, been unfortunate—unfortunate, at least, for social work. For it has tended to make practical community programs for Americanization mainly English-to-foreigners programs—and for that broad field of adjustment and habit reformation it has left the avenue open for superficial propaganda about the vague concepts of loyalty, patriotism, love for America, and the like. In a sense this field of adjustment and habit reformation is that of the social worker, and the educators as specialists have little understood the problems or the method of the social worker. Both practically and theoretically, therefore, such Americanization movements as we have had have made little contribution to the practical problems of the social worker. The reverse is, I think, equally true.

In a city like New York, to talk about the immigrant is in a sense to talk about the city itself; 2,000,000 of its inhabitants were born abroad; another 2,000,000 are their children. What percentage there is of native American stock, if we take the census definition of that, namely, those whose ancestors were in this country about 1790, I do not know, probably between 5 per cent and 10 per cent, and most of them from the Middle West. Nearly half of the residents are of Jewish or Italian origin. This process of interaction, the whittling off of

the strictly orthodox of the old-world traditions in the foreign colonies, the absorption of some of their flavor by the city as a whole is, in its essence, the New York of today. The most typical New Yorker I know is a Russian Jewess who came to this country when she was very young, who went through the famous garment workers' strike of fifteen years ago, who was a leader in the suffrage movement, not only amongst the labor group, but with the club women as well, who has lived on the East Side, West Side, up and down town, whose daughter is a member of one of the leading artists' groups in the city, and a musical and theatrical critic. This woman knows New York as you and I can never know it. She loves it. She thinks the Middle West the seat of the conservative and home of the dull, the South, a hot and Bourbon place teeming with pickaninnies, and the Far West, the land of moving pictures. She is the best product of this inevitable process of adjustment and assimilation that I know. And when we talk of the melting-pot, if any one still does, I think that in New York, at least, we must frankly face the fact that she represents the strongest solution—the solutions which dominate out of all recognition that small percentage of those whose ancestors were here in 1790.

One of the first questions that we must raise, therefore, it seems to me, when we are talking about organizing the community for immigrant education, is whether or not we are considering as our basic problem this whole and fundamental process of adjustment, interaction, and assimilation which is going on. The definition of the Americanization Series of the Carnegie Foundation assumes that we do, although in so doing it is perfectly obvious that we are concerning ourselves with the entire life of the community. We have the immigrant in the schools, in the community, in the courts, in the press, on the land, in all of the institutions, situations, contacts, functions, which go to make up the community. Unquestionably it is his twenty-four-hour-a-day experience in these various phases of life which are breaking down the old habits and attitudes which he brought with him to this country, and giving him new ones. The same process is going on one step farther in the children.

To this process, taken as a whole, we have given almost no direction, nor am I at all convinced that we ever can. Certainly not as long as our knowledge of individual and group psychology is as inadequate as it is, and our understanding of organization in its present embryonic stage. For the fundamental fact about the assimilation of the immigrant is that it is life itself. It is no different in kind than the process of adaptation to our environment which is going on in every one of us, and in regard to the direction of that process, as a whole, social work and social science have made, so far, the most meager of contributions.

So that my first point in regard to the organization of the community for immigrant education is that we must proceed from the concrete to the general. It doesn't do much good to talk about the melting-pot as if it were something we could build a fire under, or Americanization as if it were something

one could teach. For fundamentally it is a process about which we understand little and can control less. What we can do, I think, is to recognize that while the process is identical in kind in all of us, yet for the majority of immigrants and for many of their children there are points in their experience where it is very different in degree. The practical problem of organizing the community seems to me to be just this: to find out where the strategic points are in the lives of the majority of immigrants, where the old-world customs are breaking down fastest, and the greatest difficulty in acquiring the customs of the New World is experienced; and after we have found out what these points are, of organizing around them the best service which we can.

Some of you are familiar with the study of the immigrant attitudes which the Council began a year ago under the auspices of Professor Julius Drachsler, and which has, unfortunately, been halted by his illness. Four questions were formulated: (1) What was your work experience in the Old Country? What here? Which do you like best? (2) What were your religious observances at home? What here? Contrast the two. (3) How did you spend your leisure time in the Old Country? How here? Which do you prefer? (4) What contact did you have with the court officials in Europe? Here? Contrast them. When the study is resumed, a fifth will be added—What was your home life abroad? Here? Which do you think is best? These questionnaires were printed in fifteen foreign languages, and a thousand of them distributed to students in English classes in the eastern states. Enough returns have been translated to show the value of this method in studying the problem, but my purpose in mentioning it here is to indicate the kind of scientific knowledge which we must have to tell us where these differences in degree are greatest, to point out where practical programs should be organized.

At present I think there are but four points, and I am tempted to say only four points, where we can be sure that the majority of the immigrants need special assistance that the native American does not; where, on the one hand, that difference in degree presents a stubborn barrier to the immigrant which does not exist for us, and which, on the other hand, is sufficiently concrete so that definite activities can be practically organized to help him over the barrier. These are:

First, the knowledge of the English language. I have already said what I think about this. Knowledge of our language is the means through which new habits and adjustment to America must, to a very large degree, come. If the immigrant cannot understand English, he cannot understand America nor make America understand him. The organization of adequate facilities for instructing the adult immigrant in English should, I think, come first and foremost on the program of any community organization.

Second, citizenship. About this there has been much more confusion. Immediately following the war there was a great hue and cry about making every immigrant a citizen, as if by that act he would become an American in whatever

sense the person who was hueing and crying meant by American. In educational circles there was the tendency to try to make him a "good citizen" meaning by "good" almost anything—saluting the flag, reciting the Preamble to the Declaration of Independence, etc. Neither one of these attitudes interests me. My own belief, and it is not found on the sort of careful study of naturalization which I wish some would make, is that the large majority of people who take out naturalization papers do so for a definite and personal reason. To get a job—a peddler's license, bring a relative into the country, because the district leader wants them to vote—rather than for any abstract devotion to the country. Moreover, as a descendant of the Puritans, that is perfectly satisfactory to me. But, obviously, this question of citizenship is a practical one, a barrier with which the natural American is not confronted, part of the difference in degree in the adjustment process, and around which it has proved practical to organize specific activities. In the first place, education ought not to be education to be a "good" citizen, but education to meet the perfectly definite examination requirements of the Bureau of Naturalization and the courts. Any classes in citizenship which are not aimed at this concrete objective, and to the graduates of which the naturalization authority and the judge will not give some definite credit, are doomed to failure, and for reasons which ought to be obvious. In the second place, in connection with the naturalization process itself, there are an enormous number of technical problems which arise—witnesses, certificate of arrival, outlawing of the declaration. For many immigrants the process is not difficult. But for many others it may be exceedingly intricate, and in order to help the individual solve these intricacies he needs expert assistance which, as a practical matter, he is not apt to get from the Bureau of Naturalization itself, and which, at the present time, in some cities at least, is being given by organized social agencies.

Third, the immigration law and the international character of the immigrant's relationship. In a sense the problems confronting the immigrant because of our immigration law antedates his entrance into the country, and therefore might logically be excluded from the so-called assimilating process. Entirely aside, however, from the original impression of America which the immigrant may get from the journey to and through Ellis Island, the immigrant for a long time is apt to be concerned with the law. He wishes to bring over friends or relatives, he knows someone detained on Ellis Island for whom he wishes assistance. He may want to go abroad himself, and return within whatever provision the law allows him. Moreover, entirely apart from the law itself, the very fact that the immigrant has vital relationships in two widely separated environments raises difficulties which do not confront the average American. He loses track of a member of his family in Europe, he sends money back, he has legal or business problems in connection with property inheritance, and the like. In other words, in the specific provision of the immigration law and the separated character of the immigrant's relatives we have a definite point where

particular problems are arising which do not confront the native American and where, as a practical matter, organizations like the International Migration Service, the Council of Jewish Women, Young Men's Christian Association, and Young Women's Christian Association, etc., have developed specialized service to assist him in these connections.

Fourth, general information. Another point is, I think, somewhat less clear. It is obvious that in many things the immigrant is less able, simply because of inadequate information about facilities, laws and procedure, satisfactorily to conduct his life here in America. He does not know our banking system, and goes to an immigrant bank where he is frequently exploited. He gets into trouble with the landlord and does not know his own rights. He wants to go to Cleveland, and has no idea how to get there. He is uninformed, and doesn't understand our compensation and liability laws. In a sense this is his fundamental problem, for which there is no remedy other than gradual experience with American facilities, laws, and resources. But in a specific difficulty, if he can go to someone and be intelligently directed where to go and what to do, if there is an information center to which he can turn, just so much better is he able to effect the adjustment about which we are concerned. In some of our New York agencies such a service is organized. In Delaware the Citizens Bureau, in Chicago, the Immigrants' Protective League, in Cleveland, Detroit, and other places, similar services are conducted. Usually the first service rendered by these organizations is in connection with naturalization, to which we have already referred, and includes rent trouble, service as notary public, employment difficulties, letters written, and the like. It is a less tangible field for service than the other three, for, after all, the problem of the landlord, of money matters, and the like are not peculiar to the immigrant; it is only his lack of information about the resources to which he might turn that is peculiar, and information is obtained in so many different ways, it is in itself such a broad term, that to organize it effectively is much more difficult than it sounds. Yet it is a field, I think, in which definite organization to assist the immigrant has been demonstrated to be feasible.

That, quite frankly, is where I stop, and in so doing I expect and hope to bring down on my head a deluge of criticism. It leaves out of account the social function of many of our social agencies working with immigrants, the things that go vaguely under the head of preserving racial culture, the mass meetings of the war, and the like. This indeed, I do believe: that the problem of the immigrant of finding an opportunity to participate, of taking part in organized activities and expressing whatever social talents he may have, is a real one. But that, on the one hand, his degree of difficulty is any worse than that of the native American coming into a new community, or, on the other, that this participation is a thing which it is possible to secure by specially organizing for it—that requires organizations or programs essentially different from our standard community and recreation agencies—is, I think, by no means clear.

I think that I could prove my case that at present only these four points have become clear as the points in which the degree of the adjustment problem of the immigrant is so different from that of the native as to warrant the organization of special services in the community—in terms of personnel. Look over the people who work with the foreign-born, whose organizations are primarily for the immigrant, and I am sure that you will find that they are serving him in one of these four capacities. And before I leave this general discussion, may I make it quite clear that I think it quite possible that there are other points where, for a large body of our immigrant population, the degree of their adjustment problem is so different from that of the rest of the population that specialized service can be organized around the kind of study which Professor Drachsler is making.

But while these are the places where in a community the immigrant seems to need specialized service, yet it is equally true that in many immigrant communities the services of that community, the social agencies, libraries, industries, clinics, courts, ought to, in order to make their service efficient, adapt themselves to the immigrant character of their constituency. And this, in the task of organizing the community for immigrant education, is a second and much more difficult job than that of seeing to it that the specialized facilities which he needs are provided. For, in the first place, practically every point where the immigrant comes in touch with the organized life of the community—industry, the courts, the press, the libraries, the standard social agencies, the church—commerce and finance is involved. With every one of these the immigrant comes into some sort of contact. And, in the second place, what is needed here is not specialized organization, but an adaptation of method, a shift in approach and technique. The standard programs of the health organizations, for example, are perfectly good programs, with a method and technique which are excellent in American communities, but which, if they ignore the dietary rules and traditions of the races involved, are exceedingly ineffective in immigrant communities. It is much easier to organize an agency for the specific purpose of helping immigrants in the naturalization process than it is to get a health agency, with a standardized program and a personnel trained in health work with Americans, specially to adapt both that technique and personnel to the group with which it is working. And in the third place, this is especially difficult because there is no such thing as the immigrant as such—rather, there is the Italian immigrant, and the Jewish immigrant, and the Polish immigrant, and twenty-six or thirty-five or forty-four other kinds of immigrants—whatever basis of classification one may wish to take. A settlement may study out the best methods of getting into the Italian population in its district. The head worker may travel in Italy. The staff may be chosen because of their understanding of Italians—and, in five years, find themselves working in a neighborhood composed almost entirely of Poles and Greeks, to whom the Italian aspects of the program are quite inexplicable and inept. Because our standard social agencies found it difficult,

if not impossible, to modify their technique and approach to deal successfully with the Jewish group is one of the reasons—although I think not the only one—that the Jewish charities are today separately organized throughout the country. In New York we can, I think, see the beginnings of the same thing in the Italian group.

I am afraid that my contribution to the problem of organizing the community in these fields cannot be very great. The first and most difficult job is to get the social agencies, the banks, the libraries to appreciate that their most effective service to immigrant groups will come only if they recognize that the immigrant does need different treatment than the native American. That seems so obvious that it would seem as if the keen minds of commerce and social work would have instantly grasped it and translated the general principle into effective action. Yet you know as well as I that this has not been so. The immigrant banking business of our larger cities, for example, is almost entirely in the hands of small foreign-born bankers who have known how to get the business of their people—and who have exploited them right and left. Our own established banks, much better equipped, safer for the immigrant, have left the field untouched, partly because they didn't know it was there, partly because they didn't know what to do about it even when they did know it was there. Only within the last three years, for example, has it been legal for the savings bank of New York State to transmit money abroad, one of the biggest forms of immigrant business. Only within the last year have they experimented at all with advertisements in the foreign-language press. This, then, is the first job of the community organization: to get the groups within the community who are, or should be, serving the immigrant to appreciate something of the problem which the foreigner represents, and to think of their own programs in these terms. The second is to work with the groups, in so far as it is possible, in actually studying their methods, in analyzing their programs from their point of view. It is a job which must, I think, be done largely in compartments, with the settlement workers, with the case working group, with the courts, with the libraries. Extraordinarily little has been done. The debate as to whether the native American workers or nationality workers are most effective has in several fields of social work been hotly waged with, it seems to me, rather little result. For, after all, the basic problem is not whether a nationality worker or whether a native American worker is better, but what, in terms of information, a case worker dealing with Greeks should know, that a case worker dealing with Italians need not; what, in terms of the actual technique of handling the case, will work with one, and not with the other. Nor do I think that the vague requirement of "knowledge of social backgrounds" offers us the solution. But I could go on indefinitely, and my central point is simply that this study of the programs of our standard community institutions in terms of the foreign-born immigrants with whom they are or should be working is one of the central problems of organizing the community for immigrant education.

Finally, I am sure, some one will remark that I have left out entirely the racial organizations which abound in any immigrant community, and the foreign-language press. About this latter I will say nothing, except to hope that at some time during these meetings we may hear something about the work of the Foreign Language Information Service, which, in my estimation, constitutes the most effective single use of this medium that we have, and to point out that in New York City neither the social agencies nor other community institutions are using it to reach their constituency to anywhere near the extent that they might if they understood its peculiarities or the various special methods of getting publicity in it.

The subject of the most effective utilization of, and cooperation with, racial organizations is such a large one that I am almost tempted to say nothing about it at all. The general principle that these societies contribute the most natural pathway for the immigrant to travel in his gradual adjustment to America is sound. On the other hand, most racial societies are in no sense organized concretely with the purpose of helping the immigrant in his personal adjustments. In some the result, at least, is quite the contrary. All too often the leadership which rises to the top in the organization of the racial groups is not at all the sort of sincere and socially minded leadership which is essential from the point of view from which I am speaking.

Any community program must, however, in its direction and in the formulation of its policies, include full representation and participation by its important racial group. Any program which does not, not only smacks of paternalism, but fails in appreciation of the whole spirit and point of view which is essential to success. Cooperation between native-born and foreign-born must be at the forefront of any community policy—and this can only come with the public recognition of joint responsibility.

But it never does to forget that effective cooperation is a very practical matter, and that the task of working with any one of the numerous racial societies in a community is in essence the same kind of task as that of working with an organized group anywhere. The less talk there is about cooperation as such—the more effort to discuss practical and concrete activities which both the racial organization and the community organization can do together, and then do them as effectively as possible—the more cooperation will there be, and the more vital the end toward which joint action is directed, the more fundamental the cooperation. Participation in a Fourth of July celebration or memorial exercises of a sort is good, but hardly fundamental. On the other hand, to establish, either within or without the public schools, classes in Italian for Italian children might well bring about the keenest sort of natural cooperative relation with the Italian group. And it cannot be too strongly emphasized that mere paper cooperation is useless. Programs, leadership, thorough knowledge of both the group and the problem in hand—all of the things which make for sound cooperative activity in any field are even more essential here.

In no field of social or educational work do we find more basic difficulties than in this broad field of work with immigrants. The individuals and institutions in the community who are concerned with it go back not only to widely different, but frequently definitely antagonistic, religious, racial, and economic roots. The opportunities for prejudice and bias to dominate or entirely negate a constructive program in any community are enormous. The human problems are vast. Both the sentimentalist and the unscrupulous can make out of them a colorful appeal which may grip the imagination and be equally destructive to permanent accomplishment. The crying need is for standards of work and measurement, for methods which will stand the test of experimentation, for objectives and ends which are sufficiently definite to make realization practical and observable. It is a field which needs, in short, the acid tests of modern social work, and it is, I am optimistic enough to believe, beginning to get it.

THE IMMIGRANT IN INDUSTRY

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A realistic estimate of the rôle the immigrant plays in industry is not possible unless we establish the exact status of the immigrant in American industry. It may feed our sentimental and emotional parts to go on speaking about the immigrant as an incidental element in American industry and therefore deserving of special care. Unfortunately, facts have a capacity for disregarding emotions and intention.

From 1820 to 1924, in the course of a century, 35,344,703 people came into the United States. In 1820 the total population of the United States was about ten million. Today it is 113,000,000. The increase in population in the course of the century was very largely the result of immigration. One must remember that immigration almost exclusively consists of adults. We see that what we consider the people of the United States are really foreigners, by and large. The original Yankee seems to be an imported product, made "somewhere in Europe."

In the last twenty-four years, from 1901 to 1924, nearly 17,000,000 people came to the United States. All these people, after they left Ellis Island or other ports, landed in industry. American industry is manned very largely by immigrants.

The United States Census for 1920 shows the following percentage of workers foreign-born or of foreign or mixed parentage in the leading industries and manufactures: in all manufacturing and mechanical industries, 50.9 per cent; in iron and steel, 56.7 per cent; in other metals, 65.3 per cent; in textiles, 59.1 per cent; in clothing, 69.1 per cent; in cigar and tobacco, 51.3 per cent; in chemical and allied industries, 51.6 per cent; in food, 50.1 per cent; in coal mining, 50.6 per cent; in iron mining, 76.4 per cent.

The immigrants constitute the larger half of wage-earning Americans. This is the case in the most important industries. To speak of immigrants in industry, therefore, really amounts to speaking of workers in industry, so that my problem of analyzing the what-to-do's and how-to-do's with reference to the industrial workers of foreign origin becomes in essence a problem of discussing the industrial worker generally. To be sure, there is still almost one-half of the total number of industrial workers who are natives. But this does not change matters. The immigrants and the natives constitute about equal parts of the category which we call "worker," and no policy calculated to take care of one particular half of the working population is likely to prove anything but fallacious. The totality of the working force in industry must be considered. They are neither Americans nor immigrants. They are working people.

If we, then, substitute the worker for the immigrant, our problem at large really amounts to a problem concerning itself about the status of the worker in industry, the worker who is largely either a foreigner or of foreign or mixed parentage or a native. My personal experience with workers has been almost exclusively with foreigners. But I fail to see that problems of industry change their nature because confronted with workers born elsewhere, outside of the United States. If you meet the problem of the worker in industry successfully you have met also the problem of the immigrant in industry.

What is the problem of the worker in industry from the larger viewpoint of industry as a part of the total of national economy? It is the status of the worker in industry, his relationship to his job, his feeling of citizenship or of subjection in the industry he is engaged in. The open-shop drivers may consider themselves first-rate Americans, and it is possible that a number of them will trace their ancestry way back to the Mayflower. If Americanism should really imply what it ought to, namely, a policy of serving the interests of the nation as a whole and industry, which is the backbone of a nation, then open-shoppism is the most un-American procedure.

We are concerned about industrial development, industrial efficiency, the elimination of waste, and managerial incompetence. A management well supplied with cheap labor is the kind of management you will always find lacking in foresight, in constructiveness, and in ability to forge ahead. When labor is well paid and working under conditions of healthy normalcy, management is bound to turn to mechanical improvement, to improvement of salesmanship and marketing methods. A non-organized industry is a backward industry. A well-organized industry is an industry with an eye to the last device of scientific management.

We speak of promoting a higher citizenship, and we turn to the immigrant as the object of our special cares, but we find many backward groups in the population of the United States who are not of the highest quality of citizenship, but they are natives. They are not organized. They are what the heart of the open-shopper desires.

The clothing industry is an immigrant-manned industry. Will anybody question the veracity of my statement that our working people have shown the utmost care for the welfare of the industry? The workers of the clothing industry practically eliminated sweat shops and the contracting evil. They have not only created this industry in the United States, but have brought it to the front of American industrial progress.

This is not a matter of displaying a preference for the foreign worker, not an immigrant-superiority complex. I merely wish to emphasize the fact that the origin of the worker has got little to do with the solution of the status of the worker in industry. The status of the worker in industry, not his grandfather, ought to be our prime concern.

If you ask me, as manager of a large labor union and as one who has had considerable experience with industry, both from the angle of the worker and of industry as a whole, what is the most important point to be considered in a study of personnel, management, and human relations in the industry, I should answer: unless industry abandons old traditions and habits of feudalism and paternalism, unless industry becomes a truly democratic republic, healthy growth will be retarded.

Labor unions have been concerning themselves with questions of hours and wages only. Few of them care to bother about management. Only a few unions have expressed a desire to take a responsible part in the solution of the general problems that come before industry. Management, obsessed with feudalistic traditions, resists the inevitable shift in that direction. Of course, industry has prospered none the less. But if you study the rate of progress made by specific industries, you find that the way of industrial progress is becoming an ever increasingly difficult uphill journey. In a world of keen competition, national and international, no industry can survive which will not take cognizance of the necessity of cooperation. The condition of separation between owners and producers and the divorce between the producing and the managing end exclude a healthy, harmonious relationship which is the foundation of all family building, the industrial family included.

Labor unions, not company unions—free, unhampered, and enlightened labor unions—must have open sway if we wish to assure the industrial progress to which our country, with its rich resources and keen and alert industrial working force, is justly entitled.

Miss Julia Lathrop, formerly of the children's bureau of the Department of Labor, in a recent speech, said:

There are 5,500,000 illiterates in the United States. Fifty-eight per cent are white, and 28 per cent are native-born. If we continue to reduce illiteracy at the same ratio attained between 1910 and 1920, it will take forty years to eliminate it. Foreign-born parents have reduced illiteracy among their children to eight-tenths of 1 per cent. If we reduce illiteracy among our children at the same rate attained between 1910 and 1920, it will take us thirty years to reduce it as low as already attained by foreign-born parents.

XI. PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS AND EDUCATION

IS SOCIAL WORK PROFESSIONAL? A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE QUESTION

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At the Baltimore Conference, in 1915, Abraham Flexner presented a paper which answered the question, "Is Social Work a Profession?" in the negative. Not an arbitrary and final negative, but a tentative one based upon his conception of the state of social work at that time and with recognition of the possibility, perhaps the probability, of an emerging professional status. Ten years have elapsed since this interesting discussion took place, and the question naturally arises whether the trend of events in social work during the interval tends to modify Mr. Flexner's premises or conclusions. It is quite true that a decade is a brief span in the history of any human institution, and certainly no ten-year period in the development of the recognized professions would definitely mark the emergence of any of them from inchoate content and service to professional grade. In each instance there has been a long, slow growth, as would be expected when that growth was dependent upon the advancement of the sciences themselves.

Mr. Flexner suggests seven tests of professional status, which he states somewhat as follows:

First, the service of one engaged in a profession must be of an intellectual character rather than routine physical acts. The use of the brain, rather than the well-trained hand, to secure the desired results is essential. But along with mental effort must go a wholly personal and individual responsibility for achieving those results. The physician must not only know the scientific principles which concern the diagnosis and treatment of disease; he must exercise his judgment in applying those principles to the patient before him. The conduct of the case is his responsibility, and he will be held to account for the manner in which that exclusive duty is discharged.

Second, the raw materials of a profession are drawn from science and learning. The laboratory, the seminar, the textbook and other forms of specialized literature supply the content for the practice of law, medicine, or the ministry.

Third, this material must be mastered and applied to produce definite and practical results. The task of the professional man is concrete and clearly defined; he deals with the sick or those seeking to establish their legal rights, or he ministers to the spiritual needs of his congregation.

Fourth, a profession must have a content which can be transmitted by a specialized educational process to those desirous and capable of learning it. Thus it is possible to train teachers and architects and doctors and lawyers in an exact and standardized fashion.

Fourth, a profession tends toward self-organization, the members of which, both on the social and professional side, are class-conscious, watchful of ethical standards, critical of method, and devoted to the advancement of professional interests.

Sixth, there is a tendency for a professional group to be influenced by questions of public interest, as well as by questions of personal and group interest, and there is greater opportunity for the development of altruistic motives in relation to social need.

Seventh, a profession should have a body of literature, critical and scientific in character, which records its development and achievements. The quality of the publications which speak for a profession are a fair index of its character and status.

In applying these tests to social work Mr. Flexner finds that it draws upon science and learning for its tools. He believes also that social workers are consciously organized to advance their vocation, and he stresses the altruistic motive which he feels sure dominates the social worker. Three essentials he regards as lacking. In the first place, while social work is intellectual rather than manual in character, the social worker is not the guiding genius in the treatment of the needs of his client, and he does not bear the sole, or the major, responsibility in making the necessary adjustments. He is a mediator who brings to his client the lawyer, the doctor, the clergyman, and the other organized services of the community. He may be likened to a keyboard summoning those who can help and coordinating their services. Under this view, social work becomes a phase of many different types of service; it rounds out the undeveloped places in the existing professions, and becomes an auxiliary to them, just as many persons think of medical social service as an incidental aid to medicine. In the second place, Mr. Flexner thinks that social work does not possess a definite and concrete aim and an integrated form of service which is important on its own account. The skill required is simply that of a clever piecing together of the parts of a human puzzle, and the responsibility for results in treatment rests upon other shoulders. Thus, social work covers so broad a field, in this piecing-out process, as to make impossible any delimitation of its scope in such a way as to develop certainty of knowledge and expertness in procedure, both of which are essential to professional status. Finally, a field of service without a specific aim and a definitely bounded scope affords little opportunity for the organization of educational training upon a professional basis. Nor is such service likely to develop a literature of the depth, variety, and dignity which marks the established professions.

In so short a paper as this must be it is impossible, if one had the ability, to analyze the whole range of social work and to apply to each specialty the tests

which have just been suggested. At the most, consideration can be given but to two or three fields.

Social work, like other forms of human service, has developed in response to specific human needs, and those needs have become increasingly acute as life has grown more complex. There was a time, for example, when physical ailments and disputes over individual rights were matters to be dealt with, not by physicians and lawyers who possessed specialized knowledge and training, but by persons whose general capacity and intelligence gave them authority in the community. We know that the profession of law and medicine developed as it became increasingly apparent that a particular kind of skill was required to cure the sick and establish justice with a reasonable measure of certainty and success. And so, before the advent of social work, when men were unable to meet the demands of life successfully or when the conditions of their environment made living less rich and satisfactory, the problems arising were solved, if at all, by the application of general intelligence. But as time went on this was found to be less and less a satisfactory way of proceeding. Family disintegration, ill health, industrial disease and maladjustment, neighborhood disharmony grew apace, with little being done effectively to help individuals or to remove causes. We have often reminded ourselves of the tremendous changes which followed the substitution of the machine for hand labor, how industry grew by leaps and bounds, centering its activity in urban centers and bringing additional thousands to swell the size and complexity of life in the city. We have not ceased wondering at the amazing inventions which have made communication and travel by land, sea, and air matters of days, minutes, and seconds, instead of months and weeks, so that we live closer to each other in every way as our free land is exhausted and the tide of population turns definitely from country to city and from agriculture to industry. And so it is true that the pressure of one person upon another and of group upon group has become more intense, heightening the competition for the rewards of life, increasing the number of persons who made a failure of living because of break-down within the family, inadequate education and recreation, ill health, and inability to fit into the industrial and social scheme of things. Social work, then, is a form of service which attempts, on the one hand, to help the individual or family group which is out of step to attain more orderly rhythm in the march of existence, and, on the other, to remove, so far as possible, the barriers which obstruct others from achieving the best of which they are capable.

Social workers who deal with the individual and the family, whether from the standpoint of a family or a child welfare agency or from the approach of medical or psychiatric social service, recognize certain principles and methods as common to their tasks, and designate these common principles and methods by the term "case work." Is case work merely a process of mediation, of bringing the skill of other persons and agencies to bear on the needs of the client, is it unable to achieve practical results which are definite and concrete, and which

grew out of the method itself, and is there no educational technique which makes possible the teaching of case work in an organized way?

At the outset we need to remind ourselves of the many causes which contribute to failure in living effectively. Sickness is a problem which demands the attention of the physician, but unsanitary conditions in the factory or community, long hours of labor, and inadequate wages are not the physician's concern. A man's failure to take a job or to hold it after he has it, his disastrous decisions of personal conduct, his deserting of his wife, neglect of children, and inability to bring himself into harmonious relation to his family, relatives, and those with whom he comes in contact, his lack of ability to surmount emergencies, require treatment which is something more and something different from that which can be given by the established professions.

The child who cannot be adjusted to his own home must be placed in another which is carefully chosen with reference to the child's needs and supervised until a permanent and stable relationship is established. His need for education, for medical service, for recreation, and for wholesome family life with adequate opportunities to develop his capacity is not met without careful planning and the exercise of wise judgment. To prescribe a remedy, causes must be sought, through a long, slow process involving an accumulation of evidence bearing on the individual physical and mental inheritance, the facts of his past life, and the dominant external and internal influences which have conditioned his existence. This inquiry will be fruitful if made by someone who knows how to make it, what to look for and where to find it, and the information obtained will serve a definite purpose if it is properly evaluated to separate fact from fancy and to weigh the important against the unimportant. When many factors combine to produce human distress, the chief sources of trouble are often obscured and the analysis of the problem obviously requires in greater degree the exercise of specially trained judgment. Then follows the making and execution of a plan which will often involve the physician, the lawyer, the psychologist, and others, but which must also include services which none of them can render. The needs may be a new job, a new home, a sound philosophy of family life, a more satisfactory conception on the part of the client of his relation to other human beings, and the social and economic institutions with which he must deal. The combination of adjustments can be intelligently made only as they are related to the causes which have produced the situation confronting the case worker, and the treatment is successful to the degree that the confidence of the client is won in carrying it out. In the familiar terms of investigation, diagnosis, and treatment the social worker uses a method of inquiry, a basis for evaluation of evidence and forming of judgment, and a treatment which is distinctive, the product of a specialized knowledge and skill. He uses the skills of the established professions, sometimes acting purely as a mediator, but more often assuming full responsibility for the conduct of the case with the aid of those specialized services, because none of them is equipped to deal with the problem in its

entirety and, in the nature of things, it is not reasonable to expect the professions to extend their varied skills to meet the needs arising out of social maladjustment.

So far as case work is concerned, is there not justification, then, for urging material modification of the proposition that social work is not an integrated form of service important on its own account, and, further, may we not assert that its aim is sufficiently concrete and limited in scope to make possible both certainty of knowledge and expertness of method? The large variety of social agencies in existence does not indicate that each performs a service wholly different from the others, because differences in type of organization are often largely matters of emphasis or administration, rather than differences in method or objective.

The case work processes are common to agencies bearing the words "family," or "child," or "medical," or "psychiatric" in their titles, to the probation officer, and to the visiting officer. If this be true, then there must also be in social case work an educational content which is sufficiently concrete and delimited to make possible an organized method of teaching it. Certainly the experience of the training schools for social work and of the agencies employing the newly trained worker bears out this conclusion. And finally, in this connection, there is at least one written exposition of case work which is the product of scholarly endeavor, carried on in the scientific spirit, and presented with that restraint and regard for fact which typify the best work in the recognized professions, namely, Mary Richmond's *Social Diagnosis* and its comparing book, *What is Social Case Work?* There is a slowly developing body of literature on case work of a sort which is expressing in a critical way the best thought and achievement in this field.

When we turn to a consideration of social work as it affects group activities, prevention, and reform it seems possible to suggest again some dissent from Mr. Flexner's conclusions. Reference has been made to the way individuals suffer from their inability to meet the complexities and cross-currents of our way of life, and the methods by which we attempt to assist them in the solution of their personal difficulties.

Social work has approached these basic causes from another point of view: by dealing with individuals in groups and by attempting to eliminate environmental factors which operate as handicaps to wholesome living. There is not the time to detail here the achievements of the public health group in reducing infant mortality, in decreasing the incidence of tuberculosis, in controlling venereal diseases, and, to turn to the positive side, in the spread of knowledge and information concerning personal hygiene as a means of preventing disease in general. Here the social worker has shared directly with the physician in the task of promoting public health, but each has made a distinctive contribution and each is dependent upon the other for the final result. The method of the social service worker in the health field is essentially educational in character.

He gleans from observation the effects of bad housing, unsanitary working conditions, and improper personal hygiene upon the spread of tuberculosis, and he is developing a technique of making known to the community the measure of responsibility which it bears for the conditions which promote the disease and the means which must be adopted to check its growth and, at the same time, he carries on the education necessary to change the personal habits and the thinking of people generally as a means both of cure and prevention. This attempt on the part of the social worker to affect the habits and activities of human beings in the interest of a more satisfactory life may be seen again in the service rendered by the agencies which are concerned with public recreation and with boys and girls in groups such as the Scouts. The recreational worker is doing a highly specialized job in public education. He is teaching the value of play and the proper use of leisure time, the methods of play and of leisure time activity which serve the growth and the happiness of the individual most effectively, and the readjustments which must be effected in the community structure to put these methods into operation. In the same way, the Scout organizations are demonstrating how the group activities of young people can be made to serve cultural ends, as well as useful and interesting ones. Education in group living is the objective of such organizations as these, and they are developing a philosophy and a method which is the product of their own experience and observation.

The foregoing illustrations will serve our present purpose, which is to indicate that the varied forms of social work are not to be properly regarded as merely incidental to the services rendered by the established professions; that they are not entirely lacking in defined aims, and can be carried on with some measure of authoritative practice.

In what has been said thus far, it has not been my purpose to claim for social work professional status at the present time, although it seems to me that it now fulfils the requirements which Mr. Flexner laid down in 1915 more completely than could perhaps have been asserted when his paper was written. There is a further test, however, and that is the test of public opinion. A profession is only in actual existence when it is accepted as such by people generally. A professional is expected to have specialized knowledge and skill, and to be able, within limits, to assure with some certainty that given methods will produce predictable results. His advice is sought on that basis, his judgment is followed, and it is understood that no one but a properly trained and accredited person can engage in the particular type of service he renders. Social work is dealing with human lives under circumstances of infinite variety, where certainty and predictability are frequently impossible. It is our business to satisfy the community that the character and value of our work, from a professional standpoint, is not to be judged by the familiar yardsticks.

Then, too, the client and the patient seek out the lawyer and the doctor, they pay him for his service, and are in a position to criticize freely—oftentimes intelligently—the quality of service they receive, and are under no compulsion

to do as they are advised. There are objective tests which the average man can apply to the professional, and he is thus better able to understand the nature of what is done for him and to determine whether a satisfactory outcome has been achieved. There is a dealing at arm's length between the individual and the professional which does not always obtain in social work. The public thinks of the social worker's client as a mendicant seeking alms, forced to do as he is told, unable to express intelligent criticism, and without influence if he could do so. It is undoubtedly true that the established professions profit by criticism from outside of their craft as well as that from within, whereas the social worker must rely more largely upon the critical judgment of his own brethren. But in any event he has before him the task of making clear that, so far as he deals with the disadvantaged, he takes no liberties with the personality or dignity of his client; that he is no less zealous in rendering the best service of which he is capable, and that he seeks always to improve the quality of the work he does. While the real services of social work are gradually becoming more widely understood, so that professional recognition may ultimately be accorded, there is nothing to prevent social workers from setting up for themselves the rigorous standards, the exacting discipline, the faith in their tasks, and the humility in the performance of them which characterize a true profession. Perhaps we can also avoid that too intense concentration upon the particular needs of the individual client, which sometimes blinds the professions to a sense of responsibility to the community, by developing increasingly the ability to make our knowledge and experience count in prevention and reform.

The American Association of Social Workers, now in the fifth year of its existence, is representative of the group consciousness which has developed within our craft. The Association affords us an opportunity for friendly contact and interchange of opinion and experience which all other vocational groups have found to be useful and necessary, and which they have attained through similar organizations. In order to determine standards of eligibility, we have worked out a purely tentative definition of what a social worker is, in terms of education, training, and experience. A great opportunity confronts the Association. It is in a strategic position to assist materially in developing the philosophy and the methods of our field in the scientific spirit. There is needed the kind of searching analysis and criticism of our thinking and doing which typifies research in other vocations, and out of which should come a varied body of literature of dignity and scholarly worth. Unless we can ourselves evaluate critically our successes and our failures, we shall make but little progress toward that progressive raising of standards which is the life of any worth-while service. The Association should have a contribution to make to the question of training social workers, because it knows the field of social work and it takes pride in bringing to that field those who are capable and well-equipped. Finally, the general public must know more about what we are doing, particularly at times when we are not asking for money. Professional status will not come because

we ask or claim it, but only as we make known, in a dignified and accurate way, the philosophic and scientific basis of our varied fields of endeavor, the methods we follow to attain our ends, and something of the results achieved. The Association may well become a useful instrument for interpreting to the citizenship of the country the faith and the aspirations of the social worker.

THE OBJECTIVES OF THE PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

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While I shall attempt no psychoanalysis of any other professional group to find its motives in organizing itself, it may be well at the outset to mention the conventional objectives usually put forward. They frequently center around one or more of these ideas: first, the protection of clients against malpractice; second, the protection of the general public against imposition; third, the protection of the members of the organization against unfair competition and misinterpretation of professional ethics; fourth, the development of the science or sciences underlying the practice of the professional worker; and fifth, the development of educational resources for training the recruits of the profession.

While I think that all of these points are important to the social worker and are, of course, interrelated, the social workers of the community are not able, and will not be able in the near future, literally to copy this complete layout of objectives in their professional organization. The professional organization of the social workers must express its objectives in more subtle ways, and confer whatever distinction membership may have upon those who have evinced a serious, intelligent, and patient effort to prepare themselves to do their work well. Ours must be, certainly so far as we of this generation can look forward, a job of persuasion rather than an effort at coercion.

How can, and does, our professional organization seek to bring about a higher grade of work by its members, and to show the community that, in this field, study, preparation, and proper working conditions are essential to the achievement of lasting and beneficial results all around?

Among these ways I should like to list first the very fact of organization itself. We are almost compelled to organize. We must show the community that we care enough about our work that we will organize ourselves to improve it. Anyone who knows anything about the struggles to maintain organization for any altruistic purpose in any other field comes to have respect for any group in the community that has the will, the intellectual capacity, and the executive ability to effect an organization to carry forward its purposes. No group of people can make their influence felt on any public question—and all of social work is a public question—unless they show that they themselves can organize

and can formulate and express their ideas through orderly channels and in concrete ways.

And now, given an organized profession of social work, what, concretely, is it that we want to tell the rest of the community? Perhaps the first message that the social workers want to convey is that, in at least some forms of endeavor, to ameliorate social conditions and to prevent and mitigate hardship and suffering—I do not say in all forms—there has grown up a body of knowledge largely based on observation, study, and experience; that this body of knowledge is now available for educational use; and that the mastery of it puts the recipient in a position where he does not need to follow a long course of experimentation and to learn by trial and error methods.

Preaching will not do the job, however. We shall not be able to prevent people with less than the minimum preparation from doing what a community has come to see is necessary, and will support, unless we can establish a custom which will have led some young people to prepare for these jobs. But, on the other hand, we must fit our custom to the circumstances. That means orderly methods of recruiting, vocational information service, and educational resources, all functioning in response to a need which is known and measured.

Just at this moment we are not in an especially advantageous position to put the question in a clear and definite way before the public, for the reason that our demand for better-trained social workers in the future does not reflect a fact of the present. We are like the parents who have no education, but want some for their children. How many people now in the ranks of the social workers have had any special preparation for it?

The American Association of Social Workers has conducted a wide study to see how far a good many of these points that we now consider so important have come to be actual conditions within the group we recognize as the social workers of the country. How have people in the past actually gotten into social work?

You may recall that in 1921-22 the Association made an extensive canvass among social workers to collect a large number of items of information about them and the conditions of their work. Questionnaires available for use were secured from 1,258 persons: 1,030 women and 228 men. They seemed to be a fairly representative collection of people in social work. You will recall that we now have about 3,400 members, so that the number of these reports is more than a third of our present membership.

As the Russell Sage Foundation has carefully analyzed the material, and is planning to publish it, I will not go into any of the details. With the permission and cooperation of the statistical division of the Foundation, I shall draw upon this body of information for a few illustrative facts. I shall only say that its representative character is shown in many ways in the detailed analysis of the fields of work, of the geographical distribution, and in several other ways. Not

the least important is the fact that these 1,258 people were working for 677 organizations. When referring to this I shall call it the Association's study.

Now, what do we find with reference to the education of our people? In the first place, 60 per cent of the men and 40 per cent of the women are college graduates. The rest have not had so much formal general educational preparation, either for life in general or this work in particular. Nine per cent of the men and 15 per cent of the women have had a year or more in a school of social work. Combining these two kinds of education, we find that about 7 per cent of both men and women are college graduates with at least a full year's training in a school of social work. At the other end of the scale we find that 17 per cent of the women and 14 per cent of the men have had neither college nor school of social work training. That is, in a group of fourteen social workers, about two people have had neither form of preparation; one has had both, and eleven people are in between. The various combinations of some of one and some of both forms of preparation furnish a fair-sized statistical table that I shall not attempt to elucidate here. It is significant to find that the men have more college education and the women more school of social work training.

In a special study of 740 social workers in 96 agencies in Philadelphia it was found that 27.4 per cent had graduated from college. In the group of 76 executives, 34.2 per cent were college graduates; among 20 assistant executives, 40 per cent; among 131 subexecutives, 40.3, per cent; among 51 specialists, 58.8 per cent; among 220 case workers, 32.3 per cent; among 71 group workers, 19.7 per cent; among 135 public health nurses, seven-tenths of 1 per cent; and among 17 institution workers, none. Among the 740 people there were 90 who had had graduate work in a university, and 77 who had graduated from a school of social work.

Now what, if anything, do these figures mean? They mean that a portion, of varying size, of the people in the different classifications—usually a majority—are coming, or have come, into social work without any special preliminary training and without formal educational preparation.

I am happy to report that as parents we are living to see the children do better. In the Association's 1924 report on vocational service, of 1,754 registrants, over half (972) were college graduates. Of these, 340, or about 20 per cent, had done graduate work. About 25 per cent of this whole group of registrants had studied at one of the schools belonging to the Association of Training Schools for Social Work. Moreover, we do know that work in such schools is coming increasingly to mean previous college training.

There are, of course, other possibilities for learning something that might be of some value somewhere in a social work job. Among the other occupations from which these social workers had trained, the outstanding in the Philadelphia study are business, teaching (including physical training), and religious and church work. Law and medicine had furnished but a few. The same condition is found in the Association study. It is interesting that in the Philadelphia

study, an analysis of the facts with reference to whether or not these people had completed their training in these other fields show that of eighty-six that had some special education for a business career only sixteen had graduated; of eighty-one who started to normal school, but fifty-one finished; of eighteen who went in for physical training, only seven graduated; and of forty who started to prepare especially for religious and church work, eighteen finished the course. We do not know what kept these people from finishing—perhaps the great subconscious pull of social work had something to do with it, but the fact remains that social work seems to be the landing place of a good many people not specially trained for it and only partially trained for something else.

Now when do these people seem to have been moved to become social workers? Apparently the impulse may strike one at any moment from early youth to old age. We have the answer to this question carefully analyzed in the Association study based on the 1,258 questionnaires. The years between leaving high school and entering social work have been computed for men and women and in relation to educational preparation. The women with no college and no school of social work training show an interval ranging in length from one year to forty-one years, with the median coming at eleven years. That is, they are getting on toward thirty before entering social work. Rather curiously, for the men the range is one year to twenty-nine, but the median falls at nine years. That is, the median man with no preparation has in the past entered social work about two years ahead of the median woman with no training. At the other end of the scale we find that the median woman with both college and social work training enters her first social work job six years after leaving high school, and the median man, similarly prepared, is there eight years after. The median woman college graduate with no special training takes her first job eight years after leaving high school, while the median man college graduate requires ten years to land in social work. In the case of both men and women, the people who have both college and school of social work training land in social work in the shortest space of time after leaving high school.

With this information before us, it does seem that there is a great field before any organization that has for one of its motives the intelligent direction of effort of those who would enter the profession. If we can show young people a direct route, we can feel sure that the clear-headed will probably follow it.

Now by what methods shall we educate the community to use these trained young people? In my humble opinion the only real way is to demonstrate the value of preparation in our own work, clearly, simply, and unmistakably. We who claim to be professional can do this in at least two ways: (1) Take pains to know what we are talking about, have the courage to talk at the right time, and then, whenever possible, speak for our professional group. (2) Use our knowledge, our experience, and our skills only in enterprises which are of genuine social value; the big question of professional ethics enters here.

Now any organization which gives us courage, a sense of group responsi-

bility, and professional pride helps us as individuals to do those things. When we have built up a body of experience of social workers who have acted with courage and intelligence we have something with which to go before the community, but we must act first, and our organization helps us to play our part. Our earlier leaders certainly gave us the best of precedents and we must maintain those ideals.

Particularly must we get before the young people who are entering the profession the picture of social work as a calling which does challenge their intellect, and their altruism. As I have been observing the recruiting for social work lately I have wondered whether we are not becoming somewhat prosaic and rather complacent. Are we putting before young people the picture of the scene in such a way as to show them that a high courage, tempered with understanding of social problems, and impersonal interest is what our field most needs now? Our professional organization can help us clarify this picture.

Next, let us turn to this question of working conditions. First, let us take salaries. The Association study shows that for the whole group of 1,258 people, the median salary for women was \$1,680, and for men, \$3,000. The median salary for women executives was \$2,000, and for men, \$3,600. Among the staff workers the median for women was \$1,500, and for men, \$1,800. For men with neither college nor professional school training, who had had ten to fourteen years' experience, the median salary was \$2,880. For women similarly circumstanced the median salary was \$1,791. Among college graduates with ten to fourteen years of social work experience the median salary for women is \$2,220, and for men, \$4,560. The median salary for the college graduates with a year or more of training in a school of social work was \$1,800 for women and \$4,000 for men. The median salary in Philadelphia for a person with graduate work is \$2,150.

Before any attempt at interpretation of these salary figures is made, it would be well to review a few other factors. Age and length of experience are well analyzed in the Association's study. A little table showing the years of social work experience, in combination with the grade of positions, tells the story. In large cities the median woman executive has had seven years' experience in social work, and the man executive has had nine years. The median staff worker in both men's and women's groups has had three years of experience. In the Philadelphia study it was brought out that 36 per cent of the social workers were under thirty years of age, and that the median age for an executive was forty-one years.

Considering that a professional life entered at the age of twenty-five may reasonably be expected to last to the age of sixty, a period of thirty-five years, it does seem as if reaching an executive position with seven and nine years' experience is right in keeping with American speed. Moreover, however ancient we may feel, with the problems of the world on our shoulders, they are, after all, young shoulders.

How often we change our jobs is the subject of another analysis in the Association's study. From this it appears that 44 per cent of the women and 33 per cent of the men are on their first jobs; that 65 per cent of the women and 57 per cent of the men are on their first or second. Ninety-one per cent of the women and 88 per cent of the men have not had more than four jobs. In view of the fact that this survey was made in the period after the war, when so much change and readjustment had gone on, this does not indicate an excessive amount of flitting from job to job.

Not the least significant points brought out in this portion of the Association's study are that about one-fourth of the executives, both men and women, have had no connection with any other social agency, and that over half have had but one other job.

With those facts in regard to education, experience, age, and turnover before us, let us look again at this question of salaries. We said that the median salary for women is \$1,680, and the median salary for men is \$3,000. The median salary for men with no educational qualifications is \$2,200, and \$2,880 for those who have had ten to fourteen years' experience, but no special education.

So far as this latter group is concerned, I can see no special reason why we should not relate these salaries to the general distribution of income in the United States. The top 1 per cent of incomes in the United States comes down to about \$8,000 per year; the top 5 per cent, to \$3,300-\$3,200; and the top 20 per cent reaches down to \$1,800. Now we see that salaries for those positions which seem to require no special preparation are not so ill-favored after all. That is, people without expenditure for preparation are managing to land in the upper strata of incomes.

Next, let us review the salaries for those with some preparation. The median salary for the man college graduate with ten to fourteen years' experience is \$4,560, and for the woman college graduate, \$2,220. For those with a year or more of special training, the salaries are \$4,000 for men and \$1,800 for women. As you will see, all of these people have landed in the top 20 per cent of the incomes of the country, though the ladies have barely reached the line. On the other hand, social work is not without its representation in the upper 1 per cent. It has managed to get almost all of its people, whatever their educational attainments, into the top 20 per cent within a ten-year period of service. The median man who has either a college degree or school of social work training has attained a salary that puts him in the top 5 per cent. I confess I am at a loss to know how we should interpret this situation. Certainly we want to do nothing to pull down such standards as we have. It does seem to me, however, that we should begin to ask ourselves some pretty definite questions on this matter.

How can we, who know so well the implications of the distribution of income, explain this situation to the community at large? I find myself asking how we are going to show that we belong to the 5 per cent of most useful citizens. I am also asking myself whether there is such terrible competition from other

professions and occupations that we must push salaries higher, especially in the executive group.

Now what have we to say about the salary range of the staff worker? We seem to be in this position: We are now, on the one hand, demanding higher and higher standards of professional preparation for the beginning worker, and on the other hand, adhering to salary scales based upon no requirement of special preparation. The result is that median salaries for staff workers who perform professional services now compare unfavorably with school teachers and private secretaries. This is a condition with which we must reckon very soon.

Another question that we must face is this problem of sex discrimination. In Philadelphia the median salary for a woman executive is \$2,500, and for a man executive, \$6,000. In Minneapolis only six-tenths of 1 per cent of the women were receiving \$3,000 or more per year in 1919, while 10.6 per cent of the men received that amount or more. In Cleveland, among 124 executives and assistant executives, the median salary for women was about \$2,350. For men it was \$3,600. We have already seen the figures for the big group of 1,258 social workers: \$1,680 the median salary for women, and \$3,000 for men. It is a bald, blatant fact that in a group which presumably stands before the community, pleading for the square deal for everyone, we do have some very suspicious interior circumstances. I know this is not a popular subject, and I would not venture to discuss it were it not for the fact that I feel myself one of the relatively few women who have not been subjected to it, and therefore able to speak without personal rancor. I have seen it, however, working in its most unpleasant form, and somehow I feel that as a profession we would do well to begin with the injustices in our own dooryard. I accept no simple explanation of this situation as an example of the workings of an automatic, natural law of supply and demand. Rather, I look for the manipulation of the psychological factors on both sides. One of the simple remedies which I wish to recommend to some of my men colleagues is the modification of that attitude of mind which assumes, when a job paying more than \$3,000 is to be filled, that an ordinary man will be worth that much, but it will take a whale of a woman to earn it.

It seems to me that another way we can go about straightening out this situation is to do a little more thinking on this question of recruiting and training young men for the profession. I confess to considerable boredom with the discussions of whether social work is a woman's or a man's profession. It is the profession of those who are interested and devoted to its purposes. I am not ashamed of its record so far, and I see no reason to fear that minds of the caliber of Jane Addams, Mary Richmond, Mary Follett, Miss Breckinridge, and the Abbotts would not make a go of it, even though some young college boys do not see a fortune in it. Some of them will see more in it after they have tried to make a fortune at something else. In short, it seems to me we must stop trying to get men into the profession by offering them a short cut to an executive

job and a good salary. It's bad for the profession, not especially good for the man, and is a rank injustice to the women who are willing to begin at the bottom.

And now let us return to the objectives of a professional organization, from which we have seemed to stray so far. That has only been an appearance, however, for the facts I have been trying to exploit and explain were gathered by our professional organization. I have also been illustrating another one of the objectives of a good professional organization, and that is, affording an opportunity for frank discussion. We have found in Philadelphia that our chapter is an admirable place to discuss professional questions with absolute freedom. There is no other meeting ground which compares with it in its ability to make people of all ranks in social work get in the game and say something to the point.

Another objective of the professional organization is to serve as a spear head for protecting the professional social work in public service. This is such an obvious objective that I will not elaborate it.

And finally, it seems to me that our professional organization has a job in which ground has already been broken in getting before the training schools of social work some conclusions about what and how a young person should be taught in preparation for these jobs.

May I summarize the objectives of our professional organization as follows: first, to persuade people to prepare; second, to demonstrate the value of preparation to prospective workers and the public; third, to engineer the preparation of young people to fill the openings, through vocational information and a knowledge of the demand; fourth, to gather and interpret facts regarding working conditions; fifth, to furnish a meeting place for frank discussion of professional problems; sixth, to protect social work in the public service; seventh, to find out and set forth what people should be taught in preparation for a professional career; eighth, to show the world that we are fit to survive because, among other reasons, we are capable of organization which will express our ideals.

CULTURAL VALUES IN THE SOCIAL SERVICE CURRICULUM

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The establishment of a new division on professional standards and education within the National Conference of Social Work is a departure which ought to promise well for the future of social work in the United States. It means a stronger alliance between our educational institutions and the men and women in the field. In certain respects it is true to say that social work was conceived in the universities; for in England, as well as in the United States, in the closing decades of the last century it was university men who instituted the social settle-

ment, which may justly claim to be at least one source of modern movements for social amelioration. It is not unnatural, therefore, that these far-flung efforts that we now call social work should lead back to the centers of learning. It has been a well-established tradition here in America that education would solve our social problems. What else could account for the millions which are poured into our schools and colleges? Yet is it not our dismay in these latter times that our hopes in the educational process have been shattered? To be sure, the commencement orators are now busy attempting to re-establish the faith, but there are other conditions besides the heat which interfere with their success. The fact of the matter is that education, up to the present time, has not been able to prevent war, class strife, religious and racial intolerance, poverty, crime, and other social ills. No doubt it was too much to ask of our educational system to avert these calamities, even though democracy requires that it should. Two ways lie open before us: to carry on in the usual way, and justify our money and our efforts on other grounds than that they make for social peace; or to keep our early faith, introducing into education new elements by virtue of which our social hopes may be better sustained. Most of us here are committed to the latter of these two ways, believing that the educational process can be modified so as to function more directly in the interests of social welfare.

This quest for new elements in education is, if I mistake not, no exclusive concern of the social workers. In religion we have the new schools of religion cutting loose from the traditional theological seminaries and establishing themselves in close proximity to our state universities. In the field of labor we have the workers' colleges, which have the dual function of preparing men for leisure and of training leaders in the labor movement itself. At Antioch College we see a bold attempt to make a synthesis of academic and manual work. In England the British Institute of Adult Education is making successful efforts to reach the educationally disfranchised of many different classes. In secondary education our experimental schools are developing new technique which aims to release the energies of children and foster their creative abilities. In New York the New School for Social Research endeavors to orient for inquiring laymen the social backgrounds of existing civilization. In this group of educational experiments belong the schools and curricula of social work, except that in many cases these are to be found within established educational institutions. But in a broad way they are sympathetically allied with those other attacks on the social order through the process of education.

Perhaps it will not be amiss to describe these new educational ventures as so many quests for a new culture. The lack of a socialized culture underlies many of our modern problems. The world of things moves on in greater complexity; the world of ideas hangs back. Hence, the "cultural lag" of which Professor Ogburn speaks. Efforts toward anything really fundamental in social and political reform in American life have failed again and again, due to the lack of the necessary mental equipment among the people. Forward movements

in religion, "progressive" groups in politics, efforts to abolish child labor or to reduce armaments—all end in failure, not because the people cannot vote, but because they cannot think; or, at least, because they lack the essential data for thought. Professor Patten used to say that war was due to a fear psychology surviving in a new age when the economic bases for fear have disappeared. The new culture which we need, and with which education must concern itself, is a compound of knowledge and will. It involves an apprehension of the facts of social living, an appraisal of human values, and an effort to orient oneself with respect to one's social responsibilities. If social work is to be a culture in this new sense, and not merely a trade, or even a profession, it must involve intellectual and appreciative faculties of a high order, and it must engender capacities for democratic fellowship in the common efforts toward a better type of social life.

It could be shown, I think, that social work as a system of ideas and attitudes represents a convergence of several streams of culture, more or less traditional. Into it has gone something of the grace and emotional idealism of primitive Christianity. An analogy might be drawn between the attitude of the early Christians toward Roman society and the attitude taken by the modern social workers toward the pagan survivals of our own day. Lecky points out that one of the great moral achievements of Christianity was to enhance the sanctity of human life. Human conservation and rehabilitation has been the cornerstone of social work. Another tradition that social work has drawn heavily upon is that of democracy. It has believed in equal opportunity for all for self-development. It has held the faith of Emerson that "the only vulgar people are they whose poetry has not been written." Finally, social work embraces the teachings and methods of science, and especially of social science, in its application to problems of human living. In short, if one looks over the programs of social work set forth in a conference such as this, one sees that they are, on the whole, conceived in the interests of humane, democratic, and scientific living.

This claim that social work, in its system of ideas, includes religion, democracy, and science may seem ambitious, but it is the fact; and it is this very fact which makes the term "social work" difficult to define. Our problem, however, is not to get a more accurate definition, but rather to be aware of the intellectual and spiritual origins of the movement and to make the most of them.

If we have given an accurate summary of the cultural foundations of social work, one may justly ask why it is, since its presuppositions are so generally accepted, that its achievements are so slow? One answer is, of course, that society in general may approve of the principles of religion, democracy, and science, and yet show no interest in their application. Most people will approve of the ten commandments, provided that they do not interfere with their habits! The civilized culture which social work would implant, and to which we render lip homage, is confronted by the seven devils of barbarism which

lie just below the surface of modern civilization, often protruding above it. To root them out, or, if that be impossible, to bury them deeper, is the task, not of years, but of an age. But there are other reasons why this synthesis attempted by social work is so tardily accepted, and to these we must give a further word.

Social work, as a welfare movement, has fallen heir to the criticisms which, from many different angles, have been directed against humanitarianism. The respectability of these attacks varies both in regard to their content and with reference to those who make them. One ever present source of opposition to social work is commercialism. This is a characteristic of our civilization with which social work is, or ought to be, continually at war. We can paraphrase a remark once made by Professor Cooley to the effect that commercialism dominates our age somewhat in the same way that the crusading spirit ruled in medieval times. Social work seems a weak antagonist to this force, which often penetrates even our universities, possessing the minds of students before they have begun to think. It is the commercial instinct, as we all know, which makes it so difficult for the ideals of social work to take hold on the older professions. We are of necessity committed to a policy of "peaceful penetration" in attempting to modify the mores of business, law, and medicine; and yet, once the social ideal "gets across," it means a revolution in our outlook and a transformation of social life.

Another source of criticism of social work may be said to come from the intellectuals, of whom one group is to be found among some of the economists. Their opposition dates back to the controversies in England over the Poor Laws a century ago, when the wasteful administration of public relief encountered their just criticism. But there appears still to be somewhat of an issue between the social workers and those economists who view their subject as being concerned solely with the mechanism of the production and distribution of goods, and who are impatient with so-called "sentimentalists" who insist upon drawing attention to some of the human consequences of the economic juggernaut. The real difference between the two groups would seem to be that the social workers place man, his nature, and his needs first, making them the measure of the efficiency of the machine; whereas the older economists were inclined to contrive the mechanism of the economic order, and to regard it as so much the worse for man if he did not adapt himself to it. There is, no doubt, good precedent for this type of thinking, for do we not read that the world was made and finished in six days, before man was thought of? One may add, however, that this is a precedent which has little standing in science. No doubt much of this old controversy has died down, partly because the younger economists are breaking loose from the herd, and partly because the social workers are becoming more scientific. Still, enough of it lingers to make the difference in atmosphere that one detects between, let us say, a conference of social workers and a convention of business economists.

A new type of implied opposition to social work has arisen with the growth of the biological sciences. From some representatives of these we hear an increasing volume of protest against certain forms of social work as interfering with biological progress through a checking of the process of natural selection. We thought we had done with these ideas with the intellectual obsequies of Herbert Spencer, but they have, so to speak, been born again to a new vitality. From a eugenics program directed, wisely enough, against the genetically unfit members of the social group, this biologic interpretation has expanded so as to imply invidious differences between races as regards their innate value and capacities for progress. Now the social workers have no quarrel with any sound and temperate program of eugenics. Indeed, it is they who have appeared before legislatures on behalf of better marriage laws and more adequate provision for the segregation of the unfit. But the Nordic propaganda, in my judgment, at least, runs contrary to the democratic impulses of social work, which has faith in backward peoples, and has sought to enlarge their opportunities for self-expression. It makes a tremendous difference for the future of America which of these views prevail, that of narrow racialism, or that of social work; and yet, thanks to alarmists like Mr. Stoddard, and to the growth of feudistic organizations in our midst, the discriminating cosmopolitanism of social work seems to be losing ground.

Perhaps one more source of implied opposition to social work may be mentioned. I have in mind the advanced guard of radicals who are impatient with the middle-of-the-road policies of social work. There are many groups in this country and in Europe—labor groups, the Youth movement, religious radicals, and others—who have lost confidence in ameliorative efforts for social betterment. Social work they regard as a technique, like science, which can lend itself as readily to the arts of war as to the arts of peace; which accepts in a docile way all social injustices; and which lacks any fundamental understanding of the problems over which it fusses and tinkers. This view seems to me to be a misconstruing of social work; and yet that it is held by so many should cause us to check up on our ultimate purposes. Surely it would be a mistake to interpret social work as a mere technique of finance or of case work, important as these are, leaving to others outside the field to determine the larger aims of social endeavor.

There are other groups, no doubt, who are hostile or aggressively indifferent to the claims of social work, either through ignorance or through dogmatic convictions contrary to the principles and methods of social work. My reason for dwelling upon these types of opposition that I have mentioned is that I believe it is time for us to try to orient the efforts which bear the name of social work with regard to the world of social thought and with regard to other movements which claim a prior importance. If social work is to be a culture, meaning by that not merely a set of activities, but a range of ideas into which we can

immerse students, giving them a humane, democratic, and scientific outlook on life, then it behooves us to introduce breadth, precision, and vigor into the studies by which this culture is to be implanted.

I have not attempted here any detailed discussion of the courses in the social service curriculum. We have agreed that the immediate background of the social worker should be the social sciences, with the addition of such special studies, like case work, for which a definite intellectual content may be found. My own opinion is that too strong an emphasis cannot be placed upon the need for a thorough discipline in the underlying social sciences of economics, political science, sociology, psychology, biology, history, and statistics. The person who undertakes community work without a knowledge of government, or of elementary economic principles, or of the laws of heredity, may find a job, but he cannot become a wise and constructive leader.

The remoter backgrounds which would be desirable for the social worker are impossible to define. A real culture will make intelligible the past as well as the present; yet to read of the past struggles of races and peoples with the point of view of social work in mind gives to them more significance. The greed, dogma, and ignorance which thwart the self-development of classes and races today are the same things that darken the pages of history. India, today, needs a Ghandi as a symbol of national unity, but, in the long run, his program is impossible. What his people need—following a greater degree of political and economic freedom—is a program of social work. But what vast and ancient systems of thought and practice would collapse once it were introduced! To the really educated social worker, as to the men of the Renaissance, nothing human can be alien. This view of the matter may be ideal, but it is the only one to which our universities, if they remain loyal to their traditions, can be asked to subscribe.

Since we have mentioned something of the sources to be drawn upon in education for social work, we may now ask what unique contributions, if any, can social work be said to add to the material with which it deals? In this regard, social work seems to have functioned in two ways: first, it has helped the development of ideas in the social sciences; and, secondly, it has been the vehicle for the spread of scientific ideas. Let us dwell a moment on each of these points.

In regard to its contribution to our scientific ideas: First, there can be little doubt but that the discovery of the community has been, in large part, an achievement of social work. I mean the orientation of the community as an entity which fixes the habits, determines the ideals, and enlarges or cramps the human personality. Of course, the theory of the matter had been previously laid down by some of the sociologists; but the practice of social work has enabled us to check up on our theories, and to show not only that the group exerts an influence, but how, when, and under what conditions this group pressure does its work.

Second, correlated with this discovery is the contribution of social work to our knowledge of the individual. The causal sequence between past and present in the life of a human personality had again been theoretically developed in science, but it remained for the social case record of the social workers to confirm by the laboratory method the hypotheses of science. Without a social diagnosis and prognosis a psychiatrist, for example, would be at sea.

Third, it follows that social work has given to, and taken from, the organic theory of the relation of the individual to society, which has been the accepted formula of social students since it was outlined by Cooley, Baldwin, and others a quarter of a century ago.

Fourth, a still further contribution of social work has been to our knowledge of group psychology. The points of view, the culture, and the aspirations of ethnic groups in this country, for example, had remained to us a closed book were it not for the sympathetic insight of the social workers. Only the anthropologists can rank with the social workers in the necessary scientific achievement of bringing to light the customs, the lore, the hopes, and values of the peoples on the lower levels of social life.

With respect to social work as a vehicle of ideas, time permits of only a word. We may here recall Lester Ward's dictum that social progress depends on accurate information widely diffused. We know that sound ideas of health, of the origin, nature, and treatment of physical disease have been disseminated through social work. Now we are entering upon similar developments in the field of mental hygiene, with what possibilities for increasing human happiness! One might go on and show how, in many other fields, knowledge of the conditions for successful, happy living are being driven home through social work. Democracy simply cannot endure if such knowledge is kept in possession of a few. It can be said, I think, that social work has been the first effort to conceive of education as an organic development of body, mind, and soul in a socialized environment dominated by cooperation and good will.

We may now draw together the threads of this discourse. Social work is a type of culture, or of mental content and organization, which represents a synthesis of historically separated efforts of the human mind, any one of which is unable to effect the goal of social living. Religion, alone, tends to wander into the "bad lands" of sectarianism and fundamentalism. Democracy, unregenerated, is a shibboleth of ignorant and disorderly misrule. Science can as well destroy as save us.

The farthest ethical reach of science with regard to war, for example, is to show that poisonous gas is a more humane method of killing than projectiles! Is it any wonder that men of humane, aesthetic imagination, like Mr. Ralph Adams Cram, would turn back to the walled towns of the Middle Ages, with their communal spirit, as a desirable release from the machine-made barbarism that we call civilization? Over against the fragmentary view of our human prob-

lem that comes to us through any one of these sources is set the clear-eyed vision of social work which, at its best, sees life whole, and through its programs offers us the means for the reflowering of the waste places.

I can, perhaps, be permitted to end this discussion with an incident. On the train coming here a dear old lady wished on me some religious tracts, giving me a sure routing to the heavenly city. The tragic implications, to me, of her effort, were that she represents the point of view of millions of people in this land, possessed of a cultural outlook thousands of years old. Against these entrenched habits on religious thought, no less than against the bulwarks of the undisciplined democracy, the commercialism, and the barbarous science of our day must be cast the whole burden of the message of social work, remaking our habits and our institutions, so that we may tentatively approach, a little more nearly and a little more quickly, that far-off goal of human endeavor. Finally, if the academic mind in our universities is not to contract beyond its accustomed narrow limits, the significance of social work must be set forth in no less than these broad terms; and when we have shown that it is not merely another new trade seeking academic indorsement, we can set to work undismayed at the grave task of recruiting and educating men and women worthy of the profession.

THE RELATION OF SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL WORK TO SOCIAL AGENCIES

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As I see it, there are at least four very important aspects to the problem of training social workers, in which social agencies and the schools for social work have common interests. These are: first, the curriculum; second, the faculty; third, the students; and fourth, teaching material. I shall, therefore, discuss these items in this order.

The curriculum.—The problem of what to include in a course designed to prepare for social work is one of the most important problems facing the schools and agencies—a problem which deserves much more common thinking and discussion than has thus far been given it. Without going into a detailed discussion of the difference between “education” and “training” for social work, a subject which has been very suggestively treated by Professor Tufts, and without necessarily accepting his conclusions in this regard, we may well say that curricula of training schools for social work must be based on the determination as to whether we aim to “train” or to “educate” people for social work. The problem of curricula goes even deeper than that, in my judgment. It seems to me that it goes back to our very conception of social work, its basis, its methods, and its future. If we look upon social work as an art, having its basis in, and deriving

its methods from, the experiences of its practitioners, then our curricula must be of one kind, and its future must be, of necessity, very limited and circumscribed. If we look on social work as having its basis in a science of human behavior, then it follows that its methods must be based upon the application of such science and scientific principles of human behavior as may be available to us, and we must build quite a different type of curricula. Incidentally, also, the future of social work takes on a very bright and promising aspect.

To me there is very little question but that the second view is the only view which the representatives of schools of social work can hold. To accept any other view seems to me to be inconsistent with the most fundamental principles underlying the idea of the need for, and purpose of, training schools. For, if social work is not to be based upon a science of human behavior, then the schools can have nothing but ungeneralized and unsystematized experience to impart to their students, because once attempts are made, even by the schools, to classify, systematize, and generalize the subject-matter which they are teaching, they are, willy-nilly, building up a science of human nature, and it might perhaps be better for the progress of such a science if we left this to those who can concern themselves with this problem exclusively. The imparting of ungeneralized experience does not require schools. That can best be done on the job, and the logical conclusion would be for us to return to the apprenticeship method of training for social work, a consummation devoutly not to be wished, to misquote a well-known phrase. Even the social agencies themselves would not want this step backward.

I am aware, of course, of how little knowledge there is with regard to the problem of human behavior which may be called science. I am also aware of the relatively low repute (and perhaps even disrepute) into which some of the would-be sciences of human behavior have fallen among social workers and even among teachers in schools of social work. However, in my opinion, a program of training or work based upon the assumption that there is or can be no science of human behavior, which some of our schools and agencies seem to have accepted, is not only inimical to the best development of social work, as I have tried to show in another connection, but it argues for the elimination of schools for social work. Let us assume, then, that social work must be based upon scientific principles of human behavior, that curricula of training schools will have to be organized with this as a basis, and let us ask ourselves what the relation between schools and social agencies should be in this connection.

To my way of thinking, this problem has at least three aspects. There is, first of all, the need for the discovery and formulation of the scientific principles; there is, secondly, the problem of developing, testing, and applying these principles; and thirdly, there is the utilization of these applications for the treatment of human problems. Accordingly, it seems to me that there is need for three groups of people. There should be, first of all, the social scientists, people who will carry on the necessary research for the discovery of the laws or prin-

ciples of human behavior. These may be people who are interested in pure science, and will no doubt consist of the teachers of the social sciences in the universities. Secondly, there is need for a group of technologists, people who will interpret the findings of the first group and develop the applications of these principles to concrete human situations. This group may well consist of the teachers in the schools of social work. Finally, there is need for a group of practitioners, people who will apply the methods developed to the everyday problems with which social work is concerned.

I know that this view is not altogether new, although it is still startling to a great many people. The two groups who are to be the technologists and the practitioners are dissatisfied with the rôle which they have to play. Some consider that such an arrangement leaves them a relatively unimportant rôle. There are two considerations which may be urged here: the first is that the work which remains for them to do is of tremendous importance—of such importance, in fact, that it lends purpose and gives point to the work of the pure scientists, besides providing the touchstones for verifying the truth of their discoveries. The second consideration which I should like to urge is that the relation which I suggested is in actuality the one which obtains, although it may not be generally recognized, and although we may not be taking advantage of it. There can be little question that we must look to the social scientists for the formulation of the principles of human behavior which social work needs for its greatest effectiveness; there can be little question also that the social worker, the person who is engaged in handling problems which require all of his attention and energy, will not be able to keep himself informed, intimately and up to the minute, on the latest discoveries, and work out their application. It is not humanly possible for him to do all this. There will have to be an intermediate group, a group which will be the carrier and interpreter of truth and experience. What more positive and worthwhile rôle can we have as teachers? Is it not the age-old function of the teacher to be the carrier of knowledge and truth and to transmit them to those who will use them for the benefit of mankind?

I submit that a division of labor such as the one I am suggesting would make not only for a broader development and greater usefulness of social work, but that it would provide the basis for a logical relationship between the three groups, and would be productive of an intensified concentration upon the solution of human problems such as we do not have at this time. It would form a chain each link of which would be of equal importance to the strength of the whole, for the entire chain would be no stronger than its weakest link. It would enable each group to contribute to the knowledge and effectiveness of the others, and there would be a give-and-take relationship such as we are sadly lacking now, and for the want of which our work suffers. It would provide an opportunity for that circular interaction which social thinkers and theorists have been emphasizing.

With this in mind, we may approach the question as to what should be the relationship between the schools of social work and the social agencies with regard to the curricula. It is not my purpose here to outline what a course for the adequate preparation for social work should consist of. Obviously it must be based upon an adequate knowledge of the fundamental social, biological, and natural sciences, but it is just as obvious that the schools should have the means for developing the applications which I have already mentioned. This cannot be done unless the schools and the social agencies work together. Unless the applications which the teachers in the various schools develop are tested and applied by social workers there can be little value in them. Social agencies have a right, it seems to me, to expect the schools to develop a body of transmittable information which should be helpful to the young social worker who is taking a course in preparation for social work. Social agencies have a right to ask that the student be initiated into the problems which he is likely to face in the field, and that he should have a point of view which will enable him to cope with the many disappointments which he is likely to meet in his daily work. The schools, on the other hand, have a right to insist that the curriculum must include more than the mere technique which social workers are inclined to ask for. The schools must recognize and make it known that curricula aimed at preparing for social work must be so organized as to give the students not only the methods and techniques of social work, but also the principles on which these methods are based.

Accordingly, it would seem that there should be a very conscious collaboration between the schools and the social agencies on the matter of curricula. There are bound to be differences of opinion in such a collaboration. The so-called "practical" people are likely to insist that curricula include only practical and useful courses. Some of them are most likely to insist that people be trained for "jobs," so that there may be irritations and conflicts in some instances. But if we are to have that fluidity for which Professor Tufts pleads, and which he thinks is the saving grace and the greatest promise of social work among the other professions, differences of opinion are essential, for otherwise we shall become as static and unprogressive as are some of the older professions.

It was this view that we maintained in the organization of our school. Our Committee on Curriculum consists of teachers, social workers, and lay people. We felt that each of these has a contribution to make to the problem of training. While our curriculum is by no means perfect, its defects are due mainly to the limitations of the moment, and we are confident that ultimately we shall have a sound course of study from all points of view.

The faculty.—The kind of faculty a school is to have naturally depends very largely on the type of curriculum which the school aims to build up. If it aims to be a trade school, if it wants to prepare people who are to be adept at the routine of social work tasks, its faculty must consist of people who are expert in those tasks and who can, therefore, present to the students the basis for their

own expertness. Faculties of such schools should then be recruited directly from the ranks of social workers. But if it wants to prepare people in line with the view of preparation for social work which I tried to indicate, then its faculty must consist of people who have a thorough grounding in the social sciences and who have experience in the problems and tasks of social work, so that they may develop the applications already mentioned. It will not do to have pure academicians teach in schools of social work any more than it will do to have empirical social workers do the teaching. Professor Steiner, in his suggestive study on *Education for Social Work*, points out that the methods of instruction and attitudes toward practical work prevailing among university instructors are frequently not applicable to schools of social work without considerable modification. He suggests that, just as curricula of schools of social work in the past have emphasized practical work and methods of procedure, and have consequently induced a disrespect for, and a distrust of, intellectual studies and their proper place in a curriculum designed for professional education, even so do methods of instruction, aiming purely at abstract considerations of social work and its procedure, fail to equip the future social worker with that which he will need for the work. It follows from this that the faculty of a school for social workers must be in part academic and in part practical; or, better still, it should consist of persons who have had a good academic background, who are thoroughly conversant with the progress of the social sciences, and who have had a good deal of practical experience, so that they may know the need, possibilities, and limitations of the applications of social science to human problems. The practice which is frequently current in schools of social work, of people teaching courses dealing with concrete social work processes without their ever having participated in or worked at them, cannot and should not be acceptable to the social agencies. They may well say that theoretical presentations should be limited to the theoretical aspects of social work, and that the practical aspects should be dealt with by persons who know the field as it actually is.

The students.—The student body, too, is the common concern of the schools and social agencies. The students admitted into schools of social work are ultimately to be employed by the agencies. If the development of standards is to be constantly maintained, the agencies will have to employ these people in order to secure people with training.

Just now social agencies and social workers have practically no voice with regard to the admission of students to schools for social work. Nevertheless, they are the ones who will have to employ these same students upon graduation. It is not as if the students were being trained for private enterprises. They are being trained for a socialized profession, the work of which is the common concern of the schools and the agencies. Is it too much to assume that social agencies and social workers have a point of view and experience which may be helpful in the selection of proper candidates for admission into training schools? Would

it be too much to ask schools for social work to have an admissions committee, on which social work may be represented?

Our admissions committee has three professional social workers on it, representing different fields of social work. It would, of course, be much easier for us, the faculty, to pass on the students, and for our judgment to be final and not subject to review. But there is balance and value in such a review, if only because the knowledge of it makes us more careful in the selection of our students. Perhaps our school is somewhat differently situated from most schools, in that ours is a special problem. However, I am ready to say from my own experience that those schools which can afford to select their students, particularly where graduate students are involved, will do well to place some well-seasoned social workers on their admissions committee.

The problem of field work of students in all of its various aspects has, of course, never been solved. The question of the time to be spent in the field by the student; the coordination of field work and class work; the type of work a student is to do so as to secure the best training and experience; the conflict between the policies of the agency on cases handled by the student in his field work, and the more theoretical considerations of such problems in the class discussions; the agencies' justifiable expectation of some returns for the time which it invests in the training of the student in terms of valuable service from that same student, and the need for the student's working on situations in accordance with his particular needs, rather than his value to the agency; all these are problems which have, thus far, not been adequately solved. Perhaps it is too early for us to expect a solution of them. No doubt some experimentation such as is going on in various parts of the country regarding these problems is very desirable and worth while. But while these experiments are being conducted and while these problems remain unsolved there is a good deal of floundering, dissatisfaction, poor training, and poor work which should be obviated so far as possible. Here is another instance where combined thinking should be done by the agencies and the schools on what is a common problem. Perhaps one very desirable relationship in this connection would be for the schools to accept the burden of field work as part of their training cost, and to make available to the agencies resources, either in personnel or money, to supply the supervision which students need. Perhaps an arrangement which would recognize the supervisor of field work as a member of the faculty, not merely on paper, would be a desirable solution in some instances. Certain it is that no person who would be unacceptable to a school as a member of its faculty in his or her specialty should be acceptable to it as a supervisor of its field work.

Here the schools must be extremely patient with the agencies. The cost of field work to the agencies—in terms of the time of its best workers for supervision; in terms of inadequate work from the students; in terms of rapid turnover of student-workers, their effect on its clients, and the consequent disorganization resulting therefrom—is such as to give them pause. In the absence of

some such arrangement as Professor Tufts suggests, when each school of social work will have, in connection with it, a social agency for field work purposes, the agencies will have to continue to bear this burden, at least for the present, and the schools must recognize that they themselves have some responsibility in this connection.

Time permits mention only of one additional problem with regard to the student body which should be the common concern of schools and agencies and on which there has been very little coordinate thinking thus far. I am referring to the problem of recruiting. Schools of social work have not, as a rule, made any very conscious efforts at general recruiting. Of course they advertise in the journals, they send out their catalogues, etc. But these attempts reach only those who already know something of social work, and I know from experience that comparatively few students in the undergraduate courses are aware of the possibilities of professional social work. Thus far, recruiting has been left almost entirely to the social agencies. These cannot be expected to recruit for the schools. They must keep their own needs in mind first. The result is that the worth-while students are either attracted to other fields or they are recruited by the agencies for the field and they enter the field of social work without training. The effects of this are so well known that I need say little more. It seems to me that here is another problem in which the schools and agencies are jointly interested. Perhaps this problem should be studied by a joint committee of the American Association of Social Workers and the Association of Professional Schools. But whatever the method of study may be and regardless of how soon it may be undertaken, some action is necessary to eliminate the questionable practice of competition between schools and agencies which is almost universally true just now.

The teaching material.—The problem of adequate teaching material is a very serious one, as everyone who has tried to teach courses in social work well knows. In courses on family case work, the problem of securing the right kind of cases for teaching purposes is an extremely difficult one. Case records are frequently kept in such fashion as to be unsuitable for teaching purposes. They frequently do not contain the most vital aspects of the case work process. Here the aim of the agency and the need of the school are not necessarily the same. The agency wants a record of its work for purposes of control, self-protection, easy transition in case of turnover of workers, continuity of procedure, etc. The school, however, is interested in records from quite a different point of view. It is therefore not to be wondered at that what may be good case records, so far as the immediate purpose of the agency is concerned, may not be good case records for teaching material from the standpoint of the school. Furthermore, methods in social work today are but in the beginning of their development. Methods used in social agencies only a year or two ago may not be at all acceptable to even the same agencies today. Standards of work in one agency may be thoroughly unacceptable to another agency, and may be unacceptable

also to the school. How is the fluidity in social work—which Professor Tufts considers one of the saving graces of a profession, and which all of us recognize as vital to the life and contribution of social work—how is this fluidity to be maintained? Certainly not by teaching students on the basis of material gathered years ago. One student who applied for admission to our school told me that in a course on case work they were using case records ten and fifteen years old. I believe that most of us at all familiar with the development of family case work in the last five or ten years would unhesitatingly say that such case records as this student studied should not be presented even from the standpoint of how not to do case work. The same is true also of the other fields of social work.

There is, however, the practical problem of how teaching material is to be obtained, edited, and at the same time remain of current value. This is another problem on which common thinking between the schools and agencies is necessary. Perhaps the suggestion previously made, that faculties of schools should include people who are engaged in the actual processes of social work, would be helpful in the solution of these problems.

These are but a few suggestions of common problems which should lay the basis for a proper relation between social agencies and schools of social work. These are problems which they have in common, and which should be solved, not by one, but by both of these groups for the benefit of social work. There are many more problems which are troubling social agencies and schools of social work regarding relationship between them. However, no exhaustive treatment of these problems can be made in the confines of a thirty-minute paper. When the subject was first suggested to me I thought of sending out a questionnaire to the schools of social work, asking them to list the problems of relationship which have been troubling them. Further thought convinced me that unless the agencies, too, were included in such a questionnaire, the material gathered would be one-sided and would be neither conclusive nor helpful. To include also the social agencies would have been a task which would require much more time than was allowed for the presentation of this subject. Moreover, it did not seem to me that the preliminary thinking on these matters had been done which would justify sending out a questionnaire at this time. Some preliminary ground work would have to be laid in some such fashion as the discussions this morning, and in the sessions which are to follow, to prepare the ground for intensive and purposive thinking. Therefore, I decided to draw upon my own experiences as an executive of a social agency, where I was concerned with the problem of training from the standpoint of the agency, and upon my experiences at present in the organizing of a course of study for the training of social workers, which requires the point of view of the schools of social work, in order to present the problem here so as to offer some suggestions for further study and thought. The incompleteness of my treatment is, of course, obvious. The subject needs a great deal of further study, and I hope that we may have a

symposium next year which will treat some of the subjects suggested, and others which can be readily supplied, much more exhaustively than has been possible for me.

SUPPORT AND INTERPRETATION OF PROFESSIONAL
REQUIREMENTS IN SOCIAL WORK: BY EX-
ECUTIVES OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

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The foundation of a new profession must be laid by those who would practice the profession. Those who have the vision to see beyond the immediate necessity and the will to serve to the utmost must assume and carry the responsibility.

Of course, a new profession can be established only when it can be demonstrated that those who would practice can meet a human need. If there is a real service to be performed and the efforts put forth relate themselves effectively to what is true in the situation, then is it possible, and then only, that the profession may slowly evolve. The elemental principles of the profession must rest upon truth. The application of these principles must come through human devotion and intelligent service. Some group must make the sacrifice and endure the suffering essential to the birth of the profession.

The evolving profession of social work naturally depends upon the social worker, his sponsors, and instructors. Other people would seldom recognize the establishment of this new profession as the best way to meet elemental social problems. Probably this is because people are interested in what they believe concerns them. Few people recognize underlying social problems in the events of every-day life. They regard these events emotionally rather than philosophically. Social maladjustments are not thought of as such; rather, these situations are thought of as results of the ill-doing or bad judgment of those who suffer, or they are thought of as inevitable ills of life which these sufferers must expect to endure. Those who suffer are accounted "out of luck." The average man on the street pats himself on the back for generous impulse when he expresses concern to the degree of saying "too bad," "tough luck," or the like. If the situation is too severe, the man on the street would have someone apply a panacea to the sufferer and a bromide to the man, adding, perhaps, "it takes all sorts of people to make a world," accounts himself a "good fellow," and goes his way.

But there must be standards for social work even as there are standards for the practice of medicine to meet physical needs, or the profession of law to meet the requirements of a complex social and economic life.

Now, who are the people to establish the standards for social work? They are those who, through observation and concern, see in social maladjustments the natural results of human frailties and of "man's inhumanity to man,"

but who, at the same time, see a way out. These concerned people are the only ones upon whom civilization can rely to direct productive thought to the establishment of a profession and of standards for that profession.

Certainly no one, either as a matter of self-protection or as an idealist, has more reason to discover and to interpret professional requirements for social work, and to secure support therefor, than has the executive of a social service agency. He thus discovers, interprets, and secures support or he cannot succeed. He recognizes the need of standards and of their gradually increasing acceptance or a vital link is weak in his chain of usefulness. In other words, the executive who fails to recognize such need is a bar to human progress. He bars human progress even though he may be kindly and honest and a member of Phi Beta Kappa. He may be able, he may be good, but he is good for little or nothing.

What then are standard professional requirements and, in particular, why should social agency executives or others support them? Professional requirements are of two related types: First, those which in essence should precede training and social experience, and second, those requirements which are fulfilled through training in a professional school or in a modern social work organization, or by both methods combined.

He who wishes to qualify as a social worker invariably should possess good health, a fairly well-trained mind, adaptability, and a genuine love of people. In these days when humanitarians are pressing for the development of social work as a profession, it is essential that each of these fundamental requirements be met.

The social worker needs, first; health, mental and physical, because this work makes heavy demands upon its followers; second, a trained mind, to weigh and properly relate all evidence—in fact, such a mind is required to recognize the points concerning which evidence is essential, and its relative importance; third, adaptability, because absolutely all sorts of people must be met and effectively dealt with, both in diagnosis and in treatment; fourth, love of people as people, because helpful service is impossible without it: love of people, regardless of age, race, nationality, sex, or other classification. In this state of development these seem to be the minimum initial requirements for a social worker.

There should be but one standard for judging those entering social work without professional training or experience and for those with social experience but no training.

Nevertheless, full recognition should be given for all experience and training in other activities which will help in doing social work, for example, ability to meet, to understand, to deal with people—however acquired.

There should be one professional standard and, as a corollary, one salary standard for men and for women. Salary exceptions should be only for valid reason affecting achievement.

The technical preparation must include lectures and supervised field work, the classroom, and the laboratory. Moreover, there must be a most intimate

correlation between classroom instruction and supervised field work in order to make either effective. Two years are required to enable a trainee to meet professional requirements, although the lecture work may be centered mainly in one year.

But in lecture and laboratory the human element must dominate. Always people who are in severe distress or maladjustment are being considered. "Problems" or "clients," not just "cases," are the subjects under consideration. Ministration and service, not study, dominate. One studies, one acquires knowledge and facility, but he acquires knowledge and facility as an incident to service. One does not serve as an incident to study. Those who succeed have the attitude of the ideal doctor, lawyer, or minister, not the acquisitive attitude of the student as such. The well-being of the particular client or the group of clients, not the skill of the trainee, should dominate.

The trainee exists for the client, not the client for the trainee. Except a grain of wheat fall in the ground and die, it abideth alone, but when it falls in prepared ground and dies, it bringeth forth fruit, some thirty, some sixty, some one hundred fold. That is a good parable for the trainee to consider.

Great social results have been achieved only when the social workers have centered their thoughts and actions on the relief of clients' distress, on the recovery of the clients' lost condition in life, or when attention has been centered on the prevention of distress to people who otherwise would become clients in the future, immediate or remote.

Of course, all this contemplates adequate, competent instruction through a university, an accredited school, or otherwise. It contemplates capable, concerned field supervision of the trainee in an organization possessing within itself reasonable resource and equipment and possessing good working relations with other local organizations, social, religious, and civic.

We should not be unmindful of a classic description of education, with "Garfield at one end of a log, and Mark Hopkins at the other." That description presents a perfectly sound principle. But usually it is applied to a trio with the emphasis on the presence of the log, while a Garfield or a Hopkins, or both, are absent.

The lectures, the study, and the carefully supervised field work combine to give the trainee reasonable facility in the essentials of making friendly, effective contacts with clients and others. They develop systematic, accurate, punctual, thorough, quick methods of work and judgment as to what the facts are and what should be done with them.

The trainee must learn to develop his initiative, to be open-minded and concerned as to criticism, to maintain a uniform purpose of remedying such defect as gives color to criticism. The trainee must be prepared to make each critic a subject for sound conversion to the underlying principles of social work, for "Every critic a prospective friend" is a sound objective for the social worker.

The prospective social worker who begins with health, a fairly trained mind,

adaptability, and love of people, then for two full years adds the elements of social work training, still needs to apply these native and acquired qualities with friendliness, with vision, with tact, with sincerity, with loyalty, and with integrity, i.e., with personality.

Perhaps the qualities could be comprehended in the attributes of character and concern, intelligence, industry, and vision. You say the professional requirements for a successful social worker seem exacting. I reply that he who hopes to change people's manner of thinking and living can hope for scant success unless his average rating in the several requirements is fairly high. Particularly is this true when the social worker is struggling to induce a hurried world to acknowledge that social work in very truth is a profession, and should be so recognized.

The interpretation of professional requirements in social work must be in language understood by the hearer. The social agency executive, because of his experience and position, is looked to for interpretation of professional requirements—to wage-earners, to business men, to trustees, to other professional groups, and to workers in financial campaigns.

Fortunate is that executive whose field workers know that "actions speak louder than words," for their daily dealings with clients and others will continuously afford living interpretation of professional requirements that will be seen and heard of all men. Blessed is the city in which there is such far-flung interpretation.

Interpretation is facilitated where the qualified social workers consciously aid in determining policies of their organization. He will best interpret what he best understands, and what interests him most.

The function of an executive is to see that results are achieved on his sector. He knows that those who possess these professional requirements, academic and human, have usually achieved; inevitably they will achieve. He knows their value as members of his staff. Therefore the executive inevitably will support these requirements and strive with all his powers of interpretation to have the public understand the resultant of these requirements. For this purpose he will use every sort of publicity at his command, personal interviews and speeches, reports and newspaper articles, exhibits and plays. For with the social results of high professional standards the executive will always have material to present which will hold the interest of the average public and will grip the interest of leaders of community thought. Because of his interest in the well-being of future possible clients, the executive, as a matter of pride, as a debt to his profession, as a lover of his kind, can be relied upon to support and to interpret professional requirements in social work. There he stands, God help him, he cannot do otherwise and achieve.

SUPPORT AND INTERPRETATION OF PROFESSIONAL REQUIREMENTS IN SOCIAL WORK: BY COUNCILS OF SOCIAL AGENCIES AND FEDERATIONS

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For the purpose of eliminating some doubt which had arisen as to the exact meaning of the subject assigned for this paper, particularly as to the words "professional requirements," the subject was submitted to some fourteen persons of recognized standing in the field of social work. In every instance the reply clearly indicated that these persons interpreted the word "requirements" as practically synonymous with "standards," although some recognized that possibly something different was intended.

It will be more comfortable for the speaker if he is reasonably sure as to what he is to talk about, and possibly more edifying to you who listen if you share in that knowledge. Hence it may be necessary to maneuver a bit in order that we may cross the starting line together, let the finish come as it may. We trust that in so doing we shall not infringe upon the prerogatives of any other speaker at this Conference.

We are told by Webster that a profession is "an occupation that properly involves a liberal education or its equivalent, and mental rather than manual labor." The Century adds, "The word implies professional attainments in special knowledge, as distinguished from mere skill." Webster also tells us that the word "requirements" "commonly emphasizes the idea of something demanded or expected."

Just what requirements shall be demanded will doubtless be discussed at other meetings during this conference. At this time, when some three or four thousand of us are engaged in building an association of social workers on a professional basis, it is essential that there be certain definite professional requirements as a basis for membership. These are well known and are suggestive of what might be expected.¹ Without attempting to elaborate them, I shall assume that the subject is somewhat broader than a discussion of how a federation can support and interpret the particular requirements laid down by the American Association of Social Workers. I shall also assume that for the purpose of this paper we may paraphrase the subject as follows: "What can chests

¹ Qualifications for membership in the American Association of Social Workers are as follows:

"He must have had four years of practical experience in social organizations of recognized standing and have demonstrated that he possesses an educational background warranting expectation of success and progress in the profession of social work. He must be not less than twenty-five years of age.

Graduation from a two-year course in an approved school of social work and one year of experience may be accepted in lieu of four years' experience; completion of one year in an approved school of social work, in lieu of one year of experience; completion of one year or more of

and councils of social agencies do to emphasize those qualifications considered necessary for the successful prosecution of social work?" The word "federation" will be used to include both councils and chests.

It may help us on our way if we remember that community chests are largely in the hands of successful business men, most of whom are identified with one or more social service agency. But business men have not always taken kindly to the college graduate, although distrust in the value of the college diploma has greatly lessened these latter years. Nevertheless, many still remember Lorimer's statement that "Colleges don't make smart men, it develops them. Colleges don't make fools, it develops them." The saying still holds true and is applicable to those who seek to enter the field of social work.

At the present stage in the development of social work as a profession, we shall naturally expect that whatever federations may do, it will be done for the most part indirectly, but this is not wholly the case. Illustrations have come to my attention of three different ways in which federations are now giving direct assistance. In several cities the federation has been influential in securing the establishment, or assisting in the development, of schools of social work, usually in connection with universities. The Cincinnati Council has not only done this, but the agencies have agreed to give graduates of these courses preference in appointments. This is probably the most important form of support for professional qualifications now given by federations.

The second method is found in the common experience of most federations to be consulted when vacancies are to be filled or persons appointed to new positions. In this way there is again provided an excellent opportunity for securing persons of superior attainment. To achieve your goal, however, it may be necessary to use indirect methods, as we shall show later.

The illustration of the third way comes from Philadelphia and is contained in a recent publication of a splendid piece of constructive work setting forth the standards which should prevail in child caring institutions. In speaking of the experience and training required for certain executives the report says, "Where such person is engaged in work which requires experience, special training, and technique, the admission requirements to the American Association of Social Workers should be complied with, and the worker should at least be eligible for membership in the Association." The qualifications referred to are given in a footnote. Similar opportunities to bring these professional standards

graduate work in social science in an accredited college or university, in lieu of one year of experience; two or more years of experience in a closely related profession, in lieu of one year of experience. In no case shall a member have had at the time of his admittance less than one year of practical experience in social work.

As evidence of educational background warranting expectation of success and progress in the profession of social work, consideration shall be given to such facts as graduation from college or university, completion of special courses in colleges, universities, or schools of social work, individual study, papers prepared for conferences or other proceedings, and any special achievement in social work."

to the attention of the directors of federations and to the directors of our social agencies will occur in many federations in connection with studies which are being made more or less continually. Social workers as well as federation executives share the responsibility for seeing that such opportunities are not lost.

It appears, however, that in most federations the support given to professional qualifications will be given indirectly, and the action taken will oftentimes be without any thought at all of professional qualifications as such. Just how this comes about can be best shown by citing a number of illustrations which have recently come to my attention. The names of cities where the incidents occurred may be omitted to avoid possible embarrassment to friends who supplied them, but they can all be vouched for.

From two cities come stories of a relief agency where the work was done by volunteers: relief given without investigation, transients passed on to the next town, health and other needs neglected, no use made of the social service exchange, etc. One was run by men, the other by women. In both cities the community chest ultimately declined to grant further allotments unless changes were made which would bring about better work. In one instance the service was so small that it was possible to combine it with another agency which had trained workers. In the other city the chest provided funds with which a trained, experienced case worker was employed, and all-around, constructive case work is now being done.

In another city an institution caring for transients and semidelinquent women had in charge a poorly paid matron, untrained, uninterested in cooperating with other agencies, and with no real conception of the service such an association might render. When she resigned the council was invited to review the work and make recommendations. A highly trained worker with long experience with a similar position in another city was brought in to make suggestions as to what such an organization might do. The matter of increase in salary was taken up with the budget committee, and the board of directors of the chest voted the agency an additional allowance sufficient to enable them to secure a competent superintendent.

An almost identical story, but respecting a quite different form of service, comes from another community: A wholly untrained, uncooperative, emotional type of person doing wretched case work. By going a long way around through a figurehead president and enlisting the assistance of two national associations a new conception of worth-while service and the necessity of employing trained, experienced persons for case work has been finally conveyed.

An agency in another city desired to transfer its nursery department to another location and with a substantial increase in its budget. The chest requested the council to make a study of the situation. When this was done it was found that the service being rendered by the nursery was poorly conceived and executed in a manner far below accepted standards. Whatever good intentions the agency may have had, it obviously knew nothing about running a

nursery. The final result was that the agency was induced to give up this department of its work, while another agency was induced to establish a nursery in the same neighborhood and to conduct it in complete harmony and in accord with the best standards. This council is conscious that many social workers do not approve of day nurseries, but it felt that, for the present at least, there was some need for the service in this particular location.

In one city an organization had no standing among other case working agencies because the worker in charge was superannuated, untrained, uncooperative, and insisted on doing miscellaneous case work. In another direction the agency did perform a useful service to the community. Finally this worker voluntarily resigned. The officers of the association requested the cooperation of the community chest secretary in securing a successor. Interviews were arranged, but few were willing to take the position because of the obviously low standards and a board which had no leadership. Finally a slightly trained person was secured. The efforts in getting the worker, however, stimulated a discussion as to just what was the function of this organization. The discussion persisted after the new worker came, and the new worker was frank enough to insist that some authority determine just what the association ought to be doing. Irritated by this, the president requested the council to find a way of definitely settling this matter. One of the functional divisions of the council ultimately submitted certain recommendations designed to encourage the restriction of the work to certain useful functions which the agency was rendering. A little later a second organization doing a specialized piece of case work inquired whether the council would advise transferring some of their work to the first agency. This necessitated a reappraisal. The help of a strong organization doing similar work in another city was enlisted, with the outcome that the first agency has been advised against attempting to function as a specialist in case work for a difficult group until it has an experienced case worker in charge. At present the president of the association is cogitating upon the findings. After all, it is not to be wondered at if he finds it difficult to admit that his present secretary is incapable of acting as a specialist in this field. He is by no means the only such individual in the country. While part of the problem remains unsolved, the whole situation is reported to have been vastly improved.

The above, in my judgment, is a splendid illustration of the difficulties encountered in most attempts by federations to promote professional requirements. It shows the indirect methods which such a situation necessitates, and the patience with which we must bide our time until certain changes can be brought about. It illustrates also the futility, in many instances, of attempting to discuss "professional requirements" as such until the managing boards have a better conception than they now possess of what it is all about. The episode also indicates how progress can be made in the direction of professional requirements even if it does reveal glimpses of a long, long road to travel lying ahead.

From one city comes the report of a child caring agency which for years

placed children in any convenient home without studying the child's temperament, without physical and mental examinations, and without putting the children into proper condition for placement. Another agency in the same city took dependent girls, ten years of age and up, to educate and train them in household arts, to be placed subsequently in families as mothers' helpers and first-class domestics. It took three years of effort on the part of the federation to awaken these organizations to the necessity of higher standards, and to bring about an amalgamation by which the home now serves for diagnosis and treatment, while the placement work is being done upon a professional basis. The importance of all this for us is that the federation was there and did what must be done in nearly every instance before professional qualifications on the part of the worker can even get a toe hold.

The Cleveland surveys are justly famous. I am informed that their hospital and health survey has resulted in an unquestionable raise in hospital standards, while their study of the work for children has likewise resulted in a material improvement in the standards of child care. Similar illustrations could be produced almost endlessly.

It must be acknowledged, however, that the problem for the most part is attacked from the standpoint of work, and not from the standpoint of improving the quality of the worker. This should not blind us to the fact that it results constantly in an improvement of the quality of the worker. As we said before, the thing that is stressed is seldom professional qualifications as such. It is probable that in most instances nothing would be achieved by stressing such qualifications, but the whole tendency is to tone up the standard and to bring about on the part of the agencies an insistence upon higher attainments.

It is common knowledge that in both federation and non-federation communities the incompetent, badly run, poorly conceived agency often manages not only to exist, but to thrive down through the years. Not infrequently it receives generous gifts until it becomes so well endowed that formal exclusion from a federation would serve only to promote its growth. The problem is not infrequently one of choosing the lesser evil.

It is well known that most of the federations are organized into "functional divisions." Speaking of these, the Secretary of the Cincinnati Council says, "The several divisions are constantly active in developing better standards in their respective fields. The Children's Bureau [one of the divisions] has been gradually building up sets of standards for the guidance of local work in all of the many fields with which it has to do. These standards are accepted by the agency members and serve as models for the direction of their work." The councils in Boston and Chicago, which have no joint financing, and many other federations are working along similar lines.

Reference has already been made to the unusually fine piece of work done by the Philadelphia federation in setting up ideals for child caring agencies. We naturally expect something good from a community with such resources.

The important thing is that a similar effort to tone things up is something that is being done more or less by many federations.

Someone may be wondering whether there is not danger that a chest may so conduct its activities as to bring about a general lowering of standards all around. Certainly it might happen. We all know of social agencies where the board of management appears to have no conception of the work the organization should be doing, and where they pick a "bonehead" for its executive. Why should not the chest be permitted the same privilege? The wonder of it is, in such rapid development of the chest movement as has taken place in the last three years, that more mistakes of this kind have not been committed.

What is going to be done where a federation itself is without trained, experienced leadership? In such a situation the process is reversed, and stimulation must come from the agencies and the social workers themselves. The directors of the chest and the executive must be brought to see the importance of trained leadership if there is to be any general advance in the direction of professional standards. This certainly will be a no more difficult task than that which is presented in hundreds of instances where the situation is reversed.

The question has been asked whether community chests, at the time of the campaign for funds, could place more emphasis upon efficiency and effectiveness of the work done by the participating agencies and also give direct assistance to the agencies to make good on the pledge to the public. Undoubtedly more can and will be done in this direction, but it is probable that the tendency will be first to strengthen the weakest places, and in most cities for some time to come much of the energy of the federations will be required in bringing the work of certain agencies up to even a respectable standard.

The community chest movement has brought home to a lot of business men the consciousness that a huge amount of money is being expended in their community for social work. Their natural reaction is in many instances to the effect that the amount now being raised is sufficient to do all that is necessary, or at least more than at present. Unfortunately for us, they are at least half right. I do not suppose there is a single person here who comes from a city of considerable size who would not admit that if the social work of his community could be properly reorganized, better results could be obtained for the time, money, and energy now being expended.

Within the past month the delegates to the Boston council have adopted a series of standards which they have called "Principles of Administration," having to do, to a large extent, with such matters as an agency keeping within the scope of its charter, yet adapting its program to changing needs, installing adequate accounting for its work, both social and financial, and keeping in line with accepted standards of good social work practice. Under the last item are mentioned three things: cooperation by making use of the social service exchange, keeping adequate case records, and making contacts with other agencies so as to keep pace with changing conditions. If, in the city of Boston, with all

its high standards and professional ideals, it nevertheless appears desirable to adopt a set of principles covering matters so primitive and self-evident as are contained in these "Principles of Administration," how obvious it must be that in a great host of instances federations must by "indirections find directions out" before we can expect to base our arguments directly upon the ideals of professional requirements.

In our thinking about this matter of professional requirements it may be necessary, as Mr. Kelso of the Boston council has said, "to see the proposition as though it were the statue in the block rather than the finished piece of work." Federations are of necessity compelled to work with agencies staffed with workers who range from those possessing the highest training to those who have none. The skilled artist will work out his own salvation, as many of you are doing. It is the quarrymen posing as artists who must be brought to a new conception of their jobs, or give place to others, if we are to have real advance along the lines where it is most needed. Perhaps, after all, it is not so much our best work which needs to be made better just at present as it is that the quality of the great bulk of social work should be elevated. I believe that federations are destined to play a large part, both in preparing the way for the time when professional qualifications shall be accepted without question and, in line upon line and with precept upon precept, slowly but surely aiding directly in bringing about this acceptance.

SUPPORT AND INTERPRETATION OF PROFESSIONAL REQUIREMENTS IN SOCIAL WORK: WHO ARE OUR INTERPRETERS?

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Just how seriously should we take this business of interpretation anyway, and whose function shall it be—the director's, the extension secretary's, the publicity committee's, or whose? If time and work are pressing, as they always have a way of being in social work, shall we not just let our deeds speak for us, and bend no further energies in the direction of interpretation?

I have two real convictions on the subject. First, interpretation of our work to the public is not just "a nice thing to do when we have time," but a very real obligation. We use the public's money for our work. They have a right to a thorough accounting and understanding of its use. Secondly, interpretation is not only something we owe to the public, it is something we owe to our profession. For just as surely as we fail to interpret social work will we be "sawing off the very limb on which we sit." Perhaps the limb will not crack quite so soon where there is heavy endowment or financial assurance of some kind, but eventually we are in for a spill.

Interpretation, then, is not only an ethical obligation; it is a practical one as well if we are to keep faith with our clients.

Who, then, are our interpreters? To me the answer seems to be: everybody who touches the organization. As extension secretary of the New York Charity Organization Society, I try to keep in mind that I have 8,600 people on my staff. Eight hundred of these are donors and members of the society, 400 are volunteers and district committee members, 50 are board members, and 150, staff members. Unless all these persons know, as Otto Davis has said in the previous paper, "what it's all about," the limb we sit on will begin to creak ominously. These 8,600 interpreters stand in a strategic liaison position between the organization and the public. It seems much more important to me that these persons should be developed into intelligent interpreters of our ideals and standards by being kept informed as to "what it's all about" than that we should rest our case of interpretation on the employing of one or two clever publicists who can get out snappy booklets and "human interest" newspaper copy. Why should these 8,600 liaison persons know "what it's all about," or, granting they should, how are you going to achieve it?

Let us consider one by one these four groups who make up our interpreters: donors, volunteers, board members, staff.

First, the donors: Why should we keep them informed of our aims and methods when money often comes in faster to social agencies who feed their public nothing but emotional fodder? If we are struggling just for our salaries and the organization's upkeep, willy nilly, that's one thing; but if we are striving to get the public to support us in the stands we take, that's quite a different story. A public that has been kept on a diet of sentimentalism and relief is not prepared to go along with the social agency in its unpopular struggles for legislative reform or better public administration. If we care for nothing but to mark time, we need not bother interpreting ourselves to our supporters, but if we want progress, let us seek to have an informed constituency. Methods for doing this are many and effective. There are the printed house organs, public dinners, annual meetings that are real, not sham, etc. Through such efforts the public can learn, not details of method, but the basic principles on which we are building.

Secondly, there are the volunteers. My conviction here is that a social organization that merely tolerates volunteers, rather than seeking and training them in the belief that such volunteers are indispensable to the effectiveness of a live organization, is cutting off its largest channel into the public. Through volunteers, this year, we have reached the private school group in New York, an important women's democratic club, several church groups, the foreign language press, college alumni associations, and neighborhood clubs. Through the volunteer "who knows what it's all about" we are better able, perhaps, than in any other way to grow our community roots. The volunteer, in her daily contacts, reaches powerful and strategic groups that formal pub-

licity, no matter how well focused, could scarcely touch. Last month the New York Charity Organization Society had sixty-eight volunteers active on its staff. A great many of these had taken the training course for volunteers which the Society conducts every year, and are well able to uphold the standards of the Society in the community, for they themselves are doing work comparable to paid staff members. It has been the experience of the Society that the more that is expected of the volunteer in the way of study, effort, and seriousness of purpose, the more she contributes. The day of giving busy-work to the volunteer is fortunately on the wane in the most up-to-date social work organizations. On the side of the volunteer, one finds that the volunteer of today is not willing to be a rubber stamp. She wants to "know what it's all about." Certainly these are healthy signs. There is no better interpreter than the keen, wide-awake, trained volunteer.

Now we come to the board members. This group, like our donors, are too often not given a balanced diet by the social agency. They get, regularly, square meals on questions of finance, but professional principles and standards form but the occasional *demi-tasse*. Let us face the facts squarely. We may refine and improve our technique all we wish, but if we do not keep the board with us, one day, when the deficit presses too heavily, a development which we have worked on for years will be cut off in its prime, unwept and unsung by them. By the measure in which we have brought our board with us to share our hopes of progress and uphold our standards of work will we ultimately stand or fall.

The last group who are by way of being our interpreters are our staff. We haven't trained them to be, and don't think of them as such, but interpret they do, daily, over a far-flung territory of college classmates, family, business and professional acquaintances, relatives, and friends. What do they say of us? How are we being interpreted by the rank and file in social work? Let me tell you a personal anecdote at this point to show the way one staff member interpreted her social agency to the community. A decade ago I first entered social work fresh and green from the college campus. It was at the holiday season, when impulses are overgenerous and sentiment runs high. I was sent up, the night before Christmas, to tell a rooming-house case that the organization could do nothing more for her. There was pressure of work and lack of time, so I was not permitted to read the record, but got only a scanty idea of the situation through a brief talk with my supervisor. I was grist to the mill of the "rooming-house case." She wept piteously; when I was eating my Christmas dinner, she said, she would be sitting on a cold park bench, homeless and alone. I hesitated, then weakened, and parted with my entire savings, ten dollars, assuring the woman it was from me personally, and not from the organization, but at least it would carry her over the holiday. I returned to the family of my college classmate and poured the story in their ears. My erstwhile campus room-mate was in high dudgeon over it. She would take action at once. Her boss, the head of a

large New York publishing house, was on the board of my society. He should hear how sweet charity ran her course between board meetings. The day after Christmas was an exciting one in my life. The board member, hearing the tale, betook himself to the director of my society; I was called down on the carpet to a weighty conference, at the end of which several people, including myself, were sadder and wiser. The facts of the "rooming-house case" were produced, and I learned that I had been duped. I learned that I should be in full possession of all the facts before attacking a social problem, and that, once having them, I was representing an organization, and was not a free lance. The society learned, I imagine, that, of a kind, I was an interpreter of social work, and that it behooved them to teach other incipient interpreters like myself "what it was all about."

In other words, the processes of interpretation are going on all the time, whether through donor, volunteer, board member, or staff, or other channels. Interpretation, then, is not the exclusive function of the executive, the extension secretary, or even the lay publicity committee. The part they play is rather one of stimulating participation on the part of all those who touch the society at any point of its work. And, having roused this participation, theirs is then the task of integration. Every social agency has an organism through which the blood stream should be kept flowing free and clear.

Not only must the different parts of the organization be made aware of the whole, but aware of the part each one plays. Social work organizations form themselves too easily in layers: the board, central office, subexecutives, and rank and file. To get normal growth out of the organization, such isolation of groups must be broken up.

As new ideas surge in from different parts they must be analyzed, integrated, and given out again, so that the flow of life through the entire organization will be vital and continuous. To aid in this process we should each re-examine and restate our task to ourselves and each other every so often, and the results, when integrated, make for a constant reinterpretation of ourselves to our public. Only this way can growth come. That which is static dies. We cannot, or should not, hope to interpret ourselves for once and all time. It is a continuous process in which there should be a complete sharing of all the elements involved.

Really successful interpretation of social work standards can only be had through a democratic form of organization in which there is an opportunity for everyone to be articulate—for each part of the organization to be aware of what the other parts are thinking and feeling and doing.

Of course, your executive has an obligation to do formal publicity through public speaking and newspaper columns. This we take for granted. It is these other and more indirect aspects of interpretation which seem more likely to be neglected. Here your executive's job, or someone's job who is at the central core of things, is one of harnessing up all his potential interpreters and, through team work, fitting each into the scheme of things as a whole, so that the organi-

zation will have a tremendous pulling power for progress. To harness them he must first know them, appreciate the value of each and the pulling power of each. As it is now, it would seem as though the staff were running up the road in one direction, with the volunteers straggling along in an effort to catch up, while the board graze along beside, leaving the donors and the public far in the rear, entirely outrun by the rest, feeding on the canned emotional fodder we have prepared for them.

Isn't today's challenge in social work the fact that, while we are comparatively strong on content, we are weak on interpretation? Let those who are unwilling to admit the interpretative obligation of social work look to the limb on which they sit.

RECENT STUDIES OF PROFESSIONAL NEEDS EQUIPMENT NEEDED BY THE MEDICAL SOCIAL WORKER

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This paper is not a report of research made, nor of the work of a committee. It is rather an attempt to set in order the ideas which have come to me during the past year as the result of my own efforts at training hospital social workers at the New York school plus service on two committees on training, one, of the American Association of Hospital Social Workers, the other, of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work.

It seemed possible at one time during the past year, through a combination of interests, to have an analysis made for the sake of determining the elements necessary to education for hospital social work. Two questions at once arose: first, what hospital should be chosen for analysis; second, how should we know that the job as it is done is the job as it should be done.

Radical differences of policy exist among hospitals as to what is done under the name of social work. There are historical as well as logical reasons for such differences, but many of them represent fundamentally different conceptions of the function to be performed by the social worker in the hospital. Clearly, no study of what is being done will tell us what the standard equipment of the medical social worker should be, beyond the requirements for any human task—native intelligence, strength, and all the virtues. Rather, the whole hospital and community must be surveyed and special services defined according to economy of activity. What division of labor will give the best results? In a field so new and so controversial as social work there is still time for experiment.

There are two distinguishable concepts as to what social service the hospital needs to make its health work complete. One is that this service should be a variety of public health nursing; the other, that it should be a specialty of social work.

According to the first theory, the hospital needs to provide an extension of

nursing care for its patients which will reach their homes. With this is needed health teaching and the recognition of signs of social disorder indicating the services of a social worker. Such service is best supplied from the agencies of the community, family, children's court, school, according to the problem, location and affiliation of the family. The line of organization is drawn between the recognition of the existence of a social problem and the study and treatment of that problem. This is arbitrary, I think the advocates of this theory admit, but so is any boundary between special fields.

This form of service requires the equipment of nursing training plus an understanding of the importance of social background and setting, a knowledge of social work agencies, and such knowledge of their possible uses as perhaps the family social worker has of the uses of medical agencies. For years we have discussed methods of adding such social education to the nurse's training. Now some leading nursing educators are saying that what is needed is not an addition to a nurse's training, but a new and "socialized" kind of nurse's training in which social elements in sickness are pointed out all along the line, and social judgment developed, together with skill in nursing technique. The plan in operation at the Yale School of Nursing illustrates this kind of socialized nursing training.

The training courses for hospital social workers which exist today in schools of social work and in universities have been shaped according to the second theory of the job, namely, that it is a special field of social work. According to this idea the hospital requires, to complete its service to the sick, a person or group, forming part of its professional organization, whose function is to study the social elements in problems of sickness and to take part with physicians in making and carrying out health programs for the sick under hospital care. In order to make such a contribution as this to the hospital's service one must be equipped with knowledge and judgment in regard to social relationships and institutions, and practiced skill in handling people and stirring them to participation in their own programs. Health teaching is a large part of this kind of medical social work, but nursing procedures take a minor place, and social treatment is a recognized essential. The training is in social case work, with varying amounts of instruction in the sciences and arts of health, and practical field work in hospitals. We have struggled with the question of adding to a course in social work certain parts of nursing training, a year or more of nursing, or drill in certain techniques, the whole to come within a practical time limit, probably not more than three years. Such a combination is actually urged by some medical social workers, but it is opposed by nursing educators on the one hand, and certain medical social workers on the other, on the grounds that it will tend to produce a person who is not a nurse nor yet a thorough social worker, and both professions will suffer, and, more fundamental, that such training will not equip one to meet the requirements of care of the sick.

I believe that social training can and should be "medicalized," as medical

training can be socialized; that all social workers would do better social work for having a clear understanding of the physiological factors of social life; and that better preparation along this line will help in meeting the community's whole social problem. So, no doubt, will the "socialized" nursing training. The hybrid course, on the contrary, it seems to me, will not produce a practitioner of either sort.

Wherever the lines are drawn between professions or specialties within professions, when the fields are thrown together, they must cover a series of needs something like this: first, medical diagnosis and treatment; second, nursing care; third, health teaching; fourth, prevention of disease by public measures; fifth, the overcoming of personal, family, and environmental obstacles to health, as, for example, ignorance, vice, resourcelessness, etc., by such means as education, work, play, legal aid, insight, money, opportunity; sixth, overcoming of sickness, as an obstacle to work, independence, and social fitness, by means of health resources, including doctors, nurses, and hospitals; seventh, improvement of social fitness, apart from health, by such means as education, work, play, legal aid, insight, money, opportunity, etc.

These needs are not separate in experience; the priest perhaps once met them all, in so far as they were met; yet today it is impossible for any ordinary practitioner to combine mastery of all of medical and social science and art. Medicine is a focus at one end of the series, and social work at the other. The middle grounds show the interrelationships of the two, and it is in these middle grounds that we must pick out the services of the nurse and the medical social worker. Upon our understanding of the interrelationship depends the integration of medical and social work in such a way as to meet the human need for health and fitness. Neither service can be complete in itself alone.

What are the case problems which medical social workers have found in the hospital? By what means have they tried to meet them, and with what results? I want to refer in answering to two studies which have been going on during the past year and which have played a part in the field work experience of some of my students. One is the study of function instituted by a committee of the American Association of Hospital Social Workers, the other, an attempt at social classification now in process at the Presbyterian Hospital in New York.

Hospital social workers are familiar with the questionnaire and schedules of the Function Committee. They require the devoted worker to state in terms of "yes," "no," "not attempted," or "inapplicable," whether or not certain actions have been completed in a fair sample of her cases. For a certain group of fifteen cases I find the following results: On all but one the worker "conveyed the patient's social setting to the physician"; in all but one or two, the worker made an examination of personal history, family life and relationships, and sources of support, which contributed, not to the specific medical diagnosis, but to an "understanding of the entire health problem of the patient"; in all cases investigation of personal history, social setting, and sources of support

contributed to a plan for medical social treatment; available resources for medical social treatment were utilized within the patient himself in fourteen cases; within family and friends in more than one-half the cases; within community agencies in more than one-half the cases, in all of which the patient was said to have been "helped to understand his disability and how to live most profitably within its limitations"; in all cases he is said to have been "helped to recognize and safeguard his elements of strength and to develop these to their full extent." These are but the most outstanding deductions from a long questionnaire, and they are drawn from a very small number of cases, yet they rest, to my own knowledge, upon some conscientious thinking, and they point to a possibility of further deductions from appreciable numbers. If there is any truth in them, as I believe there is, they indicate a closeness of relationship between medical and

TABLE I

Findings	Interpretation	Etiology
Woman without home	Dependent upon others for shelter	Does not care for home life
Husband deserted	No help in support of child	Friction and quarrels
Without job—changes jobs	Underemployed	Physical condition—no special ambition
Has done things without thought	Impulsive	?
Goes about with numerous men	Promiscuous attachments	Breaking of marital ties
Puts boy in boarding houses and gives him no discipline	Irresponsible guardian—homeless child	Pleasure-seeking, irresponsible mother—deserting father
No source of income	Financially dependent	Physical condition—no foresight
Family tired of caring for her	No help from relatives	Disapproval of conduct

social diagnosis and treatment which goes far to justify the type of work they represent.

But what, after all, is meant by "investigation," "plan," and "treatment," used in this way? I give an illustration from the same department from which the fifteen cases were taken. In this department (Presbyterian Hospital, New York) the workers are taking part in a case study by summarizing their records under "findings," "interpretation," and "etiology." The case I am quoting (Table I) is not unusual in any one feature, and is comparatively simply analyzed. It is the case of a deserted wife with one young child. The woman has bad varicose veins and is generally tired and run-down.

This woman appeared at the hospital with her child and was immediately put to bed. The child was given temporary shelter. The worker thought first of commitment, but waited to get the full picture of the case. The mother was miserable and indifferent. A family agency had registered the family, but had

had but a slight contact. Two sisters visited the patient in the hospital, one a Catholic, the other a Protestant. Their advice regarding the child differed. All the history was got while the woman was in the hospital, much of it from interviews in the hospital. As between possible plans for the child, namely, commitment, Catholic placement, Protestant placement, and temporary shelter, the worker chose the last. When the mother's physical condition improved, she was sent temporarily to a rather strict church home. Here she responded unexpectedly well. Her indifference altered. She may assume responsibility for her child.

I do not say that this case presents a proved satisfactory outcome. I do not say that it could not have been handled differently with equally good results. I realize that the leadership elements of treatment are not explained. I quote it to illustrate something of the content of the work referred to in the broader study of function, and also because it illustrates (a) what can be done to utilize the hospital opportunity for social help and (b) some of the complexities of the problem of transfer.

The Presbyterian Social Service Department is finding enough recurrence of recognizable social factors in case problems to make it possible to start a classified index. The department's research worker calls it a "rough classification," but it is also a live interest and influence among the workers and students.

I do not need to labor to prove to this audience that all varieties of social trouble are found in combination with bad health. The point I have in mind is that ability to analyze social elements in health problems requires a preparation of study of whatever is basic in social case work.

What is basic in social case work? Fortunately, we have another report devoted to answering that question and the question of what is special. Miss Kempshall's committee has, I think, done us all a service in assembling the thought of a group representing the special fields and trying to state their common content.

Whatever we decide upon as basic to case work ought, I believe, to be included in the training of the social worker who is to exercise social judgment in that middle ground of medical social work. Analysis itself demands it, as medical diagnosis or nursing judgment requires a basic professional preparation.

The line between special services may be drawn so as to include a social case worker within the medical institution or to leave her outside. In either case her professional judgment and skill are needed in the scheme of service to the sick, and must be united in some way with the judgment and skill of the medical profession. Wherever she has her foothold, she will need an equipment of whatever is basic in social work, always including an understanding of the elements of physical and mental health and disease as factors in every social situation.

TENTATIVE OBSERVATIONS ON BASIC TRAINING

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The statement, recently made, that "everyone believes in coordination, but no one knows quite what it is," might well be applied to basic training. When I have finished these brief observations, either you won't agree with me in the least, or else you will say, "but we have always known this sort of thing." To articulate the obvious is a thankless task, but I am encouraged by the hope that basic training may not be so obvious after all, or even more exciting; it may not even be practicable. It is more fun, however, to be a visionary than a platitudinarian.

I have been associated now for three years with the Committee on Training of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work. During this period we made strenuous attempts to get at training through the contemplation of our procedures in training; that is, we considered what we gave the student on the first day, and the second, and the seventh; we considered the analysis of records, "first interviews," blocked, or two-day-a-week periods of field work; how much time the supervisor should give to each student; personality equipment, and the function of a sense of humor. But not being able to see the woods for the trees, we finally decided that we ought first to determine what it was we were teaching students in case work, and afterward we might come to describe ways of "putting this case work across" to students. Our emphasis became "what is in this field work experience," not "how does one teach it."

For some time, then, the committee concerned itself with the content rather than the procedure of training for social case work. Laying aside our method outlines, we asked ourselves what were the objectives and ideals of case work practice.

In order to get at this the committee put itself to discussing what might be called "basic concepts in case work," believing that these basic concepts could then be modified in training procedures according to the student, whether apprentice, or student of a school of social work or of a university, and that this training could be modified also, if necessary, according to the equipment of the trainer, the resources of the agency and community, and whether training be blocked or no.

The committee hoped that the description of objectives and practice would suggest the basic principles out of which generalized, psychiatric, family, children's hospital, and other forms of social case work are created.

Realizing that family case work, traditionally an all-inclusive institution, can no longer be isolated, but is, as Miss Libbey said at Toronto, "a sharing process," it seemed wise to call together several fields to explore and try to express ideas of basic content. Hospital, children's, psychiatric, and family workers each tried to state what they were doing in case work and why they did

it; and the other members of the committee, representing the International Migration Service, the Travelers' Aid, and the National Probation Association, also tried to describe the purposes underlying their activities. The statements were made informally, and perhaps the chief value lies in their unpremeditated character. The very simplicity of the descriptions restrained us from trying to impress the group, each with his own superior traditions and methods!

As we compared, then, our several objectives, family welfare case work appeared to us as being a specialization of basic social case work, with perhaps the economic maladjustment generally the presenting symptom, just as there are characteristic presenting symptoms for psychiatric, or probation, or any other form of case work, and special techniques developed for the several treatments. All are conditioned environmentally rather more than philosophically. All evolve from a common background, but with differentiations or slightly different emphases; all tend toward similar or identical goals. I realize that the use of the terms "family case work," in a generic sense, and "family case work field," in a special sense, is inevitably confusing. The fault lies, I think, in the term "family case work" not being as functionally descriptive as child placing, visiting teaching, and so on.

Clearly, the concepts of basic case work had to be agreed upon before we could arrive at concepts of basic training. Once arrived at, it should be possible to discuss such additional topics as personal and professional equipment of the worker, methods in training, objectives of training. As I said before, I am only presenting today the first of these topics, that is, basic case work; its subject-matter, methods, and goal.

I suppose you will agree readily enough that, as to subject-matter, case work concerns itself with the conscious attempt to make adjustments between people and their social environment. Common maladjustments with which case work deals are implied in such problems as ill-health, mental and physical; behavior, conduct disorders and delinquency; unfavorable personality traits; faulty industrial economic structure, legal entanglements, inadequate education or recreation, migration difficulties, inferior housing or living habits, and problems of the larger community interpreted locally, nationally, or internationally.

The family case workers stated that although the economic maladjustment was often for them the presenting symptom, economic adjustments were not their only objectives, but that any of life's maladjustments or unadjustments were of concern to them. Other presenting symptoms and emphases were noted by the other fields, the International Migration Service saying, for instance, that the characteristic of their subject-matter was that the "maladjustment" generally involved separated families and, always, two or more countries; and the hospital workers, that while health was of course their special concern, health was not their sole objective, but rather that all problems incident to the social adjustments of sick human beings were of concern to them. For lack of

time I have been able, however, to indicate only a few of these slightly shifting emphases.

After considering subject-matter, the committee turned its attention to certain underlying principles common to all case work interpretation, in the light of which social maladjustments can be understood and treated.

The first of these concepts was an appreciation of people as individuals. This involves, we thought, recognizing that every individual is the result of his particular heredity and environment; and this further involves understanding the relationship of past and present factors in the history to the individual's present situation and behavior—in particular, understanding also the relation of the individual to his family, and the family to the individual—and, still again, involves understanding the relation of the family and individual to the community, with emphasis on the way in which treatment may be affected by community conditions.

Next, basic concept requires that all this understanding should be applied to a program of action which will affect better adjustments as well as enhance the opportunities for development of the individual, the family, and the community.

Again, it is fundamental to realize that treatment, since it involves changing habits and attitudes, is a slow process, but we hold that worker, client, and community should be active participants in the entire adjustment process.

While the committee agreed on the foregoing, it was observed that a characteristic of family case work, whether United Hebrew Charities, Charity Organization Society, or International Migration Service, was that the family was the unit around which the action centered; in Childrens' or Travelers' Aid work, on the other hand, the child or the traveler was, generally speaking, the center of work, and the environment was adjusted to the central figure, or vice versa. This is even more true, perhaps, in hospital or psychiatric case work. In this type of agency the patient would be apt to be the center of the case work adjustment, while the family case worker has generally two or more foci in his circle.

After subject-matter and general principles, it was relatively easy to agree on processes and technique for various types of case work, for example, that there should be analysis and evaluation of material prior to an interview, and that each interview should have a definite objective. It was agreed that, between worker and client, certain characteristic professional relationships were set up, so-called "good contacts," "transference," "winning confidence"—relationships consciously directed—that there was, or should be, the art of interviewing; that there was methodology of investigation; that scientific evaluation and diagnosis were prerequisite to treatment; that the major kinds of treatment included modifying or changing external factors, sometimes called "executive" treatment, and the changing of habits and attitudes, sometimes

called "leadership" treatment; that records and recording had functional importance in the whole case work scheme, not only for the individual, but for research and other community purposes.

A few special techniques were noted here, such as knowledge of medical, or psychiatric, or legal procedures, or of the economic factors. But one so naturally assumes special knowledge in one's own daily practice that I will not stop over details of emphasis except to say that it was felt desirable for students in case work to have practice in two or more fields, basic training being naturally a part of one or all of them. It might not always be advantageous to have one's basic training in the field in which one is going to work. In the smaller communities, where "undifferentiated" case work is essential, the best-fitted person obviously would be one whose training had not been confined to one agency, but this, perhaps, is equally true in larger cities.

It was significant that in considering basic concepts of ethics, the group put itself solidly on record that there were no special ethics binding on any one group of case workers, and that it was to the interest of the profession to have a common code of ethics. It was also unanimously agreed that there was an obligation upon all case workers to join in concerted social endeavor as regards legal, educational, industrial, and public health programs, and to strive to form fair, sound, social philosophies.

The group finally agreed that in the past basic case work had been more carefully articulated and programed in the family field than elsewhere, and this was one reason why "specialized" fields have been wont to ask for family case work training. This does not imply that family case work is "preliminary" or "elementary," but that basic training is essential. Moreover, basic case work is not static nor completed. Day by day original contributions to this same basic case work are being made, both by the older groups and by recent additions and interpretations of such newer groups as the psychiatric. But when procedures common to basic training have been worked out, basic training should be possible to acquire in any field, and special techniques, wherever needed.

To sum up, it seemed clear to us that when the content of training had been fully defined, as we hope the discussion at this conference will help us to do, and certain general procedures for translating this to students articulated, which a number of training groups have already done—but not, I think, in the sense of a complete job analysis—these procedures could then be adapted according to the needs of volunteer, apprentice, or student. A trained person would be one who had knowledge of life's familiar maladjustments, appreciation of the individual, the family, and the community, scientific methods, ethical standards, and the sort of personality equipment which—well, we hope this will one day be defined. At present, as you all know, the only absolutely basic and generalized concept seems to be a sense of humor.

But one word in closing as regards prerequisite equipment for basic training: Has not the time come when we must reconsider training programs? Do you

not agree with our committee that, in spite of all temptations to do so, the use of undergraduate students is detrimental to the best interest of the field as a whole? There is often a conflict, is there not, between the student at the university and the agency as to the amount of responsibility that the student should be allowed to take? Is there not, moreover, often too informal a relationship, such as societies asking the colleges for volunteers and undergraduate help, without considering all the implications, not only for the student, but for standards of work?

While adapted and modified programs have their place, we cannot rest content with anything but the ultimate professional challenge.

The practice of case work, like the practice of law, medicine, or theology, surely calls for postgraduate training. The need for safeguards and restrictions was never more acute than today, and should not those of us who are interested in training play a courageous part by insisting that this training shall conform to the highest possible professional standards? This, too, is basic.

SOME PROGNOSTICATIONS IN THE FIELD OF COMMUNITY WORK

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In social work we are still in the twilight zone of undefined terminology, a condition inherent to a rapidly developing, unstandardized, unorganized vocation such as ours. The terms "field work," "case work," "technique," "social research," "attitude," "group," are used constantly and vary greatly in connotation. One of our problems in training is to arrive at some mutual understanding of what we are all talking about.

I recently ran across a group of persons who talked of training for social work and of field work in family agencies in the same terms that others do. On further acquaintance, training for social work turned out to be purely observation work, and family case work was research on case records in a family agency. Actually doing family case work was considered unnecessary in the training process. That, according to those authorities, was "common sense." This paper deals with a term used perhaps with greater variation in meaning than other terms in social work.

Community organization is used by people in many different senses. The American Association for Community Organization uses it in one way; the settlement and the school center group use it in another way. It is thought of in this paper as more inclusive than either of these uses. A case worker organizing a case committee, a settlement executive bringing her neighboring social workers together for regular conference, an executive's attempts to make his board more representative and more active, as well as a group worker forming a club

out of boys or girls—are all using, to a greater or less extent, what I should call principles of community organization.

This use of the term “community organization” is perhaps best defined as assisting a group of people to recognize their common needs and helping them to meet these needs. In Professor McIver’s terms, it has to do with the process of like interests becoming common interests out of which associations develop.

Community organization has long been a part of the technique of social work. Soon after we abandoned distributing alms at the church door and recognized that the chief problem in social work was not the effect on the giver, but rather the change in the person assisted and in his community relationships, associations for the purpose of improving social conditions resulted. Probably some form of club work was carried on even earlier, and the well-organized Turner societies go back over a century and a quarter. Club work uses the principles of community organization in a small way. A well-organized club is a means of meeting group needs and of expanding those needs in the same way that a social agency does for the larger group.

During the war, when it was possible to develop organizations on an emotional basis with great ease, organization of groups on a large scale became a definite task. So-called “organizers” were sent hither and yon to develop various associations. One person I have heard of spent a night in a town, addressing a mass meeting and organizing then and there what were called safety councils. Since the war, however, there is fortunately little opportunity for community organization in this field apart from positions in which some other form of social work is involved. The best organization occurs only after actual needs have been demonstrated to the members of a group, usually through providing some form of service to the group. This requires that the worker, in addition to understanding how to organize, shall be efficient also in the field of the service required.

On this point there arises a question which it is probably impossible to answer dogmatically because of the lack of data. There seems to be much to be said for the case work method in demonstrating needs to a community. To what extent does leadership previously converted, or needs recognized on a purely intellectual level, result in a successful organization? How generally must the appeal be made through concrete instances, the product of some form of social case work? Is a boy scout council much more likely to have a firm foundation if it is organized as a result of the conviction of a community of the need for organized boys’ work, a conviction based on concrete illustrations of this need?

The positions held by graduates in community organization of the New York School of Social Work bear out this idea that community organization work is frequently combined with some other form of social work. The last eleven students placed from the six-quarter course have entered so-called “community organization” positions in which in eight cases recreation work and

executive work are a large part of their daily routine: recreation work and case work in one case, executive work and case work in two cases, and the eleventh case is probably the only illustration among these eleven students of a position almost entirely in the field of community organization. This student is to be secretary of a state conference of social work.

At the New York School of Social Work we have therefore acted on the conviction from the beginning that there is but rarely an opportunity in social work for a person to do organization work only. It has been the rule to urge our students to take sufficient work in some other field so that positions might be open to them which, while primarily community organization, demand also certain other ability. We have done this in part through recommending to them various courses outside of our field. For example, they all take a beginning course in social case work, and are urged to take advanced work in the family case work field. Perhaps the most successful method of providing this technique in other fields is through field work opportunities. The student devotes half his time to field work, and through this contact with an agency he learns much of the methods used in the field in which the agency works—recreation, tuberculosis work, family case work, or whatever it may be. This attitude results in a number of interesting administrative problems which are still unsolved. What is an executive in a family case work agency? Should his training be primarily in the family case work field or in the community organization field? Recently we advised one man to go into family case work in preparation for an executive position which he secured. On the other hand, in the last year one man and one woman have gone from community organization into executive positions in family case work agencies. Both had had considerable experience in family case work. One possible solution for this training problem is a development which has already begun—joint advanced seminars in which students and staff members from several fields discuss the common problems arising out of field work.

This experience in the field of community organization, and particularly this development of combined programs of training representing several fields, is part of a tendency which, it seems to me, is manifest in social work today—the demand for a general social worker rather than a highly specialized one. In smaller cities and in rural sections this is especially true, but even in the more highly specialized agencies in our great cities, it is my belief that the job analysis of social work which Mr. Klein is to tell you of will show much less specialization than is frequently believed true. In addition, there is doubtless much shifting from positions in one field to those in another, a condition indicating little need for specialization. As an illustration of this point, take the graduates of the New York School of Social Work, some of whom at times have been rather highly specialized in certain fields, and had apparently little thought of seeking employment in any other field.

In a recent analysis of positions held by 221 students who have finished the

two-year course at the New York School of Social Work, 189, or 86 per cent, were found to be still in social work. Of these 189, but 122 are in the specific field for which they prepared. Thirty-five per cent of these 189 students are working in positions in social work which apparently are in some other field than they planned to enter when they were studying at the school. Twenty-nine of these students prepared to enter family case work, but only 17 of them are at present employed in that field. In community organization but 26 of the 36 students who prepared for that field are still in it, but 24 others have come into the community organization field from other fields. If a person wants to enter the community organization field, he has about one-fifth as much of a chance of securing a position in that field by majoring as a psychiatric social worker or as a policewoman as he has by majoring in community organization. In some of the other fields the facts are even more surprising.

Certainly this kind of data leads one to question the advisability of too high specialization in a field in which the workers change from position to position with apparently less regard to their major preparation than might be supposed. The situation would seem to argue for a much more general preparation in which certain subjects such as family case work, community organization, and mental hygiene would form an essential part of the course.

The policy of emphasis on specialization frequently causes the worker to lose his perspective on social problems as a whole. The specialist in social work, as in medicine, is liable to place undue emphasis on his own interest, neglecting the numerous problems closely related to his own. A psychiatric social worker, devoting much time to the problem of a member of a gang, may well find that her efforts are thwarted by the greater influence of the boy's companions. The problem may be primarily one of group organization rather than of individual maladjustment. The specialist in the community field frequently loses sight of the intimate group relationship which the case worker has, and the slow educational work she has been doing. The recreation worker may well devote all her energies to providing services in the leisure-time field. In social work we need workers who can do a good piece of family case work, but who can also carry the significance of the work over to the public. The cloistered life is highly incompatible with social work. No matter what the special calling of the social worker may be, he must play the part of an engineer in social technique and organization for as large a group of people as his position and personality can influence.

A corollary of this is the principle that a social worker belongs to his community to an extent true of but few other professions. His conduct, his dress, his ideas, must not be too far in advance of the community, or he loses his influence. His particular work, his success in molding opinion, the continuance of his organization, may well depend upon some superficial action. A Red Cross chapter in one county is closed because the executive secretary smokes in her room. Another loses her position because she wears her skirts too short, or

bobs her hair, or lacks ease in society, or insists on commuting. The social worker's relation to his community is somewhat the same as the minister's to his parish.

If this be granted, and certainly many of us are not prepared to do so, then it is necessary that a social worker be given the equipment to help him in the varied problems he is to meet as a leader in his community. This means that in addition to doing a good piece of family case work, he must have his philosophy in the field of penology, he must know modern methods of dealing with problems of children, of treatment of behavior cases, of industrial problems, and so on, through the whole curriculum of a school of social work. This must include an understanding of his relationship to the community, his responsibility for discovering community needs, helping the public to solve them, keeping his board, his committees, his membership, in the closest relationship to his work. There is his use of volunteers, the amount of responsibility he can delegate, the extent to which he can experiment, his plans for securing public support for well-demonstrated parts of his work. All this is a part of his community organization program.

There would, therefore, seem to be no place in a social work training program for community organization apart from other methods of work. A social worker is of necessity often a community organizer. A community organizer, at least in the field of social work, must almost always use some other technique than that of community organization. General social workers, rather than various highly specialized individuals, are what the profession needs at present.

JOB ANALYSIS IN SOCIAL WORK

*Philip Klein, Executive Secretary, American Association
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The idea of job analysis has been in the minds of those concerned with the program of the American Association of Social Workers for some years past. During 1924 the need for a job analysis study was borne in upon the administration of the association by the growing needs of the vocational bureau and as a result of developments in the field of civil service. Early in 1924 social workers in Washington, D.C., who were in close touch with the work of the federal classification board urged the association to draw up and submit to the board a series of job specifications or brief analyses of positions in social work that might be used in determining the relative status of social workers employed by the government and in fixing salary schedules. This suggestion has not been carried out because, without collecting first-hand information concerning what in actual practice positions require in respect to duties and qualifications, it has been felt no authoritative or truly representative information could be given.

The need for job analysis in social work had long been felt in the vocational service and placement work and perhaps just as keenly in the field of training for social work; while the training schools themselves have not exerted any pressure toward effecting such a study, a number of individual representatives of training schools have expressed a deep appreciation of the probable value of such material.

Briefly, it is believed that an analysis of positions in our field will serve the following purposes: first, it will furnish an accurate definition of social workers' occupations which will help in defining the field of social work; second, it will furnish a classification of social workers by means of which to make accurate wage comparisons and establish wage standards and schedules; third, it will furnish standard specifications of jobs for use in placement of personnel; fourth, it will tend to standardize terminology of positions, and to some extent it may be expected to standardize the positions themselves; fifth, it will be used in the training of personnel, both in organizations and in schools of social work, in so far as it will give a more adequate and accurate indication of the duties associated with the typical social work positions.

The study would be expected to yield for each position studied a succinct but detailed enumeration of duties, based upon actual records of performance, with such analysis of these duties as will indicate how they are performed and the necessary equipment for their effective performance.

The analysis proposed is not of the kind that would be required in determining the effectiveness of methods and of the organization of work in particular social work organizations. The results will, however, constitute a type of standard by which individual organizations can measure the content and organization of work in their own positions. Because they will tend to be used for this purpose, it is especially desirable that the study be made on a basis sufficiently broad to represent the general practice of reputable organizations.

It is recognized that a competent study of this type would take several years. We think, however, that a preliminary one-year study is desirable for several reasons: first, that there is somewhat greater need for the contemplated information for some positions than for others; second, that for efficiency in conducting the study it seems desirable to expect completion of it within the period of one year; and third, that because the study of the less frequent positions will require somewhat different conditions of study (though not different kind of study) than the more frequent positions, the expense of studying these positions can be estimated more satisfactorily after experience has been obtained in the one year's study than now.

List of positions.—It is proposed that the twenty or more positions to be studied first be selected from the attached list of positions.

Collection of data.—It is tentatively proposed that positions be studied in organizations of approved standing and that the desired information covering each position be obtained by three methods: first, a first-hand investigation

of actual jobs by the person in charge of the study; second, detailed recording of their own jobs by persons occupying positions; third, description of positions by executives of organizations in which the positions occur.

Information from the second of these sources would be obtained only after full explanation of the methods to be followed had been given in person by the person conducting the investigation.

Limitation of area of investigation.—In order to save time and expense it is proposed that the collecting of original data be made within a limited area, probably only in New York and Philadelphia and their immediate vicinities. Positions in numerous organizations in each of these cities would, however, be studied.

Proving the analysis.—On the basis of the original records collected as indicated above, a tentative analysis or description for each position would be drawn up. These would then be sent out widely to social workers occupying the specific positions of the type described, and also to the executives of the organizations in which such positions occurred, for revision. On the basis of these revisions the tentative analyses would be edited and the final analysis prepared.

Personnel required.—It is proposed that the direction of the study be placed in a small committee so constituted that it can exercise immediate supervision of the study. One expert investigator would be required to conduct the study. One assistant would be required to assist with correspondence and in assembling material.

PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS IN SOCIAL AGENCIES THE VALUE TO THE AGENCY OF STUDENTS IN TRAINING

M. Mabel Berry, Associated Charities, Cleveland

In considering the value to the agency of the student in training we have consulted about twenty representative people, including some from other cities. These people unanimously agreed with Mrs. Glenn when she said: "A student is undoubtedly an asset to the organization." Plans of training differ in the amount of practical work given, but the points in this paper seem generally applicable.

Boston, for instance, supervises the field work of students in Simmons College for two days a week, except at Christmas time, when four weeks of full time are given to the agency. Philadelphia has students for four full weeks in the fall, followed by a period of two days a week, with four weeks in midwinter, again followed by a period of two days a week, completing the year with four weeks of full time in June. In Cleveland the School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, offers two courses in case work, one in family welfare in cooperation with the Associated Charities, and one in child caring in cooperation with the Humane Society and Children's Bureau. Both of these

courses extend over a period of twenty-one months. During the first part of the course, four hours weekly are given to a consideration of theory in its relation to practice. This is supplemented by field work under the supervision of the respective agencies. The supervision at first consists of three conferences of one hour each, weekly, and later, of two conferences of one hour each. The supervisor's conference is in close collaboration with the activities of the classroom and assigned reading list. You will note also that only thirty hours' credit is given for twenty-one months devoted entirely to the agency, so that by no means is all of the time spent in the field counted, though this continued period of field work is of vital importance in that it fosters a feeling of responsibility on the part of the student. At the end of the second year those students whose previous preparation meets the academic requirements of the University, who qualify professionally, and have presented an acceptable thesis which makes a slight contribution to family case work are granted a degree of Master of Science in Social Administration. If students are to work toward this goal they must be carefully chosen.

Students accepted by a social agency for training usually fall into two groups: those just graduating from college, and those who come most frequently from teaching, library work, some form of business experience, and a few who have had practical experience in social work but have had no training. Of the first group we have many who, in their ten years since childhood, have been leaders in schools, clubs, and churches. Their lives have been enriched by a study of art in some form, by travel, and by other kinds of cultural life. Having just come from college, they have little to unlearn. They are not bound by prejudices, but present an open mind, ready and anxious to absorb new ideas. The mature trainee who has taught school or been in business should have much to contribute. Her experience has tended to make her independent in thought and action. For this very reason she must be chosen carefully, since her already acquired experience will determine to some degree her interpretation of the problems in case work. If this trainee is to be an asset she must possess outstanding adaptability.

With the varied plans of training in mind, as well as the characteristics of the students chosen, the value to the agency will be considered, first, from the effect on the staff; second, on the client; and third, on the community. All three are closely interwoven, and together suggest value to the agency.

In viewing the effect of the young trainee on the staff it is to be noted that she brings a certain spontaneity with its idealism which purifies the blood of the organization. She has an unclouded vision that permits and urges her to attack problems with real vigor. What older visitor, for instance, does not secretly harbor a feeling of futility in the solution of the problems presented by the feeble-minded?

Who is not stimulated by the joyousness of our youthful workers? Such stimulation keeps the older members of the staff young, and makes possible

sympathetic understanding of the student as the basis for training. It also promotes the continued understanding of problems of the clientèle.

A close relationship with the university brings trainees of high qualifications who need specialized training. Modern education provides the agency with students well grounded in sociology. Consequently, the school with good standards of scholarship offering an M.S. degree draws trainees of real merit with genuine altruistic tendencies. These students come from a wide territory and varied backgrounds. In some instances they even present different racial experiences. The Cleveland Associated Charities in 1924 had sixty-seven different colleges represented on its staff and student body; surely a real contribution of social values and balance to the staff results.

It is conceded that the young college graduate is concerned about what she receives from the school and the organization. She accepts little dogmatically. Yet is not her questioning and consequent testing of the principles of case work of great value and an essential to growth and maintenance of professional standards?

The value of stimulation as a necessary result of trying to train a group of this kind is evident. The instructor must be acquainted with the new points of view in college training. She must keep abreast with new movements and new methods. What supervisor has not gone in search of a book because of the fact that her trainee had read it? If your instructor and supervisor are to inspire—and your organization soon dies if they do not—they must keep abreast of the times, and at least a few paces ahead of the trainee. Study of the needs of this group has led to consideration of methods of analyzing students and measuring work which gives promise of greater efficiency to the agency. The contribution of second-year students in their research necessary for a thesis is of real value to the staff.

The trainee whose experience has been that of teaching comes fresh from another field. With her love for children she sees in them the hope of the future, and realizes keenly that they are a vital element in the necessary adjustment of family relationships. She can contribute practical suggestions in their guidance. She is capable of fostering and facilitating cooperation between the school and the agency. She understands the meaning of a day's absence from the classroom, and is able to present this to other members of the staff and to parents. For instance, little John was a serious problem in the home, and his mother had no realization of how to direct his surplus energy. Through the persuasion of the case worker, who had been a teacher, John entered school before his mother had intended he should. He was no longer a problem in the home, and the close relationship between the mother and the school was mutually beneficial to all. The former teacher cooperates closely with the school doctor and nurse, being able to undertake definite steps in upbuilding the family's health. Often she is able to win the confidence and appreciate more readily the point of view of the boy and girl in their teens.

The trainee who comes to us from some form of business experience helps the staff to realize the need of organization and businesslike methods. While knowing the impersonal relationships of the business world, she glories in the opportunity for the development of the individual. Commercial production has taught her a very definite idea of service, a keen realization of the need of team work, and of a job well done. This trainee recognizes the value of budgeting, of economy, and of a time schedule for accomplishment. She has a better understanding of "what's on the worker's mind," and is thus more able to explain to nagging wives the need of warmth, good food, and joy at home. She is able to arouse confidence and pride in men clients as they discuss their part in the world's work.

In considering the effect of the student-in-training on the client, is not the same joyousness we found helpful to the staff one of the most helpful qualities to the client? The spirit is caught, not taught. So the young worker who is a good listener, as contrasted with the matter-of-fact or prosaic worker, means much to our clients. Her cheerfulness invites confidence. Mrs. A voiced this thought in saying that a certain young worker with her pretty, girlish clothes was like a breath of spring, giving new hope and courage. This is evidenced by many examples of cooperation in family adjustments really made through the efforts of the trainee.

The trainee has faith in the innate goodness of man. This faith challenges genuine effort on the part of the client. The result is often complete readjustment. Mr. Miller for five years did not assume his responsibility to his family. Whatever he did was done under pressure. Later, it developed that his wife was a constitutional psychopath and a prostitute. With this knowledge a more intensive study of the man began, and a slow process of re-establishing faith in himself and his relatives took place. At the end of the year he had assumed the responsibility of the six children and was happily established as the head of the household. The faith of the trainee, together with that of a nun in the orphanage where the children were placed, formed the first step upward. The trainee, with a lower case load, has opportunity for closer analysis under more intensive supervision.

In considering the value of the student as to her effect on the community in which she works, there are fewer direct benefits apparent than in her relationship to client and staff. The trainee must share in the education of the community. It is difficult for her to realize that the working out of a plan with an interested individual for the benefit of a client is one step in the education of the community. Her first concern is for the family, and she finds it hard to see the relation between its problem and those of the community. Responsibility as to district committee, public speaking, contacts with other professions, and other ways of educating the community are of secondary interest to her.

The agency must make the presence of the students possible by having on its staff a sufficiently large number of trained workers. The latter, by their

dignity, tolerance, and poise, give assurance of helpfulness which makes the community more patient in waiting for the ultimate value of the student. The trainee, in her relationship to other agencies and people in the community, does show a purposeful sincerity and concern which is recognized. By her faith she calls forth cooperation from the community. Recently an attorney stopped during a busy time of day to act as an interpreter for a fellow-countryman. The client kept repeating to the visitor that the lawyer had told him not to work. As the situation stood, the man had to return to work if he was to have his wages supplemented by the Industrial Commission. When the attorney, who was also a leader among his countrymen, explained this to the client in the presence of the visitor, he understood. The industrial world was then challenged in a time of depression, and employment was secured for him. After drawing two weeks' pay, when he had not received any for a year, the client's attitude was changed.

In considering the scholarship paid to students, and their family count, the material cost of care rendered by the trainee is more than that of the trained visitor. In the year 1924 the senior visitors of the Associated Charities cared for fifty families a month at a cost of \$2.50 per family, while the student cared for an average of thirty families at a cost of \$2.80 per family. This is exclusive of extra supervision necessary, and without considering the ways in which the trainee is a liability.

In Mr. Tufts's "Education and Training for Social Work" he alludes many times to a comparison of the training in the medical profession and that for social work. It is an accepted fact in the medical group that hospitals with nurses' training schools and corps of internes function to a greater advantage in the community than those without them! The community, too, is coming to a realization of this fact.

We agree, then, with Miss Ella McKay, who states in her article in the February *Family*, "The training job is a fascinating one," for the student brings to the community a purposeful sincerity and concern which promises ultimate helpfulness. She brings to the client joyousness, and unalloyed faith, and the desire to help to the utmost of her ability. She brings to the staff of the agency the idealistic spontaneity of youth, joyousness, fresh viewpoints of other fields, and stimulation to new life, so that if the training be wisely administered, the student may be of infinite value to the organization in maintaining professional standards.

HOW THE AGENCIES AND THE SCHOOLS MAY COOPERATE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CURRICULUM

Mrs. Eva W. White, Simmons College of Social Work, Boston

There is no form of training for the professions in which so-called "field experience" is more important than the training of prospective social workers. All that is known about the habits and actions of human beings can be taught; the most skilled exposition can be given as to the technique that has been evolved out of social procedure, and students can be drilled in the same in the lecture room, but all this will leave them helpless to meet successfully the demands which will be made upon them unless the opportunity has been given to meet first-hand the personal and social challenge presented by society. Of all forms of education, social work can least afford to burden itself with the shibboleths of the old academic methods.

From this point of view two tests should be applied to the educational opportunities offered in the training courses for social work: first, the experience of the instructors, and second, the relation between the classroom and field experience. As to the instructors, are they persons who have actually been on the firing line, and have they made good in the particular matters about which they are teaching, and are they still involved in social processes enough to be kept alive to the subtleties of individual and group situations? If there had to be a choice between the facile lecturer whose personal power with actual situations has never been tried, or whose experience rests far in the past, or the instructor who does not have as much power in the lecture room, but who gives to exposition all that atmosphere of reality that makes fact grip, and whose illustrative material is vivid because it is fresh, the latter should be given the preference. Fortunately, because so much of social work is by way of a kind of teaching, we can, somewhat more readily than the other branches of professional training, combine the practitioner and the teacher.

There is a kind of practitioner who does well, but who has not brought to formulation any underlying philosophy, nor reasoned out the why of procedure. Certainly such a practitioner cannot teach. This is as bad as the theorist who cannot act. We must have neither the one nor the other. We must obtain persons on our faculties who can act on the subject-matter of the instruction, or, conversely, who can present the reasons on which technique is based.

This much time has been given to the matter of class instruction because there should be no sharp division between the class and field experience. One should flow into the other and be unified in their mental acceptance by the students. The field experience should illustrate the lecture material, and the lecture work should explain and reason through the situations which the student meets.

It has come generally to be accepted, I believe, that two years of training should be required in our schools unless those who attend have had special

preliminary training or experience, in which case the time can be shortened. It is also becoming more and more the custom to have the work of the first year divided between the academic work (50 per cent) and the field work (50 per cent), and to divide the work of the second year in the proportion of two-thirds field work and one-third seminar discussion. The question now arises as to the range the field work should take. Personally, I believe that the first year should give to the student a rounded non-specialized experience on three planes of action, remedial, preventive, and constructive, and within a geographic unit, such that the student gets a comprehensive understanding of social work and does not become confused. This would mean, in a metropolis, concentrating on a section of a city or on a neighborhood, and building out to the city as a whole on those lines where the city action directly affects the local situation or where a city institution plays its part in a neighborhood.

In order to get the influence of city-wide work understood as a background for intensive community study it is well to devote a certain amount of time to this at the beginning of the year. If a school is situated in a city which is the capital of the state it is important to go from state departments to city departments, then to the local community.

With us it has been encouraging during the last few years to have met with a most cordial response on the part of the public officials, who have been glad to meet the students and to explain the responsibilities of their departments.

It was pointed out previously that there are three aspects of our social action to be considered: the remedial, the preventive, and the constructive. In each experience which meets the students, the practice work should swing out and touch these three aspects as far as that is possible, in something of this fashion. Take, for example, the broken home. The immediate reason for the broken home may be desertion, incompatibility, habits which make separation inevitable. The deeper or underlying causes may be hasty marriage, difficult childhood which left its mark written in the low personal standards on the part of the man or the woman, or both, or the intricate network of poverty due to low vocational ability, general ignorance, or the thousand and one other difficulties met in such instances. The first thing is, of course, to find a way out of the acute home situation as it is. The steps leading to the possible prevention of such situations would be analyzed as follows: The student should study marriage laws which govern the community. Is an intention of marriage demanded in advance of the ceremony? Are so-called "marriage marts" flourishing? How much responsibility do public officials and clergymen take in regard to acting on requests to be married when there is every evidence that such a step would be unwise? How are divorces granted? In so far as any of these safeguards of marriage are not what they should be, the student should be led to take part in an effort to make the situation more protective of the home.

Then, from the approach of pushing upward those standards of normal family life that stabilize family unity, the student should consider what community

resources there are that are educating parents in regard to the physical and mental character of children, in order that a generation may be brought up that will have true and strong family ties. What opportunities are there for vocational guidance and vocational education and placement, in order that economic efficiency may be established? What is the moral tone in the general community? How rich are the recreational opportunities for young and for old? The answer to these questions would give the student the relation of the causes which may have led to the particular broken home, and the community responsibility for the same.

Now, it is impossible to get on without specialties in social work. The demands on the time and resources of the individual social worker and on the individual society make a specialty necessary, but a worker will never become pigeonholed, nor will a society manned by workers trained as above lose its contacts with those other societies in the field of social work that are ranged in the preventive and constructive field.

During the last term of the first year the student might be allowed to move forward to what may be later a chosen specialty by majoring in some particular phase of the field other than the family welfare field. This is in order to avoid a mistake in the final choice of a specialty. This would mean that the student would go from two terms of experience with us in a family welfare society to a children's aid society, let us say, or to some branch of the psychiatric field, or to some form of community work.

The second year of work is, with us, arranged thus: thirty hours for work with an agency in the field of the student's chosen specialty, six hours of lecture work and seminar discussions, and six hours for preparation. This experience should be arranged on the unit basis in something of the following fashion:

Medical social service: second year.—The second year provides for thirty hours a week of practical work, as follows: September to December, inclusive, general hospital or dispensary social work; January to April 15, experience in special clinics, such as children's, orthopedic, neurological, and cardiac, and in hospital wards; April 15 to May 15, experience in social work in a small hospital in another community; May 15 to June 8, seminar discussions. Throughout the second year there are medical lectures with clinic observations. The lecture courses required in the second year are: seminar on medical social problems, clinical psychiatry, and psychiatric social work. A thesis is required.

Under this scheme a definite amount of time is given to specific ranges of experience in the chosen field—in this instance, medical social service. The student's power is gauged in connection with the work of a given clinic. Then, as the student goes on to the next, efficiency is again brought out. A student should be given time in the administrative office, and should know something about finance from the point of view of the treasurer's office. The annual report and the publicity methods should be gone over. There should be an intensive bulk of training, so that the student can be trained in continuous responsibility

in filling a position of leadership on a committee or taking some definite responsibility in presenting cases at conferences.

Lecture and field material.—The closer the correlation between the lecture and the field material, the better. Consecutive days of field work as preferable to one day of field work and one day in class, or broken days, such as one-half day of field work and one-half day of class work. There should be certain consecutive periods of field work, but not too long a period should elapse between the field work and the interpretation of the same, because it is essential that the broad significance of new experiences be driven into the understanding. Difficult mental attitudes (which one often meets, unfortunately) have often been developed because at some point in growth discrimination was not sharpened, nor perspective broadened and relative values brought out. Difficult mental attitudes on these lines must be caught and straightened out quickly. It is in this respect primarily that the organized educational method should be superior to the apprentice method, and it is therefore essential to interweave the theory and practice in the field and then to bring the student out of the immediate atmosphere of field work in order to survey what has been happening. Much of the classroom work should be discussion, as students need to be made expressive, and one student stirs another far more than does the instructor, usually.

Field centers.—If it is possible to use the agencies that have been developed out of the heart of the local life, it seems preferable, rather than to organize work in order to give field experience. The students would tend to be better trained where all artificial elements are eliminated as much as possible.

Arrangements for training with local agencies.—Arrangements for training should be made with the heads of societies and, through the heads, with the boards of directors, so that the boards clearly understand the educational value of their cooperation and the contribution they make to our sphere of action. This recognition makes for permanency of relationship and for growth of effectiveness, and the school becomes rooted in the team play of local interests.

Breadth of training versus the specialty.—It must be remembered that all educational branches are tending to see the dangers of overspecialization, and that breadth of outlook does not preclude skill in specialized effort, but safeguards it. It is then a question of organizing to give both, and of so lengthening our courses that we can give breadth of experience as well as specific skill.

The relation of the field guides to the director of field work and to the faculty.—The director of field work should arrange the appointments of the students with the chosen field guides. The director of field work should receive the reports from the field and should confer with the students and the field guides frequently. The director of field work brings to the attention of the members of the departments matters concerning more efficient classroom work, or points out where the classroom work has been good. The director arranges the conferences between heads of the departments and the field guides.

Thesis work.—The theses should be developed out of the field experience and should be built upon actual needs of our social agencies as far as possible. It is essential that a member of the faculty give special thought and attention to the thesis work of all the students, and that the specialists on the faculty be brought into conference.

Anything written in connection with field work is bound to be suggestive only because the schools of social work are pioneering. The educator and the social worker have a great task before them in building a procedure out of the experience of social effort which has, in the last fifty years, brought about more progress than all the centuries before. The future, however, presents opportunities greater still. As we conquer individual and environmental handicaps, deeper spiritual relationships come forward. In all we do to meet immediate situations, the higher qualities in family life must be brought out. The saving of the genius of man is the task of industry, and the realization of the obligations to our democracy, our civic challenge. Unless we know where technique is heading, our instruction will never help society. In all that we do we must draw from life, and give back in terms of life.

IS THE AGENCY OR THE INDIVIDUAL PRIMARILY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIAL WORKER?

Miriam Van Waters, Referee, Juvenile Court, Los Angeles

This problem is like the question which agitates Mr. Bryan: Did the egg or the chick come first? There are certain other questions we must answer before we can place responsibility either upon the agency or the social worker for the development of the professional attitude. For example, is social work a profession, or stated differently, do social workers form a professional group? Do we as social workers achieve a planned, desired change, or adaptation in the course of human events because of our efforts?

There will be two responses to this inquiry: some persons will arise enthusiastically and say yes, pointing to individual cases with successful, happy endings. Others will say no, pointing in disgust to our blunders and individual failures. Both responses are based upon the same method, personal reaction; individual experience and opinion flowing from emotional satisfaction, or dissatisfaction, in the field of social work.

A recent definition of a social group is made by Eduard C. Lindeman: "A social group is any number of human personalities acting jointly to express and attain a common goal." Social workers may rightfully claim title to membership in such a general social group.

The professional groups, in addition to their function of "acting jointly

to express and attain a common goal," have certain other traits, responsibilities, and privileges. Physicians, lawyers, and priests are professional people. Every newsboy and drummer knows this, and if doctors, lawyers, or ministers should hold congress in any city, all the inhabitants would understand who they were and what they were driving at. Can we say the same for a social workers' conference? Two very low-brow salesmen were talking in the hotel lobby:

"Who are these welfare workers?"

"O, they're a bunch of bolsheviks!"

"Yes, they're the people who take your children away from you."

How shall we know the true professional group? First, it has a special work to perform in the world, a task clearly defined, a monopoly of service in a limited field which exists to satisfy some deep human need. Doctors heal the sick, preside over the whole province of physical well-being, and everyone understands this. From the sociologist's point of view it is instructive to note that in proportion to the degree in which physicians widen their field they are misunderstood by the public. The bedside doctor is still the popular idea of a good doctor, whereas the public health sanitarian is just another kind of governmental official to be supported and endured. Lawyers enable you to protect your property, settle your disputes, exercise your pugnacity; they are supposed to keep you out of jail, just as doctors keep you from pain. The ministry attends to your longings for respectability and spirituality. They take care of your concern with the affairs of the other world, and they dignify the crises of your life, birth, baptism, graduation, marriage, and death, and lift the social taboos from these thresholds. These ancient professions are so clearly outlined, and their services so deeply needed, that public opinion acts as a protectorate should any serious conflict arise between the anointed and the charlatan.

The second characteristic of a professional group is its possession of special technique and skill, the result of a long period of training and discipline. Arising from professional work and training we may distinguish the following characteristics: the development of a code of ethics; the possession of a sense of honor, or the feeling of belonging to a special group, which engenders loyalty; the attainment of community recognition and respect.

Social workers unquestionably have some professional characteristics. They have a differentiated task, that of establishing and preserving social relationships; they undergo a period of training. So do teachers, nurses, and engineers, groups in the process of becoming professions.

Have social workers a code of ethics? Possession of a code of ethics determines the matter of loyalty and community respect. Questions of conduct and feeling arising out of our threefold responsibility—to our clients, to our fellow-workers, and to the community! How shall we formulate our duties? How shall we make adequate response to conflicting demands and definitions? In the midst of a dynamic social order, how give emphasis to the rights of the individual? How shall we proceed in the conflict of youth versus authority,

the individual versus tradition? Our ethical code must give us a guiding line in these matters. Yet a code of professional ethics is never a mere set of answers to questions of etiquette, such as: "How shall I behave in a given situation?" It is a living expression of the spirit of service; it is our faith made visible. A code is not a statement of minimum standards of behavior worked out in staff meeting, but it is something that evolves slowly, something deeply dug for, finely forged out of fundamental human experience. That social workers are beginning to develop it is evident in those who meet unpopularity, political onslaughts, crises of hostile public opinion with courage and adroitness. Florence Kelly and the child labor advocates, Judge Lindsey and the Ku Klux Klan, and the serene, triumphant humanism of Jane Addams in war and peace—these serve as examples.

To possess a code of ethics is to possess a style of life. As Oscar Wilde said: "Life itself is an art and has its modes of style no less than the arts which seek to express it." Social workers are thinking about ethics. Dr. Cabot, Professor Tufts, and others are formulating their findings, but we are in twilight still.

Do social workers feel loyalty to one another? We all know how doctors stand up for doctors; and lawyers—while Rabelais finds their habits predatory and their leader, "Gripe-men-all," a fit prototype of the whole tribe of "furred law cats"—still rush to defend each other from attack, bitterly resenting the least unfavorable comment on their mutual honor. Social workers present no such united front to the enemy. They have not evolved that feeling of team play and kinship which repudiates gossip. Overhear a group of social workers talking in the lobby:

"Did you know that Mr. X did some awfully shady things during community chest drive?"

"I always thought he would." Or:

"Miss W was guilty of shocking misconduct in C—"

"Well, I did not know she would stoop to that, but I have always thought she was neurotic."

Do social workers possess the understanding, the respect, the general recognition of the community? Not the least in the world. In spite of the hospitality of the citizens and the good-humored tolerance of the press, the common man of Denver hasn't the slightest conception of our problems, nor why we encumber the earth. Boston is probably the only city in America where social work is understood, and that is because Bostonians claim to have invented it.

We will attain community recognition when we deserve it, when we make clear demonstration of the use of our tools, the integrity of our motives, the worth-whileness of our efforts to increase human happiness and social well-being. Our loyalty then, too, will become apparent, for, in Royce's phrase, "loyalty is the devotion of the self to the community."

To conclude our preliminary sketch, social workers are not yet professional

people; they do not possess all the earmarks of a professional group. Social work is a profession in the making; it is growing into the stature of a true profession.

Now who is primarily responsible for professional growth—the agency, or the individual? It is a joint responsibility. One cannot conceive an adequate social agency which is devoid of the feeling of responsibility for the fullest professional growth of all its individuals. Certain fundamentals we may expect from the agency:

First, an opportunity for the exercise of technical skill is to be expected. To furnish this, the organization must work in a clearly defined field, with uniform procedure and a limited intake.

Second, there should be careful supervision by trained case work supervisors who are capable of leadership. It is not enough that the executive be a good leader. Staff members in training should have daily contact with stimulating personalities and constructive criticism.

Third, there should be frequent staff conferences. In addition to case discussions, routine business, and matters of organization policy, the meetings should inform the workers of what is going on in the community. They should themselves be serving on committees, participating in community thought, feeling, and action. Even an excellent monologue by the executive (if he is capable of giving one) cannot take the place of a meeting where there is genuine interchange of ideas.

Fourth, contact with the literature. The agency that is responsible for the guidance of young social workers should fill its shelves with all the standard books in its field, with some glimpses into surrounding fields. Its table should be covered with current periodicals and pamphlets. The worker should be given sufficient leisure to read, though an earnest worker creates his own leisure for this purpose. Whenever a worker tells you he is "too busy to read," the chances are he is not worth training.

Fifth, there should be a spirit of growth within the agency. The agency that is capable of promoting the professional growth of individuals is itself alive and pulsing with the impulse toward growth. This is known not only by the output itself, but through many big and little signs. There is a co-operative policy. All the workers from the head down are free from dogmatism and the fetish of infallibility. Mistakes are made and freely admitted. Divergent views are expressed. There is loyalty and enthusiasm. There is always some forward-looking enterprise afoot. Although the office runs smoothly, no one could possibly get the idea that this agency is engaged in business. It is dedicated to social work, and the human beings in it are partly scientists, partly artists and artisans. The agency is always undertaking some piece of research and is giving each worker a chance to know not only the technique of his own case work, but what the whole thing is about. The responsible agency is tremendously concerned with the problem of professional ethics.

The question as to who is responsible for professional growth cannot be answered without a look at the duties and functions of the training school. We should assume: first, adequate courses of study; second, adequate field work opportunities; third, a careful selection of intake.

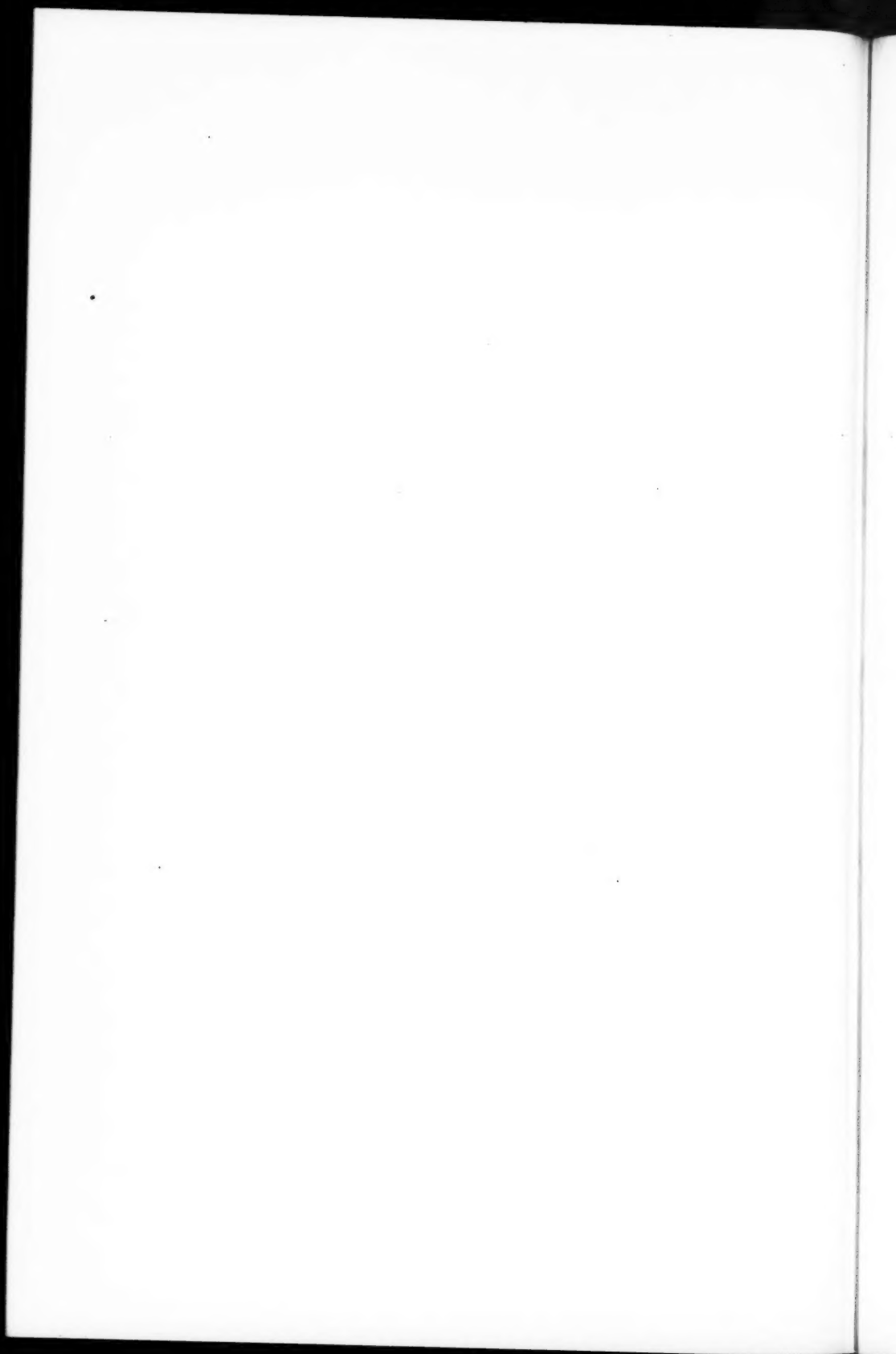
There should be a choice at the doors of the training school as to who should go into social work. One executive of a large social agency employing only graduates of training schools reports one casualty in five; others, one in three. "You could tell at a glance that she would never make a social worker; why did they let her graduate?" is a remark frequently heard. Let us admit the prime essential of personality. There is a type of person who can do research work brilliantly and who makes a pathetic failure of case work. The training school ought to recognize these types.

The training school is the logical place for giving some remedial treatment for undesirable traits. The common failings are: harshness, egotism, those who feel self-pity, those who disrupt agencies, pessimists, optimists, standpatters, gushers, sentimentalists, chronic complainers, unconstructive critics, those who have strong personal prejudices, professional reformers and uplifters, those who always have a physical alibi, those who are slovenly in dress, manners, or speech, those who do not possess the spirit of social work, have felt no vital call, and those whom it is impossible for any man, woman, or child to love. Sometimes it is true that worth-while persons show some of these traits. They should be mercilessly pointed out in the training school. If correctional measures are not effective, the student should be told to seek some other field of activity where he cannot do so much harm. There is ample room in the training school for sorting out, and it is urgently needed.

Let us consider what responsibility the individual should bear. In reality he must bear all the responsibility. As Havelock Ellis says, when we are confused and harassed with the chaos of the modern world, there remains the individual. The individual cannot be free from responsibility for the general progress of social work. He must himself be a well-adjusted individual, capable of hard work without depression. Although he should find his chief outlet in his task, he must be secure enough in his own personal and social relationships so that he need not derive all of his emotional satisfaction from his clients. He should be preeminently loyal, and capable of an adequate response to leadership. He must possess adroitness, serenity, and patience. He should be seeking professional growth with all the power of his being. He should not be deterred by the kind of executive who lacks confidence in his ability, nor the academic man who said: "What we want to produce is mere case workers; we want them to stay contented as such, and not strive for higher positions."

It is important for us all to remember that professional growth is only partly a matter of acquiring skill; it is chiefly an affair of the spirit. And the true social worker is a team worker seeking his complete expression in the world of other human beings.

C. BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS



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Northampton, Mass.
Sanford Bates (1926).....Boston
Jessie P. Binford (1928).....Chicago
Edward R. Cass (1927).....New York
Emerson Coatsworth (1927).....Toronto
Mrs. Martha P. Falconer (1927).....New York
Bernard Glueck (1927).....New York
Mrs. Maude Miner Haddon (1927).....New York
Max Handman (1928).....Austin, Texas
Hastings H. Hart (1927).....New York
George W. Kirchwey (1928).....New York

Dr. Maud Loeber (1927).....New Orleans
Samuel D. Murphy (1926).....Birmingham
Virginia Murray (1928).....New York
Valeria H. Parker, M.D. (1928).....New York
Herbert C. Parsons (1927).....Boston
Louis N. Robinson (1926).....Swarthmore, Pa.
Carrie Weaver Smith (1926)
Gainesville, Texas
Leon Stern (1926).....Philadelphia
Arthur W. Towne (1926).....Syracuse
Miriam Van Waters (1928).....Los Angeles
Franklin R. Wilson (1926).....Muncie, Pa.

DIVISION III—HEALTH

Chairman, James A. Tobey, Washington

Vice-Chairman, H. E. Kleinschmidt, M.D., Toledo.

Secretary, Jessamine S. Whitney, New York.

Donald B. Armstrong, M.D. (1926) New York
Severance Burrage, M.D. (1928).....Denver
Homer M. Calver (1928).....New York
Hazel Corbin (1927).....New York
Louis I. Dublin (1927).....New York
David Edsall, M.D. (1926).....Cambridge, Mass.
Livingston Farrand (1926).....Ithaca
Eleanor Thompson (1928).....Portland, Ore.
Edith Foster (1928).....Milwaukee
W. J. French, M.D. (1927)..... Fargo, N.D.
Howard Whipple Green (1928).....Cleveland

A. J. Lanza, M.D. (1928).....New York
Helen MacMurphy, M.D. (1928).....Ottawa
Mary E. Murphy (1928).....Chicago
C. C. Pierce, M.D. (1926).....Chicago
Alvin Powell, M.D. (1926).....Oakland, Cal.
M. P. Ravenel, M.D. (1928).....Columbia, Mo.
Elizabeth Smellie (1927).....Ottawa
Felix J. Underwood, M.D. (1927)
Jackson, Miss
C. E. A. Winslow, M.D. (1926).....New Haven

DIVISION IV—THE FAMILY

Chairman, Malcolm S. Nichols, Milwaukee.*Secretary*, Francis H. McLean, New York.

W. S. Bixby (1927).....	Akron	Florence W. Hutsinpillar (1926).....	Denver
Mary F. Bogue (1928).....	Harrisburg	Ann Kempshall (1928).....	New York
Frank J. Bruno (1927).....	Minneapolis	Porter R. Lee (1926).....	New York
Joanna C. Colcord (1927).....	New York	Betsey Libbey (1927).....	Philadelphia
Elizabeth Dutcher (1926).....	Brooklyn	H. L. Lurie (1928).....	Chicago
Raymond F. Gates (1926).....	Willimantic, Conn.	Rose Porter (1928).....	Pittsburgh
Mary C. Goodwille (1928).....	Baltimore	Stockton Raymond (1926).....	Boston
Helen W. Hanchette (1927).....	Cleveland	Amelia Sears (1926).....	Chicago
Joel D. Hunter (1928).....	Chicago	Ella M. Weinfurther (1927).....	Milwaukee

DIVISION V—INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Chairman, John A. Fitch, New York.*Secretary*, John A. Lapp, Chicago.

John B. Andrews (1928).....	New York	Paul U. Kellogg (1928).....	New York
Roger Baldwin (1927).....	New York	Rev. George S. Lackland (1928).....	Denver
Allen T. Burns (1928).....	New York	John A. Lapp (1927).....	Chicago
J. A. Dale (1926).....	Toronto	E. C. Lindeman (1927).....	High Bridge, N. J.
Haven Emerson, M.D. (1927).....	New York	Owen R. Lovejoy (1926).....	New York
John A. Fitch (1928).....	New York	Rev. Robert E. Lucey (1928).....	Los Angeles
Gertrude Fletcher (1927).....	Boston	W. S. MacMillan (1926).....	Toronto
Mrs. R. F. Halleck (1927).....	Louisville	Mary Van Kleeck (1927).....	New York
Rev. F. Ernest Johnson (1926).....	New York	Leo Wolman (1926).....	New York
Mrs. Florence Kelley (1927).....	New York		

DIVISION VI—NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

Chairman, Mrs. Eva Whiting White, Boston.*Secretary*, Winifred Salisbury, Cleveland.

Jane Addams (1928).....	Chicago	John Kolb (1926).....	Madison
George A. Bellamy (1926).....	Cleveland	John A. Lapp (1927).....	Chicago
LeRoy E. Bowman (1928).....	New York	R. D. Mackenzie (1926).....	Seattle
Margaret Chapman (1927).....	Minneapolis	R. M. McIver (1926).....	Toronto
Frieda Foltz (1926).....	Chicago	Mrs. Mary C. B. Mumford (1926).....	Richmond
George E. Haynes (1926).....	New York	Jesse O. Thomas (1927).....	Atlanta
R. E. Hieronymus (1927).....	Urbana, Ill.	Mrs. Eva Whiting White (1927).....	Boston
Frances Ingram (1928).....	Louisville	Aubrey Williams (1928).....	Madison
Albert J. Kennedy (1926).....	Boston	Arthur E. Wood (1926).....	Ann Arbor

DIVISION VII—MENTAL HYGIENE

Chairman, Ralph P. Truitt, M.D., New York.*Vice-Chairman*, Marion E. Kenworthy, M.D., New York.*Secretary*, Edith M. Furbush, New York.

Smiley Blanton, M.D. (1927).....	Madison	Helen L. Myrick (1928).....	Chicago
Marie L. Donohoe (1928).....	Boston	Frank J. O'Brien, M.D. (1926).....	Louisville
Mrs. Ethel F. Dummer (1926).....	Chicago	George K. Pratt, M.D. (1928).....	New York
Franklin G. Ebaugh, M.D. (1928).....	Denver	Bertha C. Reynolds (1928).....	Stoughton, Mass.
George A. Hastings (1927).....	New York	Christine Robb (1926).....	Memphis
Clark E. Higbee (1927).....	Grand Rapids	Thomas W. Salmon, M.D. (1927).....	New York
C. M. Hincks, M.D. (1928).....	Toronto	Douglas Thom, M.D. (1926).....	Boston
Cornelia Hopkins (1927).....	Chicago	William A. White, M.D. (1926).....	Washington
Mary C. Jarrett (1927).....	Boston	E. Koster Wickman, M.D. (1928).....	Cleveland
Marion E. Kenworthy, M.D. (1927).....	New York	Frankwood E. Williams, M.D. (1926).....	New York
David M. Levy, M.D. (1928).....	Chicago		

DIVISION VIII—ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

Chairman, Wilfred S. Reynolds, Chicago.
Vice-Chairman, David S. Liggett, Louisville.
Secretary, Margaret F. Byington, Hartford.

Mrs. E. T. Brigham (1928).....	Kansas City	Robert W. Kelso (1927).....	Boston
Kenyon L. Butterfield (1927).....	Lansing	W. F. Maxwell (1927).....	Harrisburg
Margaret F. Byington (1927).....	Hartford	Howard W. Odum (1926).....	Chapel Hill, N.C.
Louise Cottrell (1926).....	Iowa City	Charles C. Stillman (1928).....	Grand Rapids
J. Howard T. Falk (1926).....	Montreal	Kenneth Sturges (1928).....	Cleveland
Guy T. Justis (1928).....	Denver	Mabel Weed (1928).....	San Francisco

DIVISION IX—PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATION

Chairman, Richard K. Conant, Boston.
Vice-Chairman, Florence W. Hutsinpillar, Denver.
Secretary, Charles F. Hall, St. Paul.

Hugo B. Anderson (1927).....	Salt Lake City	Rev. W. J. Kerby (1927).....	Washington
Mrs. Amy Steinhart Braden (1928)	Sacramento	James S. Lakin (1928).....	Charleston, W.Va.
Joseph P. Byers (1926).....	Kentucky	James T. Mastin (1927).....	Richmond
Louise Cottrell (1926).....	Iowa City	Ellen C. Potter (1928).....	Harrisburg
Mrs. Elizabeth R. Forrest (1927)	San Antonio	William J. Sayers (1928).....	Muncie, Ind.
Lillian T. Franzen (1928).....	Albuquerque	H. H. Shirer (1926).....	Columbus, Ohio
John L. Gillin (1928).....	Madison	Mrs. Elizabeth M. Speer (1926)	Austin, Tex.
Florence W. Hutsinpillar (1926)	Denver	Gertrude Vaile (1927).....	Denver
Charles H. Johnson (1928).....	Albany	G. Croft Williams (1926).....	Columbia, S.C.
James Edmund Jones (1928).....	Toronto	Elizabeth Yerxa (1926).....	Minneapolis

DIVISION X—THE IMMIGRANT

Chairman, Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Chicago.
Vice-Chairman, George A. Green, Cleveland.
Secretary, Mrs. Harry M. Bremer, New York.

Bradley Buell.....	New Orleans	Mrs. Ruth Crawford Mitchell...	Pittsburgh
Thomas L. Cotton.....	New York	Bruce M. Mohler.....	Washington
Fred C. Croxton.....	Columbus, Ohio	Thomas F. Mulholland.....	Jersey City
Allen Eaton.....	New York	Virginia Murray.....	New York
David Fishman.....	New Orleans	Frances Perkins.....	New York
Ida L. Hull.....	Bridgeport	Cecilia Razovsky.....	New York
Mary E. Hurlbutt.....	New York	Ethel Richardson.....	Sacramento
Winifred Hutchison.....	Toronto	Jesse F. Steiner.....	Chapel Hill, N.C.
Mrs. Eleanor E. Ledbetter.....	Cleveland	Lea Taylor.....	Chicago
John W. Lewis.....	Baltimore	Mrs. Nathaniel Thayer.....	New York
Reed Lewis.....	New York	Elizabeth A. Woodward.....	New York
Rose J. McHugh.....	Chicago		

DIVISION XI—PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS AND EDUCATION

Chairman, Neva R. Deardorff, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Vice-Chairman, F. Stuart Chapin, Minneapolis.
Secretary, H. H. Hibbs, Richmond.

Brother Barnabas.....	Toronto	Harry L. Hopkins.....	New York
Boris D. Bogen.....	Los Angeles	M. J. Karpf.....	Chicago
Jeffrey R. Brackett.....	Boston	Philip Klein.....	New York
Miss S. P. Breckinridge.....	Chicago	Harry L. Lurie.....	Chicago
Mrs. Mary C. Burnett.....	Pittsburgh	Cecil C. North.....	Columbus, Ohio
Sherman Conrad.....	New Orleans	A. Percy Paget.....	Winnipeg
J. E. Cutler.....	Cleveland	Walter W. Pettit.....	New York
Karl de Schweinitz.....	Philadelphia	Kenneth L. M. Pray.....	Philadelphia
Thomas D. Eliot.....	Evanston	Jesse F. Steiner.....	Chapel Hill, N.C.
Leon W. Frost.....	Detroit	Rev. Frederic Siedenburg.....	Chicago
L. A. Halbert.....	Kansas City	Arthur E. Wood.....	Ann Arbor
William W. Hodson.....	New York		

PART 3

BUSINESS SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE: MINUTES

Saturday, June 13, 1925

Meeting called to order by President Norton.

The following report of the special Committee on Divisional Reorganization and Kindred Groups was read by the Secretary in the absence of Miss Grace Abbott, Chairman of the Committee:

The Committee on Divisional Reorganization and Kindred Groups submits the following report:

A. As to Kindred Groups:

It is recommended

1. That all Kindred Groups be required to become institutional members of the Conference, and that only such shall be given assistance by the Conference staff in arranging and giving publicity for meetings.
2. That the program of Kindred Group meetings be printed with the Conference program.
3. That the persons responsible for the program in each Kindred Group shall be ex officio members of an appropriate division program committee. Such ex officio members shall vote as individuals.
4. That, in order to give some free time at the Conference, no Kindred Group meetings shall be scheduled for Thursday, Saturday, Sunday, and Tuesday afternoons of the conference week.
5. That more simultaneous meetings of the Conference Divisions be held so that an opportunity is given for informal discussion of problems in which small groups of members may be interested, thus reducing the necessity for Kindred Group Meetings.

B. As to Divisional Reorganization:

1. The Committee believes that experiment with new divisions from time to time is desirable. It recommends for 1926 that
 - a) Division X, Immigration, should be dropped, and that the various divisions should be asked to give consideration to special problems or complications of problems which our immigrant population creates.
 - b) The Division on Education and Professional Standards shall be continued for another year.
 - c) A Division on Social Interpretation be created as a temporary division of the Conference, and that the Executive Committee shall appoint the 1926 Committee for this Division.

GRACE ABBOTT, *Chairman*
ALLEN T. BURNS
C. C. CARSTENS
ROWLAND HAYNES
KARL DE SCHWEINITZ
FREDERIC SIEDENBURG

The following recommendations as regards this report were submitted by the Executive Committee:

The Executive Committee recommends that:

Section 1, under the general heading "Kindred Groups," be changed to read as follows: "That all Kindred Groups be required to become institutional members of the National Conference of Social Work, and that such Kindred Groups shall be given assistance by the Conference staff in arranging for and giving publicity to their meetings."

Section 2, under the general heading "Kindred Groups," be adopted.

Section 3 be adopted.

Section 4 be *not* adopted.

Section 5 be changed to read: "That more simultaneous meetings of the Conference Divi-

sions be held so that an opportunity is given for informal discussion of problems in which small groups of members of the Conference may be specifically interested."

That Section 1a, under the general heading "Divisional Reorganization," be *not* adopted, and that the following recommendation be substituted therefor: "That Division X be continued for another year, but that for the coming year this Division shall not have more than two section meetings, and that the further activities of the program committee of this Division be devoted to the organization of joint sessions with other Divisions of the Conference and to the consideration of problems of The Immigrant at various section meetings."

That Section b be adopted.

That Section c be changed to read: "A division on Educational Publicity be created, and that the Executive Committee shall appoint the 1926 committee for this Division."

The President ruled that the recommendations of the Executive Committee as regards the report of the Committee on Divisional Reorganization and Kindred Groups should be voted upon by sections.

Motion carried that the recommendation of the Executive Committee as regards Section 1, under the general heading "Kindred Groups," be adopted.

Motion carried that Section 2 be adopted.

Motion carried that Section 3 be adopted.

Motion carried that Section 4 be adopted.

Motion carried that Section 5 be adopted.

Motion carried that the recommendations as to Section 1a, under the general heading of "Divisional Reorganization," be adopted.

Motion carried that Section 1b be adopted.

Motion carried that Section 1c be adopted.

Motion carried that the report of the Committee on Divisional Reorganization and Kindred Groups as amended be adopted as a whole.

Motion carried that a Division on Educational Publicity be created as a temporary division for the ensuing year.

The Secretary read the following letter from the National Education Association, with the recommendation from the Executive Committee that a committee such as suggested in the letter be created:

*Mr. William J. Norton, President
National Conference of Social Work
Denver, Colorado*

MY DEAR MR. NORTON:

Last July a group of specialists and those interested in the problem of delinquency held a conference in Washington for a consideration of the subject, "What the Schools Can Do to Prevent Delinquency." This was held under the auspices of a temporary committee representing educators, psychologists, psychiatrists, and social workers whose experience had convinced them that there was a field for closer cooperation between the schools and the other professions dealing with the problem child. At this conference the N.E.A. was requested to appoint a committee on behavior problem children.

Last February in Cincinnati the committee which had arranged for the regional conference held a conference into which were called representatives of a number of national organizations concerned with the problem child. Again the N.E.A. was requested to appoint a committee on behavior problems, and a resolution was adopted requesting the National Conference of Social Work to appoint a standing committee to cooperate with the N.E.A. committee.

I am convinced of the importance of this problem, and I am now in the process of appointing the N.E.A. committee.

I am calling this matter to your attention at this time with the thought that at this meeting you may wish to take steps looking to the appointment of a committee representing the National Conference of Social Work. I hope the conference will decide to cooperate with the National Education Association in this important undertaking.

Sincerely yours,
JESSE NEWLON, *President*

Motion carried that the recommendation of the Executive Committee as to the creation of this committee be adopted.

The Chairman of the Committee on International Conference of Social Work reported that difficulties in organizing such a conference had resulted in a recommendation from the European committee that this proposed conference be postponed one year, and that the Conference Committee on International Conference of Social Work had unanimously concurred in this recommendation of the foreign committee.

Motion carried that the report be accepted and filed.

The President appointed the following tellers for the election to be held on Monday, June 15: Mrs. Anna B. Fox, Buffalo; Wilfred S. Reynolds, Chicago; and Raymond Clapp, Cleveland.

The President announced that the polls would be open from 8 A.M. to 5 P.M. on Monday, June 15. He also announced the appointment of the following committee to take charge of the election: Robert W. Kelso, Boston; John R. Shillady, New York; Frank J. Bruno, Minneapolis; Ruth Taylor, New York; Margaret Byington, Hartford.

In response to a request from the President, Mr. Robert W. Kelso explained the operation of the election and the constitutional regulations as regards the right to vote.

The Secretary read the following letter from the Right Honorable J. H. Whitley, president of the National Council of Social Service, London, England:

*William J. Norton, Esq.
President, National Conference of Social Work
Detroit Community Union
316 East Jefferson Street
Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A.*

DEAR SIR:

The object of the National Council is to bring together those engaged in different branches of social service, that, by working in concert, better progress may be made. As you will see from the enclosed papers, its members are drawn from a wide field, including those appointed by government departments, local authorities, and voluntary associations. It can therefore lay special claim to represent social work in this country.

In this representative capacity and on behalf of its constituent bodies the Council wish me to extend a very cordial invitation to the National Conference of Social Work to hold its 1927 conference in England. We recognize that there are wide differences between the social conditions of the United States and those of Great Britain, but we are also impressed by the great similarity of many of the problems which both must face. We are confident that close contact between social workers in the two countries would be mutually helpful, and we are anxious to do all in our power to establish more intimate relations with workers in the United States.

The National Conference of Social Work has, we know, a long and honourable history. We do not suggest that its sequence of annual meetings should be interrupted, but we do venture to hope that the 1927 meeting might be held in this country. In that case the conference programme and the plan of the sectional and other meetings would, of course, be decided in America by the ordinary means: we should not expect to do more than to give such help as you might desire by securing British speakers on various subjects and by making such other suggestions as to programme as you invite. The meeting would remain a meeting of your Conference.

On the other hand, we should hope to be allowed to bring to the Conference a fully representative group of British social workers in order that they might hear and take part in the discussion and might establish personal friendships in the times provided for social gatherings and informal intercourse. We would do our utmost to make the visit of your members enjoyable, and can at least promise them the warmest of English hospitality.

May I ask that your Conference will consider this invitation, and may I again express, on behalf of the National Council and its members, a sincere hope that you may be able to accept

it? Details would naturally have to be carefully considered, and we should desire to fall in with your wishes wherever possible. For this reason I hesitate to make definite proposals, but it may perhaps help you if I indicate what is in our minds on one or two points:

1. *Programme and general plan of the meeting.*—To be decided by the National Conference, our Council giving any help desired.

2. *Place of meeting.*—We suggest Liverpool as a specially suitable centre, where certain social institutions are perhaps better developed than in any other city in this country, the meeting proper to be followed by organised visits to other towns, e.g., Birmingham, Oxford, etc., and the final functions to be held in London.

3. *Membership.*—In order that the Conference may not be unwieldy, it is suggested that the membership be limited to 500 from America and 500 from this side.

4. *Finance.*—Without knowledge of the usual method of financing the meetings of your Conference, it is difficult to do more than suggest in general terms that the normal expenditure on printing and propaganda, etc. in America might be borne by your Conference, and that we might bear the cost of local arrangements and publicity, etc. in this country. We should be glad to consider any alternative or more detailed financial proposals that you may make, and in any case we would offer private hospitality to any of your members who desire it.

5. *Social functions and visits to other towns, etc.*—We would submit detailed proposals in regard to these, our tentative suggestion being that they should extend over the week following the Conference proper. Your members would thus be able to study social institutions in a number of centres and have fuller opportunities for meeting workers in this country.

Finally, as we should hope that the American delegation would include workers from Canada, we should make an effort to secure that social service not only in England, but also in Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland, and the Irish Free State would be well represented. Already we are assured of the heartiest co-operation in the furtherance of this project.

May I conclude by asking you to convey this invitation to your Conference with our warmest greetings.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) J. H. WHITLEY, *President*

P.S.—Should you find it possible to accept this invitation, subject, of course, to agreement as to detailed plans, we should be glad to know as soon as possible in order that full use may be made of the interval to carry through the preparatory work that would be required for so important a meeting. Possibly someone from your Conference will be visiting Europe during the coming summer, in which case he might perhaps be deputed to confer with representatives of the National Council.

Motion carried that the Executive Committee's recommendation that this Conference, through its President, express its very great appreciation for this very kindly invitation, and inform the Honorable J. H. Whitley that the National Conference of Social Work deems it inadvisable to interrupt the continuity of its own annual meetings in this country.

Motion carried to adjourn.

WM. HAMMOND PARKER, *General Secretary*
WILLIAM J. NORTON, *President*

Tuesday, June 16, 1925.

Meeting called to order by President Norton.

Minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

On motion of the Committee on Resolutions, Mr. Jeffrey R. Brackett, acting Chairman, it was resolved that the hearty thanks of the Conference be given to the many persons and agencies of Denver and of Colorado who contributed generously in service and in money to make this Conference session a success; especially there should be noted the local committee, the city government of Denver, the churches at which meetings were held, the many persons, including the young girls, who assisted in the President's reception, and the press.

The following report was presented by Mrs. Irene Farnham Conrad, Chairman of the Committee on Time and Place of the next meeting:

WHEREAS, It has been the general, and apparently satisfactory, practice of the National Conference of Social Work in past years to hold its annual meetings alternately in cities near the center and near the outer geographical limits of its membership, and

WHEREAS, The National Conference of Social Work in 1925 is held near the outer geographical limit of its membership,

WHEREAS, Therefore it seems wise to hold the 1926 meeting in a city nearer to the center of its membership, and

WHEREAS, Of the cities inviting the Conference and meeting the general requirements of the Time and Place Committee, Cleveland, Ohio, seems best equipped to handle the meeting in 1926,

We therefore recommend to the National Conference of Social Work that the 1926 annual meeting be held in Cleveland, Ohio, and we further recommend that the time for holding such Conference be left to the Executive Committee of the National Conference of Social Work.

Time and Place Committee:

IRENE FARNHAM CONRAD, *Chairman*

WALTER W. WHITSON, *Secretary*

Motion made that "It is the sense of this meeting that the purposes of the National Conference of Social Work will be best served if it convenes less frequently than at present; and that the Executive Committee be instructed to arrange future meetings after 1926 on such a basis, provided that the membership, through a referendum to members, personal and organization, give its approval to the plan."

After extensive discussion both pro and con as to the desirability of such change in the continuity of the annual meetings of the National Conference, the motion was put and lost by a decisive majority.

The Secretary, in the absence of the Treasurer, presented a financial report for the past fiscal year. He also presented a comparative financial statement for the past five years.

Mr. Fred C. Croxton moved the adoption of a recommendation from Division VIII to the effect that the Executive Committee be requested to appoint a committee to confer with federal officials relative to the collection, compilation, and analysis of social statistics, the reason for this being that while a mass of statistical material is available, much of it has not been collected in such a way as to yield to analysis of the greatest value.

The motion was carried and the recommendation adopted.

The President stated that he wished to thank the Conference office for the very efficient way in which all the business affairs of the Conference had been handled throughout his term of office, and for the helpful cooperation which he had invariably received from the Secretary and others connected with the Conference office. He gave a résumé of the finances of the Conference immediately prior to the beginning of the new office administration, stating that at that time the Conference was approximately \$13,000 in debt, which had been completely cleared off during the first year of the present administration; and that during the past four years the Conference had been financially solvent, had met all of its obligations promptly and renewed its credit, and that its business affairs had been conducted in an exceptionally efficient manner.

Motion carried to adjourn.

WILLIAM J. NORTON, *President*

WM. HAMMOND PARKER, *General Secretary*

PART 4

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

CONSTITUTION

Preamble

The National Conference of Social Work exists to facilitate discussion of the problems and methods of practical human improvement, to increase the efficiency of agencies and institutions devoted to this cause, and to disseminate information. It does not formulate platforms.

Membership

An individual or organization interested in the purposes and work of the National Conference may, upon payment of the prescribed membership fee for their membership classification, become a member of the Conference. Membership in the Conference shall be of the following classes: (1) honorary members—to be selected and elected by the Executive Committee; (2) active members; (3) sustaining members; (4) institutional members; (5) contributing members; (6) state members. State boards and commissions supporting the Conference through subscription to the *Proceedings*, the enlistment of memberships or otherwise financially, shall be designated "state members."

Officers

The officers of the Conference shall be a President, First, Second, and Third Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, six or more Assistant Secretaries, and a Treasurer.

The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected annually by the Conference; the assistant secretaries shall be appointed by the General Secretary, and the remaining officers shall be appointed by the Executive Committee.

Committees

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, the First Vice-President, and the Treasurer, ex-officio; the chairmen of all of the Division Committees, ex-officio; and fifteen other members who shall be elected by the Conference, five each year for a term of three years; vacancies shall be filled in like manner. The Executive Committee shall hold all of the powers of the Conference between meetings, not otherwise reserved or delegated. It may enact rules supplementing the By-Laws and not in conflict with them. The President shall be ex-officio chairman; five members shall constitute a quorum at all sessions of this committee.

The President shall appoint the committees named in the By-Laws and such other committees as may be ordered by the Conference or the Executive Committee from time to time.

Annual Meetings

The Conference shall meet annually at such time and place as may be determined by the preceding Conference, as provided in the By-Laws. The Executive Committee shall have authority to change the time or place of the annual meeting in case satisfactory local arrangements cannot be made or for other urgent reason. The first day of the annual session shall be defined to be that day on which the first regular public meeting of the Conference is held.

General Secretary

The General Secretary shall be the executive officer of the Conference and shall perform his duties under such rules as may be prescribed by the By-Laws or by the Executive Committee.

Amendments

This Constitution and the By-Laws under it may be amended at any business meeting of the Conference, provided that such amendment shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

BY-LAWS

1. *Membership Fees*

Membership fees for the following classifications shall be: for active members with the *Proceedings*, \$5; without the *Proceedings*, \$3; for sustaining members, \$10; for institutional members, \$25 (no individual shall be entitled to hold institutional membership, this membership being reserved solely for agencies, organizations, and institutions); for contributing members, \$25 or over. (Contributing memberships shall be limited to individuals contributing \$25 or over and to such organizations as may contribute any sum in excess of the membership fee for an institutional membership and which shall elect to be classed as contributing rather than as institutional members.) Sustaining members, institutional members, and contributing members shall be entitled to receive both the *Bulletin* and the annual volume of *Proceedings*. All members shall be entitled to receive the *Bulletin*.

2. *Duties of Officers*

The President shall be chairman ex-officio of both the Executive and Program Committees. He shall appoint all committees except the Executive Committee unless otherwise ordered by the Conference or by the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer shall keep the funds of the Conference in such bank as may be designated by the Executive Committee. He shall keep his accounts in such form as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee and pay out funds on voucher checks in form to be prescribed by the Executive Committee, and his accounts shall be audited annually by a firm of certified accountants appointed annually by the Executive Committee. He shall give bond in an amount approximating the largest amount of Conference funds held at his disposal at any one time, the expense of the bond to be paid by the Conference.

The General Secretary shall have charge of the office and records of the Conference, and shall conduct its business and correspondence under direction of the Executive Committee. He shall make arrangements for the annual meeting. He shall direct the activities of the Assistant Secretaries. He shall be the official editor of the volume of proceedings, the periodical bulletin, and other publications of the Conference. He shall develop the membership of the Conference and shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee. He shall receive such compensation as shall be fixed by the Executive Committee.

3. *Finance*

The financial management of the Conference shall be vested in the Executive Committee. No final action involving finances shall be taken by the Conference unless the question shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee may accept donations for purposes germane to the work of the Conference, provided that no endowment funds shall be accepted in perpetuity; but all such funds must be subject to change of objects or to immediate expenditure; but such change or expenditure must be authorized by a three-fourths vote of the members of the Conference present at a regular meeting and such proposition must first have been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

4. *Appointment of Committees*

Within three months after the adjournment of the annual meeting the President shall appoint the following named committees:

a) A Committee of three on Resolutions, to which all resolutions shall be referred without debate. No final action shall be taken on any resolution involving a matter of policy at the same session at which it is reported by the Committee on Resolutions.

b) A Committee of twenty or more on Time and Place of the next meeting. This committee shall meet on the second day of the annual meeting for the purpose of receiving invitations from cities, and shall give a reasonable time for the presentation of such invitations. In the proceedings of the committee only the votes of members present shall be counted. The committee shall report to the Executive Committee of the Conference not later than the fourth day of the meeting, and the Executive Committee shall transmit this report to the Conference with its approval or other findings thereon. Action on the report of the committee shall be by a rising vote. The city receiving the highest vote shall be selected.

c) A Conference Program Committee of seven members, to consist of the retiring President, the newly elected President, who shall act as chairman, the General Secretary, and four persons to be appointed by the newly elected President for a term of one year. This committee, subject to action by the Executive Committee, shall have entire responsibility (1) for preparing all programs for general sessions of the Conference, (2) for harmonizing and co-ordinating the programs of the several Divisions.

d) A Nominating Committee of nine members, none of whom shall be an officer or a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

The appointment and personnel of all committees shall be published in the bulletin next following the appointment.

5. Divisions

a) The programs of the Conference shall be grouped under Divisions, of which the following shall be continuous: (1) Children; (2) Delinquents and Correction; (3) Health; (4) The Family; (5) Industrial and Economic Problems; (6) Neighborhood and Community Life; (7) Mental Hygiene; (8) Organization of Social Forces; (9) Public Officials and Administration.

b) Other Divisions may be created for a period of one or more years by the Executive Committee or by the membership at the annual meeting, provided the proposal therefor shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

c) Each continuous Division shall be in charge of a committee of not less than nine persons, nominated by the Division members and elected at the annual business meeting of the Conference. One-third of the members of the Division Committee shall be elected each year to serve terms of three years each.

d) Each other Division not continuous shall be in charge of a committee appointed by the Executive Committee, or if created by the membership, in such manner as the membership shall determine at the annual meeting.

e) Each Division shall have power: (1) To arrange the annual Conference programs coming within its field, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee upon recommendation by the Conference Program Committee. (2) To arrange the annual business meeting of the Division and to provide for the nominations of officers and committee for the succeeding year.

f) Each Division shall annually nominate a chairman to be elected at the annual business meeting of the Conference. The Division Committee shall each year elect a Division Secretary.

g) Vacancies in the Division Committees shall be filled at the annual meeting in the same manner as the election of new members. Vacancies in the office of chairman or secretary between meetings shall be filled by the Division Committee, subject to the approval of the Conference Executive Committee.

h) The Conference Executive Committee shall have general supervision over the work of all Division Committees with the final power to pass on all programs, in order to insure the harmonious conduct of all parts of the work.

6. Kindred Groups

Independent associations may arrange with the National Conference Executive Committee for meetings to be held immediately before or during the annual meeting of the National Conference. The Executive Committee shall make such rules and regulations as it may deem necessary from time to time for such meetings.

7. Submission of Questions

Any Division or group desiring to submit any question to the Conference shall present it to the Executive Committee for preliminary consideration, at least twenty-four hours before the final adjournment of the Conference, and the Executive Committee shall report on such question with its recommendation before final adjournment.

8. Business Sessions

At the annual meeting at least one session shall be held at which only matters of business shall be considered. The time of this session shall be announced in the last issue of the *Bulletin* preceding the meeting. The officers of the Conference shall endeavor to concentrate on this occasion as much as possible of the business of the Conference.

All individuals holding the rank of member under any of the classes provided in the constitution and duly qualified shall be entitled to vote. Dues shall cover the period of one full year from the date of their payment; but dues paid at the annual meeting in any year shall cover the period to the date of but not including the next annual meeting. Any person who was a member on the first day of January preceding and is a member on the date of voting shall be entitled to vote. No member of the Conference shall be entitled to more than one vote.

9. Voting Quorum

At any business session fifty members shall constitute a quorum.

10. Division Meetings

All meetings of the Conference except general sessions shall be arranged so as to facilitate informal discussion. The chairman of divisions shall preside at section meetings of their divisions or shall appoint presiding officers in their stead.

11. Minutes

A certified copy of the minutes of the business transactions of the annual meeting, excepting official documents, shall be posted by the General Secretary on the official bulletin board at

least three hours before the final meeting of each annual session, in order that the said minutes may be corrected by the Conference, if any question of accuracy be raised before adjournment.

12. Local Arrangements

All local arrangements for the annual meeting shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

13. Nomination and Election of Officers

1. The nominating committee shall have the function of nominating two or more persons for each of the offices of President, first Vice-President, second Vice-President, and third Vice-President, and at least twice as many persons for members of the Executive Committee as there are vacancies occurring in that body.

2. Suggestions of names of persons for any of these positions may be submitted to the nominating committee by any member of the Conference at any time following the committee's appointment and up to the time of the committee's announcement of the list of nominations.

3. Within ninety days of its appointment, the nominating committee shall, through the *Bulletin*, solicit suggestions of names of persons for the offices to be filled, and shall renew such solicitation in each succeeding *Bulletin* up to the time of announcing the list of nominations. The committee shall appoint a place at or near headquarters on the second day of the annual meeting and shall announce the same, at which suggestions for nominations shall be received by them up to 1:15 P.M. of the third day of the annual meeting.

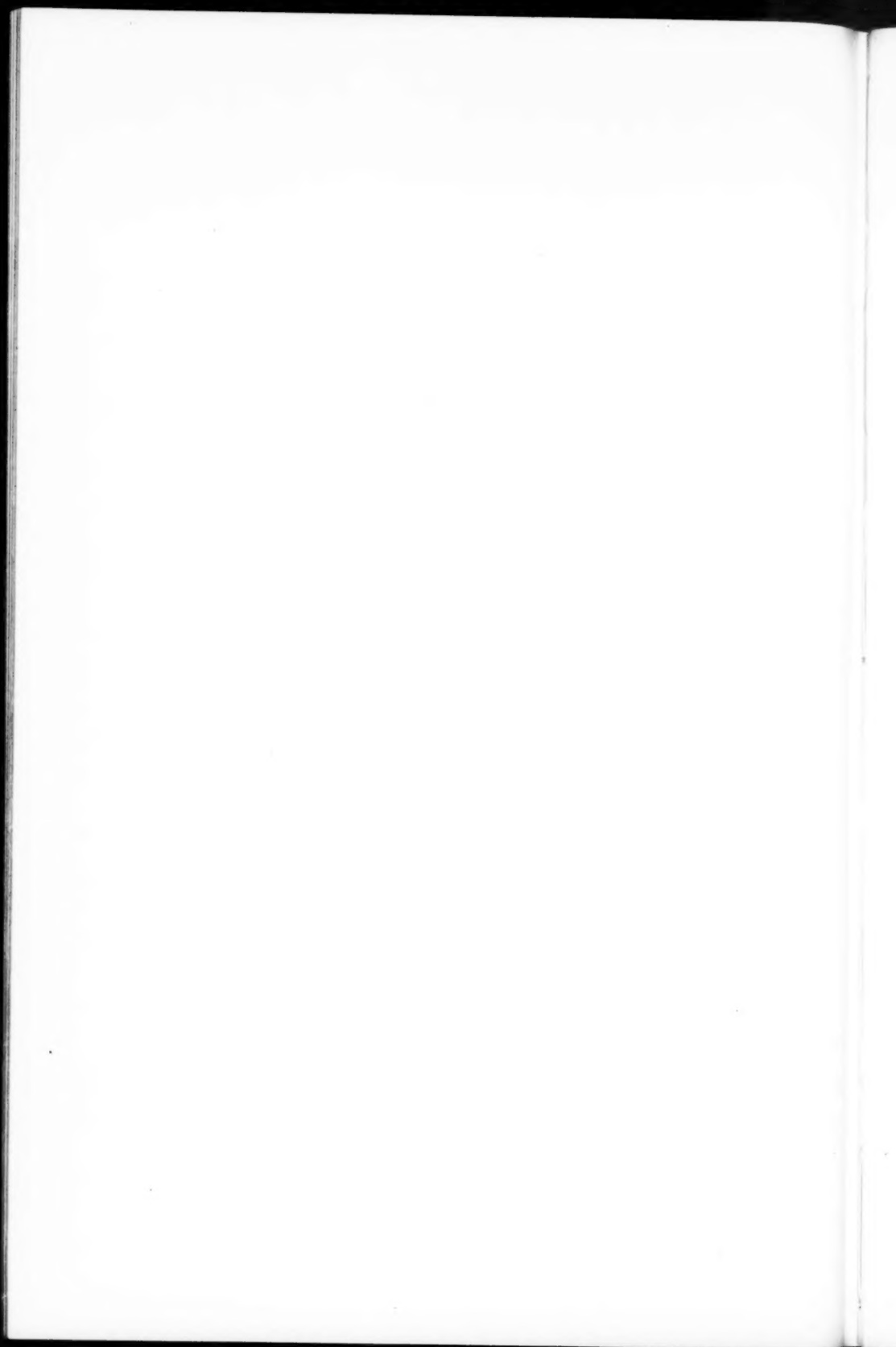
4. After taking into consideration the names suggested by the Conference members, but not necessarily confining their consideration to these names, the committee shall draw up a list of nominations as previously specified, and the same shall be announced at the general session on the evening of the third day of the Conference.

5. At any time either before or following the publication of these nominations, additional nominations may be made by petition of not less than twenty-five members, properly addressed to the chairman of the nominating committee. Such nominations shall be received up to one o'clock P.M. on the fourth day of the annual meeting.

6. A final list of all nominations shall be printed and published on the morning of the fifth day of the annual meeting, provided that such day shall not fall on Sunday. Should the fifth day fall on Sunday, such publication shall be made on the morning of the sixth day.

Ballots shall be supplied to all members who are entitled to vote and who present themselves for voting.

A polling place shall be established and maintained between the hours of 8 A.M. and 5 P.M. on the fifth day of the annual meeting, provided that such day shall not fall on Sunday, in which case the election shall occur on the sixth day. After the time herein specified for voting has expired the ballots shall be counted by three tellers appointed by the President and the result shall be announced at the next general session of the Conference. Election shall be decided by plurality of the votes cast.



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